

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

FORTIETH ANNUAL SESSION PROCEEDINGS

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Dr. S. GANESHRAM

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EDITOR'S NOTE

These are hard times indeed but let us not forget that hard times create strong people and strong people create strong communities. I'm really proud and honoured to be a part of the Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress, a quality Journal that has maintained research status and UGC CARE recognition. History stands the test of time and provides scope for exploring the unknown frontiers of research and I applaud Annamalai University, the temple of intellect standing tall and firm in the area of multidisciplinary research. The Department of History has been making history with Eminent Scholars and Research giants over the years. The 40th Annual Session of South Indian History Congress was held at Annamalai University, Chidambaram. The Conference inspired and instilled the need for quality research focusing on originality and multidisciplinary insights.

The UGC has done much setting the standards for original research but when it comes to publications, we still have a long way to go. Competing with International Journals remains a cry in the wilderness. Content, language and methodology must be given in-depth study and learners must learn to unlearn and relearn in this digital era. Rome was not built in a day and hence, writing impressive research papers takes patient and unrelenting effort. However, there are a number of online courses and support platforms that train scholars in this aspect. It just takes heart and a little bit of time.

I conclude with humble pleas to all the researchers in the field to broaden their horizons and look out of the box to find new research zones. Creativity, ingenuity and resourcefulness are the stepping stones to success in research. Covid-19 has put us down but it has also taught us resilience. I urge the readers and researchers to look beyond – remember that even the sky can be conquered. I'd like to end with an inspirational quote by Ayn Rand, the novelist and philosopher: "Do not allow your fire to go out, spark by irreplaceable spark in the hopeless swamps of the not-quite, the not-yet, and the not at all. Do not let the hero in your soul perish in lonely frustration for the life you deserved and have never been able to reach. The world you desire can be won. It exists. It is real. It is possible. It is yours." So, let's put the past behind us and join together to create a research community that reaches out to instruct and to support.

S. GANESHRAM
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&
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GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT, 2020

The 40th Session of South Indian History Congress was held under the joint auspices of the History Wing, Directorate of Distance Education, and Department of History, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, Chidambaram, Tamil Nadu on January 31st, February 1st and 2nd 2020. The event was held on the occasion of the 90th anniversary celebration of the University. Prof. K. Sankari, Professor and Co-Ordinator, History Wing was the Local Secretary. Prof. Sankari and her team along with the Head of the Department and faculty members of the History Department did arduous effort for the success of the event. The dedication, hard work and sincerity of the teaching faculties, non-teaching staff, researchers and students of both the departments are the central factor for the grand success of the Session. The University authorities wholeheartedly cooperated with the event by providing all the infrastructure facilities available in the Campus. I use this opportunity to congratulate them all.

The inaugural ceremony of the annual session of SIHC was held at Sastri Hall in the Campus at 10 a.m. on 31st January 2020. Prof. V. Murugesan, Honourable Vice-Chancellor of the University presided the inaugural session. Prof. Arun Bandopadhyay, Professor of History, Calcutta University, inaugurated the Session. Prof. N. Rajendran, Honourable Vice-Chancellor of Alagappa University and former General Secretary of SIHC delivered key note address. Prof. N. Krishna Mohan, Registrar-in-charge of Annamalai University, Prof. V. Thiruvalluvan, Prof. E. Selvarajan, Prof. A Rajasekharan and Prof. A Subbian delivered their felicitation speeches. In the function, Prof. Adapa Satya Narayana, Former Professor of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad took over the charge of General President from Prof. C. Somasundara Rao and delivered his presidential address. Prof. Selva Kumar of Tamil University, Tanjavur, delivered a special lecture. Prof, Sivadasan P, General Secretary of South Indian History Congress presented the annual report of the Organization. Sri. Arun Thomas, Research Scholar, Hyderabad Central University was honoured with the first 'Kasthuri Misro Young Historian Award' (2020). The Proceedings Volume of the 39th 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 40th Session of SIHC at Annamalai University 2020.

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- Prof. B.C Ray Memorial Lecture : Prof. Pasilathil, SS University, Kalady,
Kerala
- Prof. Peddarappu Chenna Reddy : Prof. Rekha Pande, Hyderabad University
and Dr. Subhashini Endowment
Lecture
- Govt. Arts College Coimbatore : Mr. Raja Mohammed, Pudukkottai
Endowment Lecture
- Prof. Janaki Endowment Lecture : Dr. Y. Swarupa Rani, Hyderabad

The General Body meeting was held at 2 pm on 2nd February 2020 at the High-tech Hall of the Innovation Centre, Annamalai University. The valedictory function was held in the same venue at 4 P.M. The office bearers of SIHC, the members in the organizing committee of the Session and retired professors of the Department of History, Annamalai University were honoured in the valedictory function.

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 40th 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 Annamalai University for making the event a grand success.

Prof. P. SIVADASAN
General Secretary

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GENERAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

BUDDHISM AND THE IDENTITY OF TELANGANA, SOUTH INDIA

Prof. Adapa Satynarayana

Esteemed President, Hon'ble General Secretary, Respected Office bearers of the South Indian History Congress, Distinguished Chief Guest, Invitees, Learned Delegates, Research Scholars, Students, Ladies, and Gentlemen.

At the outset, I express my heartfelt thanks to the Executive Committee and General Body of the South Indian History Congress for electing me as the General President of its 40th Annual Session. I deem it a privilege and honor and accept it with all humility. I also consider this to be a kind of recognition of my modest work on the history and culture of modern South India, especially the Telugu-speaking areas. I am aware of the academic achievements of this prestigious academic association since its inception in 1978 and the contribution made by several distinguished scholars, including my Teacher late Professor Sarojini Regani. I am glad to be part of the notable contribution made by this Congress to several aspects of South Indian history and culture. Today, this Session is being held in the great historical and spiritual center of the South, hence I chose a topic related to the religious and cultural identity of the micro-region called Telangana, the youngest 29th State of India. On this occasion, I propose to deliver my address on the theme, **BUDDHISM AND THE IDENTITY OF TELANGANA.**

Sub-Regional Identity

The present-day Telangana was a part of the erstwhile Hyderabad State, which was the largest and the foremost Princely State in India. The State of Hyderabad under the Asaf Jahis emerged after the decline of Bahamani and Qutb Shahi Kingdoms and formed a polygonal tract occupying the center of the Deccan plateau. The medieval historians like Ferishta, Amir Khusrau, Abul Fazal, etc., have referred to '*Telinga*,' and '*Telingana*' as a distinct geographic, ethno linguistic region. Telangana region has also a distinct regional identity throughout the historical period. The Asaf Jahi State was a unique formation that inherited the composite culture of the Deccan region. The personality of Telangana and the Hyderabad culture represents mutual

interaction, co-existence and harmony of a heterogeneous society mainly consisting of Hindus and Muslims.¹

The distinctiveness of historical and cultural heritage of Telangana has been an integral part of the demand for separate statehood. The formation of new Telangana State in 2014 has brought forward several questions and challenges. At the popular level, there has been a feeling that Telangana has become a melting pot, and its identity and self-respect have been undermined. Thus it became a battleground of contending socio-political forces. Attempts are being made to assert its distinctiveness and difference and retrieve its past. Articulation of difference has led to the rediscovery of history and culture of Telangana. The distinctiveness of Telangana regional socio-economic formation, culture and its ethos/values formed a basis for the demand of separate statehood both during the pre and post-independence periods. When compared to other state formation movements in India, the Telangana movement occupies a unique place, as it articulated the collective cultural ethos and values, cutting across caste, community, and gender and asserted its separateness. The overarching macro-regional identity, solely based on language, subsumed specific sub-regional articulations, which were rooted in Telangana history and culture since times immemorial. Historical past and its memory formed part of popular imagination and consciousness.²

An examination of the course and nature of Telangana movements for a separate State since 1950s indicates that socio-cultural rather than the political assertion had played a significant role in the realization of the division of the united Andhra Pradesh in 2014. The State of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956 as the first linguistic State in independent India and it was a consequence of the popular movements for redrawing and regrouping of provincial boundaries on the basis of language. The roots of popular movements for redrawing and regrouping of provincial boundaries lie in the

divergent socio-cultural awakening, which can be traced to the early decades of the twentieth century. An accelerated sense of regional, linguistic identity and cultural consciousness, besides the rising tide of nationalism, successfully mobilized the support of dominant caste/class elite, based on landed property, wealth, education and profession. The articulation of such elites in terms of the unity of Telugu people on a linguistic basis sought to wipe out the sub-regional distinctiveness in the state. It also attempted to minimize the socio-economic disparities within the macro-region as well as to underplay the long-term damages to the backward sub-region. The sub-regional distinctiveness can be attributed to caste, cultural, linguistic and politico-historical factors. It can be said that sub-regional feelings are historically rooted in the popular psyche, for the Telugus were separated into two distinct political units, viz., the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions were part of the Madras Presidency ruled by the British and the Telangana region was under the autocratic-feudal regime of the Nizams. Thus Telangana has a separate political history and socio-cultural experience of more than two centuries.³

The Telangana question has been unique in the sense that it raised a number of issues concerning the persistence of sub-regional identity and consciousness, rationale and justification of the creation of linguist states, linguistic nationalism and the imagining of the regional community, dynamics of regional social formation, and power structure. Since its inception, there were tensions between the three different regions of united Andhra Pradesh. The sub-regional distinctiveness was a consequence of politico-historical, caste/ community, and cultural factors. In particular, the Telangana region has a distinct political history and socio-cultural experience of about five centuries under the continuous rule of the Deccan Sultans, Qutub Shahis and Asaf Jahis. Ignoring the socio-cultural distinctions and disregarding the patterns of socio-economic transformation in the two regions of Seemandhra and Telangana has caused several problems for the unity of the Telugus in spite of linguistic unity. The merging of two unequal regions and the subsequent interregional mobility of people paved the way for local non-local /mulki-non-mulki conflicts in the Telangana region since the 1950s. In the

context of repeated demands and agitations for the disintegration of the State of Andhra Pradesh, the issue of Telangana and its distinct identity/personality has become the most contentious topic of discussion and debate. Recent movements for the creation of a separate Telangana State have raised fundamental questions regarding the formation of sub-regional identity and articulation of separateness. During the later phase of the Telangana movement, two opposing and mutually contradictory arguments were advanced by the protagonists and the adversaries of the new State. While the opponents tended to dismiss the articulation of separateness and creation of a new state, notwithstanding the linguistic unity, as selfish, opportunistic, and emotional, the supporters of the state asserted the identity of Telangana has been historically and culturally rooted since the ancient period.⁴ I am of the opinion that Buddhism had played a significant role in shaping the formation of sub-regional identity in Telangana.

The Spread of Buddhism in Telangana

The advent of Buddhism into Telangana has been traced back to the lifetime of the Buddha himself, viz., the 5th century BCE. Two of the Jataka Stories, Bhimasena Jataka and Serivanija Jataka refer to Andhra. The Suttanipata story of Bavari, the Brahmanical teacher who lived on an island between Assaka and Mulaka Janapadas helps us in determining the date of the advent of Buddhism into Telangana. Bavari was a contemporary of the Buddha. The Kathavatthu from the Abhidhamma Pitaka is the most important piece of Buddhist literature that vividly describes the part played by the commentary on the Kathavatthu. The fact that more than two millennia ago, Gautama Buddha's teachings had influenced the land and people of Telangana is attested by the Buddhist literature, Kathavattu/ Abhidamm Pitaka. Available historical, literary and archaeological sources indicate that Buddhism entered the Telugu country at Badanakurthi located in the ancient Asmaka Mahajanapada and from there it spread to other parts of Telugu Desa. An islet on the river Godavari called Badankurthi surrounded by the present-day districts of Karimnagar, Adilabad, and Nizamabad was then at the center of Buddhism. Even today, the islet is a symbol of

pride for the Telangana region. Badankurthi also boasts of being one of the first places where Buddhism had reached, though Gautama Buddha had not visited the place. Suttanipata also mentions that at the place where the Godavari splits into two and meets again creating an eyot (islet in a river) lived a Rishi known as Bavari. There is also historical evidence to prove that this place is Badankurthi. It is also mentioned that the islet is located between Assaka and Mulaka Janapaas, which are in the present-day Telangana and Maharashtra regions.⁵

The sage Bavari, who was at Badankurthi, had heard of the Buddha and deputed 16 of his disciples to hear his teachings. At that time, Buddha was said to be preaching at Venuvana in Vaishali. The disciples were identified from historical evidence as namely Ajita, Metta, Punnaka, Mettagu, Upasiva, Nanda, Dhotaka, Hemaka, Todayya, Kappa, Jatukarni, Udaya, Bhadravudha, Posala, Megharaja and Pingiya went to Magadha. They started from Badankurthi to Mulaka in Maharashtra and reached Vaishali in Bihar via Mahismathi, Ujjaini and Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh and Kosambi and Saketapura in UP. Bavari's pupils discussed and asked Buddha several questions, which were recorded in the Suttanipata. They were impressed by the preaching of the Buddha and got converted into Buddhism. Of the 16 pupils, only one, Pingiya, the chief disciple of Bavari came back and reported about the importance of the teachings of the Buddha. On Pingiya's return, Bavari too was convinced and converted to Buddhism and became ARHANT. Thereafter, his disciples started following Buddhist teachings and propagated the Buddha Dharma in the Telangana region. Thus Buddhism as a popular religion had a profound influence on the history and culture of the region for more than a millennium. According to archaeologists, Buddhism flourished between the fourth century and first century BCE in several places in what are now Karimnagar, Suryapet, Nalgonda and Khammam districts. At the ancient site located on the island on Godavari River in the vicinity of Bavapur village archeological remains of the earliest Buddhist Stupas were found. The strategic location of this stupa establishes its special importance. An archeologist noted that the Buddhist text Suttanipata furnishes the historical reference of the location of the place of

famous teacher Bavari, during whose time, Buddhism was propagated in the land of Telangana. The historical importance of the Buddhist monument at Bavapurkurru has come to light recently. It is found that there are three ancient brick structures located on the right side of the island, near the river bank. The first brick structure was huge and consists of three tiers. This structure is circular and has three tiers encircled by stones. On the basis of its architectural features, this structure has been identified by Buddhist Stupa. The brick sizes further confirm the antiquity of the Stupa as it seems to be belonging to the Early Satavahana period. In the vicinity of the main stupa, there are also remains of two brick-built stupas, which are uddeshika or votive stupas.⁶

In addition to the earliest stupa at Bavapurkurru in the erstwhile Adilabad district, there are several Buddhist sites which are now located Andhra Pradesh, like Jaggaiahpet in Krishna district, the ancient Amaravati in Guntur district and others near Visakhapatnam. After Buddha's Mahaparinirvanam, Asmaka ruler of the erstwhile Podali kingdom (now Bodhan in Nizamabad dt), was converted to Buddhism. Thereafter, Buddhism not only spread to Telugu regions but also to the rest of Southern India. Over hills and forests in the western part of India, Buddhism spread through the country along the Pranahita and reached the Godavari. Through boats in the monsoon and bullock carts in summer, it crossed the river banks and traversed across Dharmapuri, Kotilingala, Dhulikatta, Phanigiri, Gajulabanda, Tirumagiri, Nelakondapalli and Jaggaiahpet. It then crossed the Krishna River and reached Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.⁷

As soon as Buddhism set foot in Telangana, it became a part of societal life and attained great importance. Buddhism spread from Badanakurthi through Kotilingala, Dhulikatta, Kondapur, Phanigiri, Gajulabanda, Nelakondapalli, and Nagarjunakonda. It further spread rapidly in the kingdom of the Satavahanas. According to archaeological evidence, along with Kotilingala and Dhulikatta, various other places in Telangana emerged as important Buddhist centers. Kotilingala, however, remains the cornerstone of Buddhist history right to this age. Kotilingala was the earliest capital of the Satavahanas and the excavations unraveled

Srimukha Satavahana's coins at Kotilingala. During the excavations carried out between 1979 and 1984, the historic city of Kotilingala came to light and it was the first site of entire South India /Telangana to have archaeological evidence of the first fort, the first capital, first dockyard, first mint, first inscribed coins in Prakrit/Brahmi/Telugu, first religions of Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism, etc. It spread over 120 acres. The archaeological excavations conducted in and around it proved that the site has material evidence from 4th century BC onwards. The excavations also revealed remains of wells, sophisticated drainage systems, and brick constructions. Roman coins were also found at the site, which shows that Kotilingala was a center of trade and commerce. The Stupa that was unearthed during the excavations was made of bricks which were unique to the Satavahanas. The inscriptions on the Stupa were written in the ancient Brahmi script. It has been ascertained that these inscriptions dated back to even Asoka's rule. It can be inferred through this that Buddhism spread in these parts a long time before Asoka's reign. It is estimated that the Stupa belongs to a period post-Buddha and precedes Asoka. It can be deciphered from the script on relics that they are from the 4th century BCE. Along with Kotilingala, Pashagam, Dhoolikatta, and Meerjampeta are some of the early Stupas in Telangana. None of the Stupas contained any physical remains of Buddha, which goes to show that these were some of the earliest Stupas. Though not on the banks of the Godavari River, Dhoolikatta, which is in Karimnagar and only a short distance away, is home to a Stupa belonging to the age of Asoka (3rd century BCE). It is believed that this Stupa belongs to the Theravada school of Buddhism. This was the first era in Buddhist art and architecture; a five-headed cobra was carved on the walls of the Stupa along with the statues of the Bodhi tree. Mahapadhi Nishkramanam and Buddha's feet were found here. An archaeologist noted that "We have found evidence of pre-Satavahana coins at Kotilingala which date back to the 1st Century BCE. The kings of those times promoted Buddhism".⁸ According to another study, after Buddha's Mahaparinirvanam, the present-day Bodhan in Nizamabad district, which was the capital of the King Asmaka of the erstwhile Podali kingdom, also converted to

Buddhism. Assaka and Alaka or Mulaka were said to be the two Andhaka kings.

The Asmakas or Assakas formed one of the Kshatriya tribes of ancient India. They are not mentioned in the Vedic literature but the epics and Puranas mentioned them. In an enumeration of the countries in Bharatavarsa, the land of the Asmakas is mentioned along with those of the most prominent Kshatriya peoples of ancient India.⁹ In Pali Buddhist literature, the name is Assaka. The Anguttara Nikaya, like the Puranas, mentions that Assaka was one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas of Jambudipa (India), which had an abundance of food and gems, and was wealthy and prosperous. From the Mahagovinda Suttanta, it is learned that Potana was the (capital) city of the Assakas. In the Suttanipata one of the oldest works of the Pali Buddhist literature, the Assaka or Asmaka country is associated with Mulaka with its capital Patitthana (Paithan), and mentioned as situated on the bank of the river Godavari. The legendary story of the origin of Asmaka, founder of the tribe, barely mentioned in the Mahabharata, is narrated in full in the Brahannaradya Purana. The Matsya Purana provides a list of twenty-five Asmaka kings, contemporaries of the Sisunagas. The Vimanavatthu commentary contains the account of the king of the Assakas who was ordained by Mahakatyayana, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha. As per Vimanavatthu, a king named Assaka, whose capital was Potananagara reigned in the country of Assaka. The Mulakas were a small tribe, very closely related to the Asmakas of the South. In early Pali literature, Assaka is distinguished on the one hand from Mulaka in the north and on the other from Kalinga in the east.

"Buddhism flourished in many parts of the Telugu States for a long time. We are gathering evidence in many places including Badankurthi. Badankurthi is mentioned in some books. We are studying it and will develop the place," said Mallepally Laxmaiah, Special Officer of the Buddhavanam Project.¹⁰ Kotilingala, the capital of the Satavahanas, remains a cornerstone in Buddhist history even today. Archaeological excavations had unraveled Srimukha Satavahana's currency, remains of wells, drainage system, brick construction, Roman coins, indicating that it was a center for trade and commerce. Apart from Kotilingala, evidence of

Buddhist links have been found at Dharmapuri, Dulikatta, Peddabankuru, and Dhoolikatta in Karimnagar district; Phanigiri, Gajula Banda, Tirumalgiri Vardhamanakota, Chada, Tirumalgiri, Nagaram, and Singaram in Suryapet district and Nagarjunakonda (Sriparvatam) in Nalgonda district and Nelakondapalli in Khammam. Eight new sites that are suspected to have stupas, viharas, and aramas have been identified in Telangana state. The new sites are in Dharmapuri, Makkatropet, Nerella, Sarangapur, Buddeshpalli, Donuru, Pochampalli and Dharmaram. The other sites in the state with a significant Buddhist presence are Kotilingala, Pashigam, Sthambampalli, Dhoolikatta, Phanigiri, Gajula Banda, Tirumalgiri, Nelakondapalli, and Jaggaiahpetta.

Ethnic and Social Basis of Buddhism in Telangana

The earliest mention of the Andhras as a tribe is to be found along with the Savaras, Pulindas, Mutibas in the Aitareya Brahmana where all these tribes are referred to as Dasyus or non-Aryans. Vincent Smith is of opinion that the Andhras were a Dravidian-speaking people and were evidently the progenitors of the modern Telugu-speaking people occupying the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna. The Brahmanical literature castigates them as mlecchasambhavas, who were outside Aryavata and were ignorant of the fourfold division of society. The Andhras were described as mlecchas because of their separation from the main stock of the Aryan community and their fusion with the Non-Aryans of Dasas. Historically, the Aryans expanded southwards subduing the local population and the Aryan literature refers to the latter as Nagas, Yakshas, Nisadas, Rakshasas, and Vanaras. The Dravidians were fairly widespread and they resisted the Aryan advance under the leadership of the local tribes. In its historical setting, the Ramayana represents the expansion of Aryan culture over Dekkan and South India.¹¹

Buddhism spread in the ancient Asmaka/Telangana region at a time when the process of Aryanization of the south India/Deccan began. According to Nilakanta Sastri, the Aryanization of south India was a slow process spread over several centuries. Beginning around 1000BCE it had reached its completion in the 4th century BCE.¹² The sages of Aryavarta

like Agastya, Kanwa, Bharadwaja, Bavari crossed the Vindhya and entered into Deccan, of which The Telangana region was an integral part and Aryanized the local people. Of all the epic tribes that made up the Andhra/Telugu race, the Nagas and Yaksas were very prominent. According to Fergusson, the Nagas were serpent-worshippers. The Sankhapala Jataka describes the mouths of Kanabenna, identical with Krisnaveni as Nagalogka. Buddhist literature refers to the Krishna-Godavari river valley as Nagaloka and the Telangana region was also known as Manjiradesa. Manjira is a tributary of the Godavari. A Buddhist work of the 3rd-century A.D. mentions that Manjusri lived at Dhanyakara in Dakshinapatha, and converted a large number of Nagas into Buddhism. Nagas were the indigenous rulers of South India. The Yaksas were closely associated with the Nagas. In the epics, the Yaksas are noted for their musical talents. Singing is the profession of the Jakkulas/Baindla/Pambala. The musical instrument played by them is called Zamidika. At ancient Buddhist sites such as Kondapur, many terracotta figurines of Yaksas and their king Kubera are found. According to Whitehead in all primitive societies, animism was the religion of the early people in south India. About the Nagas and Garudas, Rhys Davids remarks, that these were originally a tribe of actual men with an eagle and serpent as their totem on their banner. The Asmakas were called in the Mahabharata as the Asvakas, probably with reference to their totem, which is worshipped. The Naga worship which is still prevalent among the Telugus. From the earliest times, Telangana's geographical position made it the bridgehead between the north and the south. Situated between Aryavarta and Dravida, Telangana had the advantage of contact with both. Having assimilated the influences from both the regions, it represented the synthesis of cultures. Two non-Vedic religions, viz., Buddhism and Jainism were popular in Telangana for nearly one thousand years.

The process of Aryanization in Telangana was a slow but sure process, characterized by conciliation, compromise, and synthesis which laid the foundations of cultural pluralism. Aryanisation was affected by mutual acculturation, with more fruitful results in the south than in the north. The Aryan and Dravidian elements found it beneficial to coalesce with

each other, each absorbing what is considered to be the best in the other. The fact that the Dravidians had reached a high degree of civilization by the time the Aryans advanced to the south must have been largely responsible for this unique development. By about the first century CE, Brahmanical theology was already in existence and Hinduism made steady progress by captivating the minds of the local people by its mythology. According to BSL Hanumantha Rao " the progress of Brahmanism had universal appeal in Andhradesa. Nevertheless, people began to doubt the efficacy of Vedic rituals and the validity of caste distinctions. The spiritual unrest had its echoes in Andhradesa and the local non-Aryans did not fully subscribe to Brahmanism with its costly rituals and caste discriminations. Especially the erstwhile prominent tribes, like the Nagas and Yaksas expressed their discontentment and seized every opportunity to inflict insult and humiliation on the Brahmanical religion. Moreover, the economic activity enriched the gahapati, artisans, karmakara and setti sections of people who were mostly drawn from the non-Aryan races resented Brahmanism. These rich classes resented Brahmanism with its humiliating restrictions and preferred Buddhism through which they aspired for higher social status and dignity. The criticism leveled against the monastic system by the South Indian Sutrakaras, Baudhayana and Apastamba confirm the existence of Buddhist orders in Andhradesa. There was growing discontent in Dakshinapatha towards Brahmanism and as in the North, in the South also, "The time had already come for the thinkers like Satyavaha Bharadvaja who represent the common case of all who called themselves Sramanas against worldly Brahmanas, to uphold transcendentalism against both asceticism as largely practiced by the Vedic ascetics and worldly life as regulated with puritanical strictures by the Brahmana priests and jurists and thus to prepare the way for the rationalism of the Buddha who enunciated the Middle Path (*majjimapatipada*) and sought for a via media of thought and conduct and intellectual training". The sutra literature also confirms the prevalence of materialistic philosophy enunciated by the Lokayats and Ajvikas. The story of Dighanakha thus informs us that the Parivrajaka/ Sramana

orders have already been established in the south.¹³

The innumerable sites that dot Telangana region like Kotilingala, Dhulikatta, Phanigiri, Kondapur, Nelakondapally are a clear proof of the fact that Buddhism had a popular appeal. The recent excavations revealed that the building activity-began though in a humble way by the local Buddhists during pre-Asokan or at least Asokan times. It reached its zenith during Satavahana and Ikshvaku times in Andhra. The fact that it continued to flourish for another four hundred years (i.e, up to 700 A.D.) meant that the wharf and woof of the culture of this region was largely Buddhist. The art and architecture began and developed in the region mainly under the Buddhist auspices. There was a phenomenal rise of Buddhist institutions situated on the banks of rivers or administrative head-quarters which were connected with highway trade routes starting from Kotilingala, Sthambhampalli, Pashigaon and Dhulikatta in Karimnagar district; Kondapur in Medak district; Tirumalagiri, Phanigiri, Gajulabanda, Vardhamanakota, Yeleswaram in Nalgonda district; Nelakondapally, Mudigonda, and Karukonda in Khammam district. They were centers of attraction in the heyday of Satavahana and Ikshvaku rule. Some of them continued to flourish up to Vishnukundin period.

The archaeological excavations throw a flood of light on the historical background of Buddhism and its socio-economic base in the Telangana region. There were certain new socio-economic forces that strongly helped the rise and expansion of Buddhism and its establishments.¹⁴ It is significant to note that the patronage of the art and architecture of the Buddhist establishments did not come from Kings of either the Satavahana or the Ikshvaku dynasties. The patronage was in fact a continuous process that had its roots in the common masses like craftsmen, artisans, wealthy merchants, officers, ministers, noblemen and ladies of all ranks who encouraged it for the fulfillment of their religious, spiritual, social and aesthetic predilections and aspirations. The stupas and other structures, sculptures and label inscriptions on slabs, potsherds inscriptions on boulders and copper plates indicate the flourishing state of Buddhism. The Buddhist centers inspired the people of the day to dedicate themselves to the

propagation of the creed. Each unit of Buddhist establishments like the stupas, chaityas, etc., might have come into existence with the munificence of devotees and they were patronized especially by the Gahapati, Setti, and guilds of Artisan and Craftsmen, who formed the bulk of the population. Monks and nuns and laypeople like upasakas and upasikas and ladies of royal harem also contributed to it. In the course of time, the establishments became well developed with kind and cash as self-sufficient centers. Buddhist centers in Telangana consisted mainly of stupas, viharas, and Caityagrihas. They are mostly of brick-built except the rock-cut center located at Karukonda village in Khammam district. The history of the earliest Buddhist architecture in Telangana goes back to the time of Mauryas.

For about one thousand years (400 BCE-600CE), Buddhism flourished in Telangana and shaped the socio-cultural ethos in the most formative period of its history.¹⁵ The lower sections of Telangana society articulated their spiritual unrest, against the cruel sacrifices and unfair social distinctions perpetuated by the Brahmanical religion, philosophy, and ideology. They found in Buddhism a simple religion of self-improvement, which sought to eradicate social distinctions and discrimination. Available sources indicate that Buddhism spread like wildfire among the non-Aryan tribes than among the Aryans. Of all the non-Aryan groups Nagas and Yaksas, in particular, opposed the expansion of Brahmanism. Throughout India, of all the non-Aryan tribes, the Nagas appeared to have evinced special interest in the Buddha and his teachings. The Brahmanical literature describes the Nagas as vile and venomous creatures, disturbing the peace and social harmony. They became the most devoted worshippers of the Buddha and as the ardent followers of his gospel of non-violence. The stories of Naga Erapatra who eagerly waited for the appearance of the Buddha on the earth and that of Muchilinda who protected Gautama, the prospective Buddha from the raving storm created by Sakra are well known. The Nagas had their share in the relics of the Buddha on which they built the famous Stupa of Ramagrama. The Jatakas contain many stories about the mildness, kindness, charity, and generosity of the Nagas. Similar is the case of Yaksas. These accounts, connected with the Nagas and Yaksas, formed

the most favorable themes of the Buddhist sculptures and they reveal another important aspect of the historical mission of Buddhism. The local tribal groups and their kings enthusiastically welcomed Buddhism and greatly promoted its cause in their own regions. Buddhism was not only a revolt against the decadent Vedic ritualism but also an attempt at the synthesis of all the best elements in Aryan and Non-Aryan religions and it attempted at a synthesis of different practices and at social unity and cohesion. These aspects of Buddhism had a great appeal to the common people among whom it became popular in a short time. The Naga cult penetrated deep in Buddhism. Serpents coiling around the stupas, Nagarajahs, and their wives worshipping the stupas and listening to the Buddha's sermons, the Buddha seated on Nagas with their hoods above his head occur frequently at Dhulikatta, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.

Buddhism was a great social revolution that destroyed the foundations of the old tribal relations and introduced a new social order in Deccan. The caste system was devoid of the severity of its counterpart in the north.¹⁶ Buddhism, especially its Mahayana form, gave a tremendous fillip to man's creative activity. This revolution was a bloodless one. Human being's intolerance of oppression, his capacity for self-assertion and his spirit of revolt are the precondition that was fostered by the new class structure (caste-system), the new religion (Buddhism) and the new economic base (plow-agriculture, trade, and commerce). An interesting feature of Buddhism in Andhra is that to a large extent it progressed independently of royal patronage. Very rarely we come across donations by kings to the Buddhist Church and almost all the Buddhist monuments were the results of pious private munificence and at times of donations made by the ladies of the harem and they have encouraged Buddhism. In particular, some of the Satavahana queens and most of the Ikshvaku ladies were very liberal towards Buddhism. They included Gautami Balasri, Shantisri, Parama Mahadevi among others. The services of the artisan and the merchant communities to Buddhism were more important than those of the royal ladies. Longhurst remarks: "The Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes, and it was also their royal masters to raise monuments of

such magnificence as those at Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati". There is ample epigraphical evidence in support of the above view.

In the Telangana area, at Kondapur extensive ruins of Buddhist institutions were brought to light. Kondapur was a great center of flourishing mercantile and artisan communities. Excavations conducted at Kondapur found extensive remains of brick-built stupas, chaityas, viharas, and a few secular buildings including a mint workshop and residential structures datable to the Satavahana period, first century BCE to second century CE. Six underground chambers containing coins, coin molds, seals and sealings, huge quantities of terracotta figurines, beads, bangles, ornaments made of gold and other metals were also unearthed. A gold coin of Roman pontiff Augustus (37 BCE-14 CE), about a dozen silver coins, 50 copper and a good number of lead coins were recovered. A noted scholar remarked, "Of all such donations, the most remarkable is the one made by cobbler Vidhika to the Amaravati Stupa. Vidhika was the son of Naga, who was a teacher (upajjaya). He was accompanied to the place by his mother, wife, brothers, sons, daughters, cousins, relations and friends. It clearly demonstrates the popular nature of Andhra Buddhism and the cosmopolitan spirit of the Buddhist institutions. Even the poorest and the lowest contributed their little mite to promote the cause of Buddha Dharma".¹⁷ Especially, the artisan and merchant communities were the backbone of the state economy during the rule of Satavahanas and Ikshvakus, hence the rulers also patronized Buddhism. Telangana, too, embraced Buddhism with great zeal. Buddhist relics like pottery, bricks, and limestone used for construction work were discovered at places like Nagaram, Yeleswaram, Panigiri, Gazulabanda, Tirumalagiri, Sanigaram and Vardhamanukota. Besides these, a big kiln of large-sized bricks was found at Nagaram. Sculptures and terracotta figurines were found at Panigiri and Gazulabanda. All these relics roughly belong to the first century BCE. The Korukonda hill near Aswaraopet in Khammam district yielded rock carvings belonging to the second/third century CE and they represented the Mahayana school of Buddhism.

Buddhism gained a large following in Telangana and the Satavahanas extended their

patronage to the Buddhist monasteries, monks and nuns whose influence changed the outlook of the social setup. Almost all the early caves so far found in the Deccan and dedicated to Buddhism were excavated during the Satavahana period. The Satavahanas and Ikshvakus did yeomen service to Buddhism and it became a popular religion in ancient Telangana. During this period the region became a pivotal center of Buddhism, as it littered with Buddhist monuments and there were a number of important Buddhist centers spread all over the region. Some of the monuments and institutions became very prominent and attracted Buddhists from distant places as revealed by the numerous votive inscriptions. Amaravati, in particular, appears to have attained the status of something like a renowned *tirtha* to which pilgrims flocked in large numbers, they came from close by as well as far off localities. Similarly, Panigiri, Kondpur, Nelakondapally in Telangana were also famous Buddhist centers, which attracted pilgrims and people from different parts of the country. In this respect, it may be compared to Sanchi and Bharhut in Central India and Bodhi-Gaya in Bihar which too attracted pilgrims from all over the country. It is interesting to note that the Nagarjunakonda became the center of Buddhist learning and Buddhist monks from different parts of India used to make a pilgrimage to it. It is interesting to note that the Nagarjunakonda became the great center of Buddhist learning and Buddhist monks from different parts of India and outside used to make a pilgrimage to it.¹⁸

Buddhism spread rapidly in the Telangana region because it preached non-violence, peaceful co-existence, denounced priestly domination, condemned caste-distinctions and social inequalities. Around the mid-6th century BCE, the Telangana society was still far from the caste-ridden and the village economy was dependent on cultivators/gahapatis, merchants/settis, and artisans/craftsmen.¹⁹ The unprecedented growth of trade and commerce in the 1-3 centuries CE, led to the expansion of Buddhism in Telangana. Almost all the Buddhist monuments here were the result of private donations of people, mainly of cultivators, traders, and craftsmen. This enthusiasm of the people was reflected in the liberal religious policy pursued by the Satavahanas, whose empire lasted for nearly four and a half centuries. The

craftsmen and artisans were organized into guilds. During the second century, CE money was deposited (in silver panas) by the lay worshippers of the Buddha with the potters', oil-millers' and the weavers' guilds for providing robes and other necessities for the monks. The craftsmen of the Satavahana period, organized in guilds, functioned independently. They could purchase raw materials and implements them with the money deposited with them and could pay the rate of interest out of the proceeds of the sale. Secondly, these guilds were stable enough to induce members of the royal family to prefer the guild to the treasury. The numerous Buddhist caves on the west coast were situated at places that were near trade-routes, and the larger ones were invariably near the junctions of such routes. Archaeological excavations in the Telangana region found many Roman coins at Kotilingala, Phanigiri, Yeleswaram, Nelakondapalli, etc. It also indicates trade relations between the Roman Empire and the Krishna valley in the second century CE. According to Kambhampati Satyanarayana, Buddhism with its philosophy of nonkilling/ahimsa gave an impetus to the development of agriculture, trade, and industry. The earliest monks traveled along primitive tracks. They were excellent food-gatherers, as attested by many Jataka stories, while caravans provided company. The cave monasteries of Buddhist monks which were already of considerable size before 150 BCE, continued to acquire wealth till about the early seventh century CE. The epigraphical evidence also confirms that caravan traders were generous donors. Many householders, along with their wives, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, friends, and relatives donated for a pillar, for a cross-bar, for a slab, etc. Often a great banker or merchant, the wife of the caravan leader, the town folk, and cultivators made the donations. Perfumers and leather-workers did not lag behind the richest vanijas and officers of the king such as generals and superintendents. Buddhism, as the most powerful force in developing agriculture, handicrafts, trade, and commerce enjoyed great popularity, has been attested by innumerable gifts of all sections of Telangana society. The early Buddhist period was a period of expanding material culture, with far wider trade relations than in the previous period and much greater amenities of life for the wealthy.²⁰

There was a phenomenal rise in Buddhist institutions and monuments situated on the banks of rivers or administrative head-quarters which were connected with highway trade routes starting from Kotilingala, Sthambhampalli, Pashigaon, and Dhulikatta in Karimnagar district; Kondapur in Medak district; Tirumalagiri, Phanigiri, Gajulabanda, Vardhamanakota, Yeleswaram in Nalgonda district; Nelakondapally, Mudigonda and Karukonda in Khammam district. They were centers of attraction in the heyday of Satavahana and Ikshvaku rule. Some of them continued to flourish up to Vishnukundin period. It is significant that the patronage of the art and the architecture of the Buddhist establishments did not come from Kings of either the Satavahana or the Ikshvaku dynasties. The patronage was in fact a continuous process which had its roots in the common masses like craftsmen, artisans, wealthy merchants, officers, ministers, noblemen, and ladies of all ranks who encouraged it for the fulfillment of their religious, spiritual, social and aesthetic predilections and aspirations.

Impact of Buddhism on Telangana Society and Culture

The popularity of Buddhism for about a century in the Telangana region had a profound impact, as it shaped its personality and contributed to the emergence of composite culture. In the ancient period, Buddhism successfully contained the widespread growth and popularization of Vedic/brahmanical ideology and religion. Unlike in the Indo-Gangetic valley, the caste system of Telangana did not strictly correspond to the Vedic *Varnavyavasta*. For example, there was no pure Kshatriya Varna in Telangana. All the rulers of the kingdoms from Satavahanas to Padmanayakas were not Kshatriyas by birth. Moreover, the social formation was not as rigid as in the Indo-Gangetic Valley/Aryavarta, and the caste system in Telangana was more fluid and flexible. As Buddhism vehemently condemned caste hierarchy, social discrimination and women enslavement, ancient Telangana society evolved on the basis of the non-Aryan communitarian ethic. Elements of pre-Vedic social cohesion as prevalent in the tribal society were continued. The Vedic prescription of equating birth with occupation was negated and the influence of the organizing principles of

Buddhist Sangha could be found in society. Especially during the Satavahana and Ikshvaku period, the guild system, women's freedom, social cohesion could be noticed. For instance, the arts and crafts were not organized only on caste basis, but based on skill/ profession/ occupation; likewise, women of all social strata liberally donated to the Buddhist monuments, which indicate their empowerment and gender equality. Similarly, instances of a cobbler could visit, pray and donate to Buddhist Stupa indicates that the lower castes had social respect. Another interesting factor that acted as a check against the kings of this period to follow *varna-dharma* was the advent of the Buddhist monks, the followers of Buddhism. Buddhist monks and nuns began to receive the attention of the pious people, poorer laymen, cultivators, merchants and traders, and craftsmen. Thus flexibility crept into the social structure. It also reveals that Buddhism became the peoples' religion, where the rich and the poor enjoyed equality. Moreover, Buddhism did not give much consideration to caste. The Buddha maintained that just as after merging in the ocean the rivers lose their identity, in the same way, a man be he a Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra who seeks refuge with his order forsakes his former name, *gotra* or *jati*.²¹

The social and moral philosophy enunciated by the Buddhist monks/sramanas debunked the Brahmanical ideology and caste system. In essence Buddhist sangha represented the concept of social equality based on certain principles. The Buddhist monks/ sramanas/ parivrajakas challenged the authority of Vedas; they admitted into their *gana* or *sangha* everybody irrespective of his caste and asrama; they observed a set of ethical norms; they practiced a detached life with a view to liberating themselves from the bondage of the world. And finally, they could take to a life renunciation (*pravrajya*) any time after passing over the minor age. The *Sramanas* too observed the practice of begging the food (*bhikshacharya*). A perceptible scholar remarked thus: "The contribution of Buddhist *sanghas* and their role in transforming the Andhra society, culture and economy indispensable, as they were the institutions responsible and instrumental for the spread of Buddhist philosophy throughout the length and breadth of Andhra Desa". The fact that during the rule of Satavahanas and Ikshvakus professions

and occupations were not strictly organized on the basis of caste indicated social flexibility. Epigraphic evidence indicates that crafts and guilds were organized as corporate bodies rather than caste organizations. Crafts such as *Halika* (plowmen/ agriculturist), *Golika* (herdsmen), *Gadhika* (perfumers), *Vadhika* (carpenter), *Kolika* (weavers), *Tilapisaka* (oilpress), *Kamaka* (blacksmith), *Kularika* (potter), *Udayantrika* (skilled person in irrigation), *Dhannuka* (grain merchant), *Vasaka* (bamboo worker), etc.²²

As a consequence of the spread of the social philosophy of Buddhism caste rules were noted more for their violation than the observance. The Dasa Brahmana Jataka mentions ten categories of Brahmins engaged in unworthy occupations. Astrology was a "swindling trade", practiced by the Brahmins. They took to professions set apart for others, like trade, agriculture, carpentry, hunting, etc. The chandalas or untouchables were members of hill-tribes reduced to servitude. Yet there were instances of Vidhika becoming a teacher. In the Jatakas, we find parents often discussing the choice of a profession for their sons, which is an indication of the relaxation of caste rules. The Sudras became a collective name for all the low and toiling castes. Distinctions between the rich and the poor, rather than the high and the low castes became a decisive factor in judging one's status in society. Similarly, women, in general, occupied an honorable position in society. A great number of ladies offered a costly donation to the Buddhist monasteries. Women were also allowed to possess property independently. On the basis of literary evidence, it was found that youthful maidens wrote love-letters, enjoyed the company of boyfriends and danced with male partners. Tribal characteristics of freedom and equality persisted to a considerable extent. Promiscuity, faithlessness, and violation of the marriage bond were not infrequent. *Gadha Saptasati* provides a glimpse of various festivals, reminding one of those which prevailed in the megalithic age. The Holi festival, which is popular in Telangana even today, was a gala occasion of merry-making. Men and women, intoxicated to the full, swaying their bodies and running about, sprayed colored water. Although the fourfold social system prevailed in Ancient Telangana, caste rigidity was not widespread. It is known from *Kataasaritasagara* that inter-caste marriages have taken place.²³

The religious sects of early Buddhist age can be broadly referred to as Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical.²⁴ The Buddhist and Jain literature refer to all the non-Brahmanical systems as *Sramana*. And in the frequent expression '*samana va brahama va*'. *Samanas* are distinguished as those who are not Brahmanas by birth but have renounced the worldly life while Brahmanas are those who are born in Brahmana families and who are more interested in religion and philosophy than in secular affairs. The terms Brahmana and *Sramana* are found in combination in the works of Panini, Patanjali, and Megasthenese also and in the inscriptions of Asoka. Patanjali mentioned that the *Sramanas* and Brahmanas belonged to rival groups and they are like snake and Mongoose. In the Buddhist texts *paribbajaka* and *tapassino* are generally referred to as *Samanas*. In the *Papanachasudani* an Ajivika saint is described as a *Samana*. The Jainas and the Buddhists usually employ the term *Samana* for all the non-Brahmana ascetics. The attitude of the Brahmanas and the *Sramanas* towards ascetic life were basically different. Their differences emanated from their general outlook towards spiritual, religious, social and moral problems. Contrary to the Brahmanical spirituality and religious practices, Buddhism popularized the folk-centered religious system. Buddhism incorporated pre and non-Aryan spirituality into its religious practices and forms of worship. The presence of the Naga cult is a clear proof of it. In religious terms, what is really interesting about Buddhist centers like Nagarjunakonda and others is that the votaries of different Buddhist schools and the adherents of Puranic Hinduism lived at the same place and appeared to have led a cordial and harmonious life. Just as there were large Buddhist monuments temples dedicated to Hindu divinities were also built in a large number and *Vedic* sacrifices including *agnihotra*, *agnishotma*, *vajapeya* and *asvamedha* are known to have been performed with great enthusiasm.

Nowhere else one can find such a unique incidence of religious harmony, tolerance, and co-existence. A number of other Buddhist centers also flourished in the different parts of the Telangana region during this period, which exhibited socio-cultural and religious harmony. Since the early Satavahana period rulers and their alien adversaries vied with one another in

patronizing Buddhism as well as Brahmanism. New gods and goodness, developed, better suited to the rustic mentality of the people, like Siva, Parvati, Ganesa, Krishna, etc. New Brahmin scriptures were written for making tribal gods worthy of worship. Not only Krishna, but even the Buddha was also made an avatar. Worship of the sun, the Buddha's feet, and innumerable village deities developed side by side. So, the question of some king being a Buddhist or Hindu becomes insignificant. Kings or queens, merchants or artisans, officials or commoners could support the later Brahmin ritual; worship the tribal gods and goddesses, while simultaneously patronizing Buddhist monks and their institutions. Thus, the two radically different systems could coexist side by side without rivalry or conflict.

However, with the demise of the Ikshavaku dynasty popularity of Buddhism began to decline. Further, the rising of the powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the Pallava and the Chalukyas caused the collapse of Buddhism. But in spite of it, Buddhism and monasteries continued to maintain their progress in Telangana during the reign of some of the dynasties like Vishnukundis and other local kingdoms.²⁵ But by the 8th century CE the triumph of the Vedic creeds and Brahmanical ideology and philosophy over the native forms of social organization, spirituality, religious worship, and ritual had taken place. Consequently, the four-fold division of the society based on *varna* continued to flourish during the post-Satavahana period in spite of the presence of Buddhist monasteries. It appears that the Brahmanas occupied a place of prominence in the society and sought to protect, preserve and promote Brahmanical religion and *varna dharma*. Consequently, Buddhism eclipsed from the land of Telangana. Nevertheless, the legacy of Buddhist ideology and social philosophy continued in the region and its people throughout the medieval and modern periods. During the medieval period several ruling dynasties like the Kakatiyas, Padmanayakas, Qutubshahis, etc. followed the policy of religious tolerance and mutual co-existence of different religions. Although there were instances of religious conflicts, for example between Saivaites and Jains/Buddhists, etc. it did not lead to large scale religious wars/crusades and religious disharmony. Moreover, the growth Vaisnavism,

Saivism, Bhakti and Sufi movement undermined monolithic Hinduism and condemned social evils like caste and gender discrimination, and propounded social equality and justice. As time elapsed, the bhakti cult took a militant aspect. It assumed the forms of Vira Saivism and Vira Vaishnavism. Basaveswara was the first in south India, including Telangana to lead a mass revolt against the caste system. Just as in the case of Buddhism in the ancient period, the low and the down-trodden flocked to his banner and embraced the new creed in large numbers. The main principles of Buddhism like denouncing the medieval bhakti tradition and philosophy were championed by Basava, Potuluri Veerabrahmam, Yogi Vemana and Buddha they also opposed Brahman priestly dominance and caste discrimination and propounded social and gender equality.

The bhakti cult involves the personalization of God, the idea of avatar or incarnation and the rituals are simpler than Vedic ones. The fact is that a major trend of Buddhism, the Mahayana got absorbed in India in the Nirguna Sampradaya of the medieval saints' tradition. This tradition was mainly taken up by the Dalit-Bahujan castes in India. The bhakti movement also expressed the feeling and aspirations of the common people rather than of the priestly class. It brought forth lovely hymns sung in the language of the people. A plethora of temples, music, and dance, festivals and pilgrimages constituted the core of this movement. To a very large extent, the socio-religious reform movements in medieval Telangana asserted the core principles and philosophy of Buddhism to a very large extent. The fusion of Bhakti and Sufi religious and cultural practices represented by Darga, Urs, Jataras, and the celebration of Moharram festival cutting across caste, gender, and creed immensely contributed towards cultural synthesis, the hallmark of Buddhist philosophy.

Muharram, *Peerla Panduga* in local parlance is a festival celebrated by Hindus and Muslims in the Telangana State.²⁶ It is celebrated across the Sufi shrines called Ashurkhana and a procession of the relic, called *Alam* is taken out as a part of the festival. The Muharram ceremonies termed as Azadari by Shia Muslims was universalized during the Qutub Shahi period, especially in the Telangana region. The

non-muslims (Hindus) adopted it soon, as it was considered to be the choice of righteousness, piety, and piousness. The ceremonies performed by the Shia Muslims were adopted and practiced in rural areas, in which men and women participate without any distinction. Moharram festival fosters integrity, fraternity, and brotherhood. It is a living example of socio-cultural harmony. Along with mainstream society, *Peerla Panduga* has also been an inseparable custom for centuries among the Adivasi communities in the tribal hinterland of Adilabad. It appears that the festivity is believed to have embraced by the local tribes and non-tribes during the regime of Nizam. An insightful journalist remarked that "the beauty of this Mohammedan observance is that it gradually evolved into an Adivasi festival, besides attracting scores of devotees cutting across religions from neighboring districts and as well as Maharashtra. The three-day festival draws no less 1.50 lakh devotees, including Hindus and Muslims

The centrality of village Gods, popular deities and non-Brahmanic spirituality, priesthood and religious practices in rural Telangana contained noticeable Buddhistic/Sramanic elements. Invariably, in all the Jataras and celebration of folk festivals, the absence of a Brahman priest is conspicuous. Every village in Telangana has its own guardian goddess and especially in times of distress/calamity, the villagers visit her humble shrine rather than to those of the Brahmanical gods. The priests in these temples are mostly non-Brahmins, indicating the non-Aryan origin of the deities and their worship. The normal routine worship is done by the Sudras either the *Kummari* (potter) or the *Chakali* (washerman), but the buffalo-sacrifice is the monopoly of the Mala/Pambala/Baindla. Buddhism was not only a revolt against the decadent Vedic ritualism but also an attempt at the synthesis of all the best elements in Aryan and Non-Aryan religions. Basham opined that non-Vedic heretical religions- Buddhism, Jainism, and Ajivikism- sprang against "the primitive animist background". Therefore, following Buddhist philosophy, the folk culture in Telangana undermined Brahmanical religious practices.

Articulation of the Buddhist principles of solidarity, fraternity and brotherhood could be

found in the celebration Jataras.²⁷ Urs and Muharram festival in Telangana. First and foremost, they are celebrated by the collective participation of people cutting across caste, gender, ethnic and religious identity. Secondly, the priests in the Jataras are non-Brahmins and in Urs no mediation of a priest. Thirdly, visiting Jataras and Urs congregation is an act of pilgrimage, where people seek to obtain solace and happiness through devotion, playing music and collective singing. Jataras and Urs are spiritual retreats and have been part of the socio-cultural milieu of people in rural areas of Telangana. Basically the Jataras are started by rural folks and they are said to be offering a way out from monotonous life in agricultural fields and turn them devotional. In Telangana many Jataras take place beginning from January and continue till Maha Shivaratri in May. Very popular among them are Veerabhadra Swamy Jataka at Kuravi, Komuravelli Jataka, Inavalo Mallanna Jataka, Peddagattu Jataka, Kondagattu Jataka, Cheruvugattu Jataka, Nagoba Jataka, Sammakka Sarakka Jataka, and Edupayala Jataka. The majority of Jataras are celebrated at the Saivaitic religious centers, signifying non-Aryan traditions. In contradistinction to the Brahman priest centered savarna temples, the Jataka based temples are sites of collective pilgrimage devoid of caste and gender discrimination. The Jataka celebration has its roots in pre-Vedic cultural milieu, as the cult of Saivism, existed in the south before Aryanization of the south. It is to be noted that at many places it is the incarnation of Lord Shiva worshiped in different incarnations. Lord Shiva is worshipped as Mallikarjuna Swamy at Inavolu and at Komuravelli Jataka while he is worshipped as Sri Veera Bhadra Swamy at Kuravi Jataka. Lakhs of pilgrims from across Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Karnataka come to the district to attend these jataras. Inavolu Jataka is mainly patronized by Yadava, Golla, Kuruma, and Balija communities while Peddagattu and Komuravelli Jataras are attended by the Yadava community. 'Siva Sattulu' and 'Pothurajus' dancing under trance while chanting invocations to God, women carrying 'Bonams' (sacred rice cooked in a new earthen pot) are the special features of these events.

Folk religion in Telangana is centered on Ellamma goddess, as she was considered the Mother Goddess and the protector of the

universe.²⁸ Folk religion in Telangana is centered on Ellamma goddess, as she was considered the protector of the universe and Adimata, the mother who was from the beginning. Ellamma means mother to all and is being devoutly worshipped by the people of Telangana, cutting across caste and creed. Ellamma is worshiped as the Goddess (Devi) of the fallen, and her devotees revere her as the "Mother of the Universe" or Jagadamba. Legends have it that Ellamma is the incarnation of Kali, who on one hand symbolizes the death of the ego, and on the other hand, is the mother who is compassionate about her children. There is also an alternative name called Jagadamba who is considered the same as Goddess Renuka. Ellamma is a patron goddess of Telangana and the deity is known by many names: Mahankali, Jogamma, Somamma, Gundamma, Pochamma, Mysamma, Jagadambika, Holiyamma, Renukamata, Yellamma, Mariamma and Renuka Devi. One of the old and among the most revered temples of Hyderabad is the Yellamma Temple located at Balkampet, popularly called the Balkampet Yellamma temple. It may be noted that Renuka/Ellamma has been more popular among the lower castes rather than among the Brahmanical groups. This may be due to the reason that the development of this cult largely occurred among the downtrodden communities, who have several other deities with similar mythical structures. One of the interesting features in Telangana is that the ritual performed by Matangi of the Madiga community is associated with Renuka shrines. In Telangana popular culture the *Gramadevata* is considered as one who protects the village and a number of goddesses are worshipped. They all have several similar characteristics such as they mostly will be female who guards the village, represented by any uncarved stone, tree or a small statue in a small shrine, having a direct association with the villagers. The Ellamma cult, based on the concept of Mother Goddess has been a legacy of pre-Vedic/non-Aryan/Dravidian the tradition preserved among the non-Brahmin castes/communities of Telangana.

The Revival of Buddhism in Telangana

The Brahmana and Sramana religious and spiritual traditions, representing the Savarnas and Avarnas (upper and lower castes) continued in the Telangana popular culture since time

immemorial. In modern times, the Buddhist thought and philosophy have been propagated by social reformers and anti-caste ideologues like Mahatma Jotiba Phule, Ayotidas, Periyar Ramaswami Naicker, and Babasaheb Ambedkar.²⁹ The emancipatory aspect of Buddhist ideology became the guiding principle of the theory of annihilation of caste. In fact, the multicultural/multi-religious composite cultural identity, cultural synthesis (*Ganga-Jamuna Tehjib*) and communal harmony of present-day Telangana was based on the non-Brahmanic (Sramanic) ideology and thought propounded by Buddhism. For instance, Bhagya Reddy Varma, the father of the Dalit movement in Telangana was inspired by Buddhist philosophy. The celebration of Buddha Jayanti had become an integral part of the Adi-Hindu movement and it signifies the revival of Buddhism. Historically, The Buddhist revival in India practically took shape under Anagarika Dhammapala, who established the Mahabodhi society in India in 1891. In the late 19th century CE, Ayotidas, an ardent critique of Brahmanism and the anti-caste crusader in Tamilnadu, having inspired by Dhammapala, established the Sakya Buddhist Society (South Indian Buddhist Association) in 1898 to propagate Buddhism among the people. He presented Buddhism as a religious alternative for the Dalits and he exhorted them to embrace Buddhism for annihilating the system of caste. Ayoti Thass' efforts created a broad movement amongst Tamil Dalits in South India till the 1950s. The Indian Buddhist Association, unlike the Dalit movement led by Ambedkar, adopted the Theravada Buddhism tradition found in Sri Lanka, where Thass had received his training and initiation in Buddhism. But, a definite turn to the Buddhist revival movement was given by Babasaheb Ambedkar, who embraced Buddhism, at an impressive and historic ceremony at Nagpur in 1956.³⁰ Under his influence, lakhs of Dalitbahujan communities across the country embraced Buddhism and it became an ideology of emancipation. Among different groups of Buddhists, the followers of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, known as the neo-Buddhists form the most dominant group, especially in Telangana. Consequently, Buddhism in India has regained much of its lost prestige. Besides the manifold increase in population, presently the Buddha and the Buddhist heritage now

command respect and reverence, which was long their due.

Since the 1980's, the Ambedkarite thought and Dalit Panthers' movement had tremendous influence on the anti-caste and radical left movements in Telangana. In addition, the Dalit Mahasabha movement after the Karamchedu and Chundur massacres inspired the youth drawn from the downtrodden communities to launch militant anti-caste and anti-class movements on the basis of Ambedkarist and Marxist ideology and under the umbrella of Lal-Neel Flag. In the 1990s Several Buddhist monasteries and centers were established in Telangana and a noticeable number of educated youth, rationalists, political and social activists, Ambedkarists and leftists from among the Dalit Bahujan communities were attracted towards Buddhism. The Census data of the 2001-2011 decade indicates several thousands of people were recorded as Buddhists in Telangana. A report by a Journalist mentioned:³¹

In Telangana, scores have started following the eight-fold path. Driven by conviction, scores in Telangana have started walking along the eight-fold path of Ashtanga Marg to pursue the Buddhist way of life. The path which stresses on the pursuit of the right view, intention, speech, conduct, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, and concentration, has found a record number of 750 followers distributed across the 20 Buddha Viharas in Hyderabad, only the previous year. And 300 of those who adopted the religion did so at a Buddha Sammelan, a massive gathering organized by the Buddhist Society of India held at Nagarjunasagar of Nalgonda district in 2014.

Increasing enrolment in Ambedkarite organizations that follow Buddhism as a world view has directly contributed to improvement in the number of Buddhists. A sizeable population of those adopting Buddhism in Telangana is Ambedkarites who follow the ideology, life, and teaching of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. "Following Dr. Ambedkar's teaching, I set aside 25 percent of my monthly salary to aid the propagation of Buddhism and also education among Dalits in the community," said M.B. Sudhakar, a Buddhist and deputy engineer at South Central Railway who started following Buddhism as early as in 1997. A look at growth in devotee figures in just one vihara tells it all. While in 2005 the number of devotees in Siddhartha Buddha vihara which

has seven resident monks was 530, currently the number is over 1,100. "Other than Ambedkarities there are people who become devotees to learn Buddha's teachings and his way of life. A lot of them are young professionals who work in Hyderabad," said a 'banteji' or monk, Khema Chara who resides at Siddhartha Buddha Vihar in Bowenpally. Apart from the Telugu-speaking population, those following the religion in Telangana include settlers from Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu", said Hyderabad monks.

The growing popularity of Buddhism has been reported by the print media and captions like "Conversions to Buddhism rising fast in Telugu speaking States", In Telangana, scores have started following the eight-fold path", "Telugu-Speaking Monks in demand", Buddhism slowly catching up in Hyderabad, Telangana Will Soon Be Home To One Of The Greatest Buddhist Theme Park, Converting to Buddhism as a Form of Political protest, etc., capture the new trend of religious change in contemporary Telangana. The most popular Buddhist center in Telangana is the Mahabodhi Buddha Vihara at Mahendra Hills in Hyderabad. Its main aim is to serve the cause of the Buddha Sasana. This Vihara is being developed into a full-fledged Buddha Vihara with the monastery and other Dhamma activities. Its broacher mentions that: "Welcome to Mahabodhi Buddha Vihara at Mahindra Hills. We present to you the Buddha's teachings for your contemporary life to enjoy peace, happiness, prosperity, and wisdom and to overcome stress, tension, worry, fear, frustrations and various kinds of dukkha". Available information indicates that the number of registered devotees is far less when compared to those following the tenets of Buddhism even as they do not officially convert to the religion, monks said. In Hyderabad alone, their combined count could be close to 10,000. "Many of those who follow the tenets for a few years later go for an official change in religion," Kema Chara banteji said. The biggest Buddhist Vihara in Hyderabad which belongs to Mahabodhi Society, Mahindra Hills, has around 45 monks. Most monks residing in Hyderabad are from Tripura, Bengaluru, and Maharashtra even as Buddhists in the city are in search of Telugu-speaking monks.

The aims and objectives of the Buddhist Centre in Hyderabad-Siddhartha Buddha Vihara Trust are:³²

1. To encourage the teaching, practice, and realization of Buddhist Principles with special emphasis on morality, Meditation wisdom, and compassion.
2. To establish suitable facilities for and support the invited Sangha so they may act as spiritual guides.
3. To provide a non-sectarian environment for all walks of people to learn and practice the Dhamma.
4. To Provide Libraries and facilities for writing, printing, and Publishing, distributing books.
5. To train Buddhist youth to do intensive propagation of Buddha Dhamma and to establish ourselves as a Learning Centre for teenagers, youngsters, adults in the near future all over India.
6. To encourage and promote the development of social welfare for all needy persons especially poor people.

In Telangana, a vast majority of the Buddhist population is in Adilabad due to its common border with Maharashtra and nearly 25,000 Buddhists reside there.³³ The number of Buddhist followers is also increasing in Hyderabad and Karimnagar districts. According to Kattaiah, a former railway employee, people are inclined towards Buddhism because it does not believe in cast distinctions. He remarks that "Buddhism is opposed to the caste system and regards people of all castes equally. Vexed with caste discrimination in the society Dalit, most of them Ambedkar followers are taking to Buddhism. Rationalists from backward and upper castes are also following Buddhism". The number of people getting inspired by Buddhism and its principles has been on the rise in the Telugu speaking states, especially in Telangana, in the last five-six years. Scores of people attending Buddha Jayanti meetings held every year on May 21 at Lumbini Park is a pointer to this. Senior Journalist Mallepalli Laxmaiah said that there quite a few popular Buddhist sites in Telangana like Nagarjunakonda, Phanigiri, Dhulikatta, Nelakondapalli sites by Hindus and

Buddhists. According to him conversion from Hinduism to Buddhism is easy, as Buddhism does not interfere with existing beliefs. One can be part-Hindu and part-Buddhist". Oral testimonies of some of the Buddhist converts confirm the growing popularity of the new religion in recent years. "I have been following Buddhism for the past year and I found it to be very simple and practical. Today, many young people like me are in search of peace and happiness and Buddhist philosophy to me is the answer to it," said B Rajkumar, a software employee of a multi-national firm in Madhapur, who reflects what hundreds of others are saying in Hyderabad. An insightful journalist summed up the recent history of Buddhism in Telangana/ Hyderabad as follows: "From a few hundred faithful followers in 2002 to at least 30,000 followers now, Buddhism is fast making a comeback in the city and elsewhere in the state which is dotted with more than 150 Buddhist religious sites, including the popular Buddha statue in the middle of Hussainsagar, all reminding of a glorious past. The religion was once very popular in the coastal regions of the state during 5th century BC with all three doctrines of Buddhism - Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana – practiced. While Hinduism and Islam flourished in the later centuries, Buddhism has forgotten which historians attribute to the destruction of important shrines and monasteries by Hindu and Muslim rulers during later years. Monks double up as counselors. The monasteries may have never been rebuilt, but Buddhism is slowly becoming popular in the hearts of Hyderabadis, many monks and locals vouch". Some of the prominent scholars influenced by the Buddha's life and teachings in Telangana included: R. Subba Rao (Retd. IAS), C. Anjaneya Reddy, (former Director General of Police, Veerananarayana Reddy, (Retd. IPS), Prof. Kancha Ilaiah, (Osmania University), Bojja Tarakam, (Senior Advocate), Prof. Ghanta Chakrapani, (Chairman, TPSC), Mallepalli Laxmaiah, (Journalist), P. Sivanagi Reddy, Borra Goverdhan, A. Venkateshwar Reddy, (Buddha Goshudu), D. Chandrashekar (Writer), K.K. Raja, (Philanthropist), Sheela Prabhakar, etc. Apart from the Telugu-speaking population, those following the Buddhist religion in Telangana include settlers from the states of Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu.

Interestingly, the number of recent followers consists of young people in their twenties and thirties.³⁴ "Buddhism follows a middle path and not extremes which has even helped in my professional life. I exactly know how to deal with my noisy colleagues or unreasonable bosses in an effective way while retaining my calmness," said Raja Choudhury, who runs a job consultancy firm and recently had separated from his wife and kid. "Vipassana (a form of meditation) helped me sort out my inner demons and now I am back with my wife and child. I am a very happy man," he said. The reasons for moving towards Buddhist philosophy may vary from peer pressure, stressful professional lives, increasing relationship problems or a way to experience peace, say Buddhist monks of the city. The Ananda Budhha Vihara in Mahendra Hills, the largest Buddhist temple in the twin cities, witnesses a steady stream of visitors in the weekdays which may go up to a few hundred during weekends. Interestingly, the monks here double up as counselors. "The visitors here come and discuss their problems which range from professional and family troubles, relationship issues to poor performance in academics or poor health. They seek advice on how to address the issue and we are more than happy to help them," K Sangharakshitha Maha Thero, founder chairman of Ananda Budhha Vihara Trust said.

To conclude, from Asmaka Mahajanapada in ancient period to the end of Asaf Jahi rule in the modern era the Buddhist heritage and legacy prevailed in the land of Telangana and its people. The identity and personality of Telangana are historically rooted in Buddhism, as it shaped the distinct cultural synthesis of Deccan. For about a century the people of Telangana, especially traders, artisans and craftsmen, peasants, service and productive castes, Dalits, Adivasis practiced Buddhist religion and it significantly impacted the culture, traditions and world view. Buddhism not only emerged as an alternative religion to Vedic/Hindu religion but also threw up alternative ideology, spirituality, and religious practices. Available historical, literary and archeological evidence indicates that Buddhism was embraced by the vast majority of non-Brahman castes. Thus Buddhist Dhamma and its principles remained an integral part of Telangana society, culture, and ethos. In Telangana during the ancient period Buddhism,

Jainism, and other heretical religions contained the spread of Vedic religion and its ideology, while in the medieval period Saivism, Vaishnavism, Bhakti, Sufi movements propounded social equality and justice. In the modern period, anti-caste social reformers and Dalit-Bahujan intellectuals were inspired by the Buddhist philosophy and vehemently condemned the Brahmanical ideology and

launched militant movements for of equality achieving social equality and justice. In contemporary times, Buddhist principles of *ashtangamarga*, freedom, equality, and fraternity became the guiding force of Dalit-Bahujan identity and self-respect movements. Buddhism is preserved as an emancipatory identity in the present day Telangana society.

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SECTIONAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - POLITICAL HISTORY SECTION
NAWABS RULE IN THE CARNATIC REGION FROM 1690 TO 1855 AD
– A STUDY

Dr. H. Munavar Jan

Dear President, Secretary, Distinguished Professors and Delegate Friends.

At the outset, I place on record the sincere and deep sense of gratitude and thank the Executive Committee as well as the members of the South Indian History Congress for the honour and prestige they have done to electing me to preside over the Political History Section in the 40th Session of the South Indian History Congress being held at Annamalai University, Chidambaram from 31st January to 2nd February 2020. I prefer to present my address on 'Nawabs Rule in the Carnatic Region – A Study'.

In the Eighteenth Century, the Nawabs of Carnatic also referred as Nawab of Arcot ruled South India from 1690 AD to 1855 AD. They played a prominent role in the history of South India. We cannot imagine the Carnatic region without Nawabs in eighteenth century. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, in his introduction to the "Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of

the Carnatic" says, "*The rise of the Walajahi dynasty in the Carnatic at about the middle of the eighteenth century of the Christian era, was an event of the greatest historical importance not only to the Carnatic and her immediate neighbours but to India generally. It marks the creation of a Muslim Nationality and the genesis of political relations which affected the whole course of Indian history. This period of the Carnatic history is the starting point for the buildup of the British Raj in India and it indicates in fact the transition from the medieval to modern times*".

Location and Importance of the Carnatic:

The term "*Carnatic*" is derived from a definitive Sanskrit language, "*Karunadu*". According to Bishop Robert Caldwell, in his "*Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*", the term is derived from Karu, black and Nadu, country, i.e. the **Black Country**, which refers to the black soil prevalent on the plateau of the Southern Deccan.

The Carnatic consisted of the districts of Tirunelveli, Ramnad, Madurai, Trichirapalli, Tanjore, South Arcot, Chengelpet and North Arcot in Tamil Nadu and Chittoor and Nellore in Andhra Pradesh.¹

Carnatic Region Under Various Dynasties:

At the earliest period of which any records exist, the Carnatic region was divided between the Pandyas and Chola Kingdoms. The Pandya Kingdom practically coincided in extent with the districts of Madura and Tirunelveli. The Cholas extended along the Coromandel Coast from Nellore to Pudukkottai, being bounded on the north by the Pennar River and on the south by the Southern Vellaru. The government of the country was shared for centuries with these dynasties by numerous independent or semi-independent chiefs, evidence of whose perennial internecine conflicts is preserved in the multitudes of forts and fortresses, the deserted ruins of which crown almost all the elevated points. In spite, however, of this passion of the military classes for war, the Tamil Civilization developed in the country was of a high type. This was largely due to the wealth of the country, famous in the earliest times as now for its pearl fisheries.

The 4th Century saw the rise of the Pallava Dynasty, which for some 400 years encroached on, without extinguishing the Tamil Kingdoms. The power of the Pallava kings was shaken by the victory of Vikramaditya Chalukya in 740 AD, and shattered by the Aditya Chola at the end of the 9th century. The Chola Kingdom, which in the 9th Century had been weak, now revived, its power culminating in the victories of Rajaraja the Great, who defeated the Chalukyas after a four years war and about 994 AD, forced the Pandya kings to become his tributaries. His successors continued the eternal wars with the Chalukyas and other dynasties and the Chola power continued in the ascendant until the death of Kulottunga Chola III in 1278 AD, when a disputed succession caused its downfall and gave the Pandyas the opportunity of gaining for a few years the upper hand in the south. In 1310 AD, the Muslim armies under Malik Kafur penetrated into Carnatic and overwhelmed the Hindu states of Southern India in a common ruin.² Though crushed, they were not completely extinguished. This part of the country was known at that time as 'Malabar'. A period of anarchy

followed the struggle between the Chola kings and the Muslims. A Hindu dynasty usurped the throne of Kanchi for itself and continued to rule till the end of the 14th century. In 1365 AD, a branch of the Pandya dynasty succeeded to rule till 1623 AD. At the beginning of the 15th Century, the whole country had come under the rule of the kings of Vijayanagar. The Vijayanagar rulers administered the Southern Provinces through its Viceroys called the Nayaks.³ The powerful Nayaks of the Carnatic Region were that of Madurai, Tanjore and Senji. They remained submissive to their suzerain. However, in 1565 AD, the Battle of Talaikkotta brought disaster to Vijayanagar and hastened its decline.⁴ The Nayaks took advantage of the weakness of the Vijayanagar Empire made themselves independent only in their turn to become tributaries to the Qutub Shahi Kings of Golkonda and Adil Shahi Kings of Bijapur, who divided the Carnatic between them. Both the parts were respectively called the Hyderabad and Bijapuri Carnatic. Each of them was further subdivided into **Balaghat** (uplands) and **Payeenghat** (lowlands). Thus the suzerainty of Vijayanagar was replaced by that of Bijapur and Golconda.⁵

Carnatic Region Under The Nawabs:

The famous Maratha ruler Shivaji (1674 – 1680 AD) invaded the Carnatic during 1677 – 1678 AD. The invasion of Shivaji led to the conquest and establishment of Maratha rule at Vellore and Senji and exaction of the mandatory Maratha tax, the **Chauth** from the rest of the Carnatic.⁶ Harji Mahadik, the son of Shivaji, was made as the viceroy of Senji region.

After the death of Shivaji in 1680 AD, Mahadik assumed independent charge as Maharaja. As there was confusion, at that time Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor conquered the Marathas, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda and annexed Carnatic to the Mughal Empire.⁷ The Carnatic Region became a Nawabi i.e. an administrative unit of the Mughal Dynasty. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 AD, control of the Mughals slackened on the distant provinces. Taking advantage of the situation, the Carnatic Nawabs garnered more powers and became de facto rulers of the Carnatic.

The Carnatic Nawabi:

The Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb created administrative units called **Nawabis** in the newly

conquered territories. Thus the Carnatic was made a **Nawabi**.⁸ The Mughal official in-charge of the military and civil government of the Nawabi was called Nawab.⁹ The word 'Nawab' is Urdu derived from the Arabic word 'Naib' meaning deputy.¹⁰ Zulfiqhar Khan, one of the trusted Commanders of Aurangzeb was made the first Nawab of the Carnatic in 1692AD.¹¹ In Bengali, it is pronounced as 'Nabob', which appears to be derived from Spanish or Portuguese pronunciation.

The Nawab of the Carnatic was also referred to as the Nawab of Arcot.

The First Nawab of the Carnatic: Nawab Zulfiqhar Ali Khan (1690 – 1703 AD):

Zulfiqhar Ali Khan was the son of Azad Khan, Wazir of the Mughal Empire. He and his forefathers exercised powerful influence in the Court of the Mughal Empire.

The Emperor Aurangzeb sent an army to the south under the Commander-in-chief, Zulfiqhar Ali Khan. With him Cambuksh, the youngest son of Aurangzeb, also came to the South.¹² In 1698, Zulfiqhar Ali Khan laid siege to Senji.¹³ But in 1690 he was defeated by the Marathas. Aurangzeb created the title of Nawab of Carnatic and Zulfiqhar Ali Khan became the First Nawab of Carnatic. Though he was defeated in 1690 AD by the Marathas, Zulfiqhar Ali Khan was not to leave the Marathas to go on. He made all efforts to gather men, ammunition and money for a successful war with them.

Nawab Zulfiqhar Ali Khan had a friendly relationship with the East India Company and with Governor Yale in particular. Governor Yale assisted Nawab Zulfiqhar Ali Khan and secured from the English villages of Egmore, Purasawakkam and Royapuram for the consideration of ten thousand Pagodas.¹⁴ The British records mention the coinages as Pagodas (1 Pagoda = 3 ½ rupees).

He rose against the Marathas with strong reinforcement and defeated them near Tanjore in 1697. He recaptured Senji in 1698. Nawab Zulfiqhar Ali Khan renamed Senji as Nasrathgarh (City of Victory).¹⁵ He made the Maratha ruler at Tanjore a regular tribute. He made Daudh Khan as Khiladar at Senji.

Nawab Zulfiqhar Ali Khan, being the son of a responsible officer of the Mughal Empire, enjoyed great influence with the emperor, apart from being the Commander of the Mughal army. He was the Governor of all the Southern territories of the emperor. As the events went, it was the strong will and tireless efforts of Nawab Zulfiqhar Ali Khan that made possible the recapture of the lost territories of the Mughals from the Marathas. It can therefore be said that he had earned the title of the Nawab by dint of his tireless efforts rather than bestowed with it.

The Second Nawab of the Carnatic: Nawab Daudh Khan (1703 – 1710 AD):

In 1703, when Zulfiqhar Ali Khan returned to Delhi, Daudh Khan was appointed as the second Nawab of the Carnatic by Aurangzeb. During his tenure, he made frequent visits to Santhome and tried to develop it. But due to the efforts of Pitt, the then Governor of the East India Company, Daudh Khan had to defer his plans. In one of his visits to Fort St. George, the streets were lined with soldiers. The line of soldier was from the St. Thomas Gate up to the Fort and the certain of the inner Fort were manned by train bands. The Governor, Pitt, conducted him into the Fort, carried upto his lodgings. Under the orders from the Emperor Aurangzeb, Daudh Khan blockaded Madras for three months. After some negotiations between Daudh Khan and the East India Company, the blockade was lifted. He shifted his capital to Arcot.

Arcot – The popular Capital:

The hot climate of Senji did not suit the Nawab Daudh Khan. Hence he shifted the capital to Arcot, on the bank of the river Palar.¹⁶ Arcot became the popular capital of the Nawabs of the Carnatic and then the Nawabs of the Carnatic were also referred to as the Nawabs of Arcot.

In 1710, Nawab Daudh Khan was recalled to Delhi to discharge more responsible work as Commander-in-Chief of the Mughal Army.

The Third Nawab Of The Carnatic: Nawab Saadatullah Khan (1710 – 1732 Ad):

After the recall of Daudh Khan, Saadatullah Khan became the Nawab of Carnatic in 1710 AD. He carried his contribution wars to gates of Srirangapattinam and collected tribute from the rulers. His rule, which lasted till his death in

1732, was full of wars, mainly against local chiefs who withheld tribute. One of these wars was against Tej Singh. Swarup Singh, who was an army officer under the Mughals, was the Khiladar of Senji and he refused to pay the tribute to the emperor. When he died, his son Tej Singh became the Khiladar at Senji. He also refused to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Nawab Saadatullah Khan took a war against Tej Singh and recaptured Gingee fort and killed Tej Singh at Kadalimalai in 1713 AD. Immediately Tej Singh's wife committed Sati. Because of this incident, a town near Arcot was named as Ranipet.¹⁷

Another rebel was Shah Mir of 'Chinnapatan'. He had made money in trade and thought that he would become a ruler of his place. Gaining the support of people in Arcot and Vellore, he rose in revolt in Vandavasi. But he was quelled easily enough.¹⁸ Nawab Saadatullah Khan conquered the fort of Senji for the second time in 1717 AD. A military garrison was stationed there.

Zulfiqhar Ali Khan, Daudh Khan and Saadatullah Khan were appointed as Carnatic Nawabs by the Mughals. After the death of Aurangazeb in 1707 AD, the Mughal Empire declined, Nawab Saadatullah Khan accepted Nizamul Mulk of Deccan as his overlords. He established his own dynasty with his family name Nevayets. He was the first independent Nawab. He successfully ruled the country for about twenty years. He died on 28th September 1732 and he was buried in the compound of the congregational Mosque at Arcot.¹⁹

The Fourth Nawab Of The Carnatic: Nawab Dost Ali (1732 – 1740 Ad):

Nawab Saadatullah Khan had no issues and so he adopted his brother's sons, Dost Ali and Bokkar Ali. In 1732 AD, when Saadatullah Khan died Dost Ali ascended the throne.²⁰ This succession was confirmed by Nizamul Mulk Asif Jah and the Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi. Nawab Dost Ali wanted to be an independent ruler. He had two sons, Safdar Ali and Hasan Ali and several daughters. Chanda Sahib had married one of his daughters. After the death of Saadatullah Khan, Chanda Sahib had involved in active politics. As a great hero and administrator, he tried to bring the whole Tamilagam under the Nawab's control.

Nawab Dost Ali sent his son Safdar Ali and son-in-law Chanda Sahib to invade Tiruchirapalli, Tanjore and other southern states. As there was no unity among the southern kingdoms, they could not take any concerted action against the invaders. There was some internal problems at Madurai, Rani Meenakshi, the Queen of Madurai Nayak requested Chanda Sahib to help her. But Chanda Sahib helped and deceived Rani Meenakshi. He imprisoned her and conquered Tiruchirapalli, Dindigul and Madurai in 1736 AD.²¹ Chanda Sahib also invaded Tanjore and forced Raja Tukkoji to pay a large contribution.²²

The Marathas of Satara, on hearing the plight of the Maratha ruler of Tanjore invaded the Carnatic in 1740 AD. The Maratha army of Satara was led by two generals – Fateh Singh and Raghoji Bhonsle. It is said that Safdar Ali was jealous of the rising power of his brother-in-law Chanda Sahib and suspected his motives. Hence, Safdar Ali secretly invited the Marathas to invade the Carnatic.²³ As the Nizam also felt that Nawab Dost Ali was becoming authoritative, he encouraged the Marathas to invade his dependency.²⁴ The sudden invasion of the Marathas was an unpleasant surprise to Nawab Dost Ali. The Nawab at once collected an army and marched forth to meet the invading Marathas, who were coming from the direction of Cuddapah. The two armies met near Chandragiri. The Marathas were able to make an unexpected attack on Dost Ali's army, as it was guided their march by a traitor in the Nawab's army. The Marathas killed Dost Ali and his son Hasan Ali and routed their forces. The victorious Maratha army promptly marched towards Arcot.

The Fifth Nawab Of The Carnatic: Nawab Safdar Ali (1740 – 1742 Ad):

The success of the Marathas surprised Safdar Ali. He planned for a mock invasion and it turned out to be a real one. He was forced for a costly negotiation and purchased peace for a payment of one crore of rupees.²⁵ The Maratha army evacuated Arcot, after collecting the tribute. Safdar Ali felt safe and ascended the throne as Nawab of Arcot.

The attention of the Marathas turned from Arcot to Tiruchirapalli which was held by Chanda Sahib, brother-in-law of Nawab Safdar Ali. Tiruchirapalli was besieged by the Marathas

and Chanda Sahib defended the fort for more than a month, after which he could not withstand the siege of surrendered. The Marathas demanded one crore of rupees for the release of Chanda Sahib. Negotiations for the release of Chanda Sahib failed and the victors carried away the Nevayet General Chanda Sahib to Satara.²⁶ The Maratha General Raghoji Bhonsle appointed Murari Rao as the ruler of the conquered territory.²⁷ This marked the end of the Nevayet regime in Tiruchirapalli.

The Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad did not accept Safdar Ali as Nawab. Therefore, Safdar Ali shifted his residence to Madras as the British guest. Nawab Safdar Ali left his young son Sayeed Mohammed Khan in Madras and proceeded to Vellore to demand the tribute from his brother-in-law Murtuza Ali who was commanding the garrison at Vellore. Murtuza Ali murdered Safdar Ali while he was in asleep. Murtuza Ali next proceeded to Arcot where he proclaimed himself as the 'Arcot Nawab' in 1742 AD. The soldiers supported him as he promised to pay the arrears of pay immediately. When he could not pay the arrears, the soldiers were against Murtuza Ali and had to flee back to Vellore.²⁸

The Sixth Nawab Of The Carnatic: Nawab Saadatullah Khan li (1742 – 1744 Ad):

Sayeed Mohammed Khan, the younger son of Safdar Ali, under the protection of the English in Madras was proclaimed as the Arcot Nawab with the name of Saadatullah Khan II. In return to the help that the British rendered to his family, he gave Sadayankuppam, Perambur, Veppery, Pudupakkam and Ernavur to the British.²⁹

In 1743 AD, Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad arrived at Arcot and appointed his army General Khwajah Abdullah Khan as the guardian to the minor Nawab.³⁰ In 1744 AD, Khwaja Abdullah Khan died, Anwaruddin was appointed as the guardian of the young Nawab.³¹

In June 1744 AD, a function took place in the royal family and it was celebrated in the palace of Arcot. All went on well for a while, but suddenly, when the Nawab was descending the steps of the palace to greet his guardian, a soldier stabbed him to death.³² It has never been ascertained as to who was the originator of this plot. Many suspected Anwaruddin and Murtuza

Ali. But the question has been left for ever in doubt.

Anwaruddin, however, was the only one who derived any advantage from the death of the young Nawab Saadatullah Khan II. Anyhow Anwaruddin was successful in persuading his patron, the Nizam, of his innocence. The Nizam was more interested in the preservation of his influence than in the punishment of the perpetrators of the assassination; he appointed Anwaruddin of the House of the Walajahis as the next Nawab of the Carnatic,³³ which paved the way for the tragic eclipse of the Nevayets and the rise of the rule of the Walajahis.

The Walajahis:

'Amirul Hind Walajahi' was the title conferred on Nawab Muhammad Ali, son of Nawab Anwaruddin. This honorary title was given by the Mughal Emperor³⁴ became the honorific of the dynasty. 'Wala' is a word derived from Persian language and it means **superior** and 'Jahi' is also from the same language signifies **dignity** and the title stands for the great honour bestowed by Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor.³⁵

The Seventh Nawab Of The Carnatic: Nawab Muhammad Anwaruddin (1744 – 1749 Ad):

Muhammad Anwaruddin was seventy years of age when he was appointed as the Nawab of the Carnatic. He had long administrative experience in various departments of the Mughal Empire. The Emperor Aurangzeb was very much pleased with him on account of his faithful work. He served as Governor of Surat and then he was transferred to Rajamundry where he served for several years as Governor. His ability, courage and experience enabled him to fulfill the responsibility given to him successfully.

Restoration of peace in the Carnatic:

Anwaruddin became the Nawab of the Carnatic when rivalries were ripe among the royal factions. Plots and counter plots plagued the country. Hence restoration of peace became the first priority of the newly appointed Nawab. He adopted strict measures to bring the Carnatic under his control. He suppressed his opponents by severe punishments like confiscation of properties, imprisonment and expelled some of

them from the Carnatic territory. The dreadful measures followed by the Nawab brought peace in the society.³⁶

Effect of the Austrian War of Succession in the Carnatic: The First Carnatic War – 1746 Ad:

The Carnatic was now disturbed by the opening hostilities between the French in Pondicherry and the English in Madras, was a result of the outbreak of the Austrian War of Succession (1740 – 1748 AD). Dupleix, the talented and ambitious Frenchman had become the governor of Pondicherry in 1742. The Austrian War of Succession (in which the English opposed the French in Europe) had broken out in 1740 and its repercussions came to be felt on the Coromandel Coast, where these two nations had competitive commercial interests. In 1745, an English fleet under Barnett appeared at Madras. Dupleix fearing naval action by the English requested Nawab Anwaruddin to enjoin upon the English not to indulge in warlike acts against anyone within his territories which formed part of the Mughal Empire; whereupon the Nawab of Carnatic called upon the English to desist from such acts. Though Nicholas Morse, the then Governor of Fort St. George replied that he had definite instructions from England to attack the French, the Nawab firmly stood his ground and refused to allow the English to attack the French.³⁷ So the English first sailed away.

But notwithstanding these transactions, with the arrival of the French Admiral Mahe de La Bourdonnais naval hostilities between the English and the French became unavoidable and the Nawab was in no position to prevent them. La Bourdonnais was about to bombard the English settlement in Madras. Madras easily fell into the hands of the French on 10th September 1746 AD.³⁸ Nawab Anwaruddin now realized that he had been tricked out of Madras by Dupleix's diplomacy and so demanded French withdrawal. The French Governor however insisted that he had recovered Madras only to surrender it to the Nawab himself; the Nawab preferred to take Madras from the French, rather than wait till the latter chose to present it to him. So he sent an army under his son Mahfuz Khan to Madras to help the English and defeat the French force. But the French army under Captain Paradis defeated the large cavalry force of the Nawab at Santhome and again at Adyar in 1746 AD.

Nawab Anwaruddin determined to assist the English, sent his son Muhammad Ali to Devanampatnam, the English settlement threatened by the French.³⁹ The English commander of the small garrison at Devanampatnam John Hinde was consoled and comforted. The Nawab's army defeated the French and saved the English settlement.⁴⁰

Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle (1748 AD):

The conflict between the French and the English came to an end with the declaration of 'Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle' in 1748 AD. The Carnatic war also stopped. In the Carnatic, the conflict brought friendship between the Walajahis and the English. It had adverse effect on the relationship between the Walajahis and the French. This trend of harmony and hatred prepared the ground for the second round of encounter between the French and the English as supporters of rival native princes. The Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle temporarily ceased the conflict between the English and the French in the Carnatic.

The Second Carnatic War (1748 – 1754 Ad):

Though the enmity between the French and the English ended in Europe, their rivalry continued in the Carnatic. The success of Dupleix against the Nawab's forces made him more confident and ambitious. Dupleix aimed to promote the French interests. He began to fit one Indian ruler against the other. The English were cautious and alarmed of the growing French influence.

Causes of the Second Carnatic War:

The Nizamul Mulk of Hyderabad died in 1748 AD. There arose a war of succession between Nasir Jung, the second son of the departed Nizam and Muzaffar Jung, his grandson. Muzaffar Jung sought the help of the French. Nasir Jung got the English help. This paved the way for the outbreak of the Second Carnatic War.

Another important cause for the outbreak of this war was the renewed challenge from Chanda Sahib. Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of the slain Nawab Dost Ali was carried away as per prisoner by the Marathas in 1741 AD.⁴¹ Chanda Sahib was languishing in the Maratha prison for thirteen years. His wife and other

members of his family were left in Pondicherry under the protection of the French. Dupleix cleverly developed his scheme through the family of Chanda Sahib. He entered into negotiations with the Marathas through Chanda Sahib's wife. He purchased the release of their captive for seven lakhs of rupees.⁴² Chanda Sahib sought the help of Muzaffar Jung and the French to capture the throne of the Carnatic.

Course of the War:

A coalition was formed between Chanda Sahib, Muzaffar Jung and Dupleix to change the currents of the politics in the Carnatic. The massive army rose by Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung marched towards the capital of the Carnatic. They were joined by Raza Ali Khan, son of Chanda Sahib who brought a contingent of French soldiers from Pondicherry with their artillery. The coalition army rapidly marched towards their destination and encamped at the head of the Ambur Valley in July 1749 AD.⁴³

Battle of Ambur (1749 AD):

Nawab Anwaruddin fully aware of the fact that Chanda Saheb, Muzaffar Jung and the French were against him. Seventy seven years old Nawab Anwaruddin, weakened by sickness and age, reached Kuthalchangam, the battle field with the idea of fighting the enemy merely for the purpose of preserving his honour and bravery.⁴⁴

Initially, Nawab Anwaruddin tried to dissuade Muzaffar Jung from joining the Nevayet Chief Chanda Sahib and the French. He reminded Muzaffar Jung of his friendship with his grandfather Asaf Jah and assured him of getting pardon and suitable Jagirs from his uncle Nasir Jung. Muzaffar Jung was impressed by the advice of Nawab Anwaruddin and hesitated to take war against Nawab Anwaruddin. But Chanda Sahib and the French secretly started the firing and threw the blame on Nawab Anwaruddin.⁴⁵ Nawab Anwaruddin was killed in this battle on 23rd August 1749. Chanda Sahib crowned himself as the Nawab of Arcot with the help of Dupleix and Muzaffar Jung. He rewarded Dupleix by giving the villages of Valudavoor, Villianoor and Bahur near Pondicherry.

Expedition and capture of Arcot:

Anwaruddin's son Muhammad Ali escaped to Tiruchirapalli and took refuge in the Fort of

Tiruchirapalli. It was besieged by Chanda Sahib. Muhammad Ali sought the help of the English to save him and attack Arcot. Robert Clive, an army officer of the English entrusted with the command of a small force of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoy with 8 Field officers, marched towards Arcot.⁴⁶

On 25th August 1751, the forces started from Madras Presidency and reached the camp with lightning speed. On hearing the arrival of the British forces, the enemies abandoned the fort. In the next day morning when Robert Clive reached the place, he met with no opposition and took the possession of the Citadel.⁴⁷ It was a remarkable event that a small band of bold veterans took the capital of the Nevayets.

Chanda Sahib on receiving the news of the capture of his Capital detached 4000 of his own troops with 150 French soldiers under the command of his own son Raza Sahib to recapture the fortress.⁴⁸ They arrived and attempted to capture the Arcot Fort. But Robert Clive defended it heroically for 53 days and Raza Sahib could make no progress.

After these victories, the Marathas and the British troops joined and made a triumphant march to Tiruchirapalli and joined with Muhammad Ali. The subsequent actions crippled the forces of Chanda Sahib and the French. With no other alternative, Chanda Sahib surrendered to the British. Muhammad Ali made a triumphant march to Arcot and proclaimed himself as Nawab of Arcot who held the title Walajahi – I.⁴⁹

The Eighth Nawab Of The Carnatic: Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajahi (1749 – 1795 Ad):

Muhammad Ali became the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1750 AD. Though Muhammad Ali wanted to assert his position as an independent ruler, he had to depend on the English support for his very existence. Nawab Muhammad Ali, sent his brother Mahfuz Khan in 1755 AD after subduing the Palaiyakkars of Manapparai, the army reached Madurai and occupied it after recovering it from the Pathan Chief, Miana, who held it. After consolidating their authority there, the Nawab's army marched still further south to attack the Palaiyallars there. Thereupon, Mahfuz Khan was appointed as the Nawab's 'rentier' at Madurai and Tirunelveli. But, as he found it difficult to suppress the Palaiyagars, the Nawab and the company sent the able General, Khan

Sahib, to Madurai who soon established the Nawab's power by suppressing the rebel of Palaiyakkars. Khan Sahib was appointed as the Governor of Madurai in 1756 AD, with the approval of the Nawab.⁵⁰

There was a further bout of Anglo – French conflict in the Carnatic when the Seven Years War was broke out in Europe in 1756. In the encounters between Haider Ai, the usurper in Mysore, and the English in the course of the Third Carnatic War, Nawab Muhammad Ali played no important role but was treated with great contempt by Haider Ali, who accused the Nawab of Carnatic of duplicity. The English who agree with Haider Ali on their estimate of Muhammad Ali, however, would not give up protégé on that account.

The Seven Years War came to an end with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. This treaty acknowledged him as the Nawab and ally of the King of England.⁵¹ In 1765, the Emperor of Delhi completely released him from all dependency and made him an independent sovereign ruler of the Carnatic.⁵²

Aggression on Tanjore:

Raja Singh, the ruler of Tanjore, signed a treaty with Nawab Muhammad Ali, by which the Maratha ruler was required to pay an annual tribute of twenty five lakhs of rupees to the Nawab. When Tuljaji, son of Pratap Singh defaulted the payment, the Nawab's forces twice invaded Tanjore i.e., in 1771 and in 1773 and the Madras Government helped him in these adventures.⁵³ Tanjore succumbed to military pressure, the Raja was imprisoned, and the government of Tanjore was taken over. For three years from 1773 to 1776, Muhammad Ali ruled Tanjore and assigned the revenues from that prosperous kingdom to his English creditors Benfield and others who did their worst exploiting the farmers of Tanjore.

Loss of Tanjore:

In 1775 AD, the Court of Directors condemned the proceedings of the Madras Council for the conquest of Tanjore and sent Lord Pigot as Governor of Madras to restore Tanjore to the rightful king. Lord Pigot restored Tanjore to Raja Tuljaji on 11th April 1776 AD.⁵⁴ The loss of Tanjore had very adverse repercussions on the Nawab. The unexpected

deprival of a source of revenue dislocated the Nawab's finances.

Subjugation of Marava States:

The Marava States were located in the eastern part of Madurai Country. These states maintained a status of independence during the rule of the Nayaks. In 1771 AD, Nawab Muhammad Ali represented to the Madras Council that the Marava rulers occupied government villages and neglected payment of tribute.⁵⁵ The Madras Council agreed with the views of the Nawab and decided to extend military support for the invasion of Sivaganga and Ramanathapuram. The combined forces of the Nawab and the English effectively stormed Ramanathapuram in June 1772 AD and occupied it. The invaders plundered the town and imprisoned the twelve years old Sethupathi Muthuramalingam and the Queen-regent. Afterwards the forces attacked Sivaganga and occupied the strongholds. As a result of these campaigns, the Walajahis established their sway over the Marava States.

The Nawab Muhammad Ali built the famous Chepak Palace in the year 1768. It comprised two blocks, the southern block called 'Kalas Mahal' in two floors and the northern block called 'Humayun Mahal' which contained the Diwan Khana. Further, Nawab changed the capital to Chepak, Madras.

The English debited all the war expenses to the Nawab of Carnatic. The English started to interfere more and more with the Nawab's power. In the beginning, they sent new servants from London with strict orders to conclude an agreement with the Nawab to pay off the outstanding debt, which in 1787 AD, amounted to about seventy five lakhs of pagodas. They forced the Nawab to transfer the collection of the Carnatic revenues to the Company servants.⁵⁶ But when they found out that the old terms in 1787 AD were too onerous, in May 1792 AD a new more efficient financial agreement was concluded. The settlement stipulated that in time of war the Carnatic revenues should be received and administered by the Company, but in time of peace the management of the revenues would rest with the Nawab, provided that he would pay nine lakhs of pagodas annually to the company for military services and six lakhs to his creditors.⁵⁷

In the late 1780s-1790s, the Carnatic Kingdom's natural resources, military and economic strength were seriously weakened by incessant wars. The Nawab had already been in failing health with his age over seventy. Moreover, Prince Amir-ul-Umara, the second son of the Nawab who carried out a strong policy against the English influence had already passed away. The circumstances thus allowed the British to gain more and more power without strong resistance from the Nawab. In June 1795, the English East India Company, under the command of Lord Hobart took an important step that showed that the local ruler had lost almost all of his power to the English; he proposed that from now on no money should be legalized in the Carnatic but only by the Company, though under the Nawab's name.

Nawab Muhammad Ali passed away on 13th October 1795, at the age of seventy eight, after ruling of forty six years. The Nawab hoped to secure his succession by nominating his second and favourite son, Amir-UI-Umara, but the prince died seven years before his father. Thus he was succeeded by his eldest son Prince Umdat-UI-Umara.

The Nineth Nawab Of The Carnatic: Nawab Umdat-UI-Umara (1795 – 1801 Ad):

Umdat-UI-Umara, the son of Nawab Muhammad Ali ascended the throne in the year 1795 AD. Lord Hobert, the Governor of Madras was offended by his neglecting to inform him the death of his father Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajahi, and more particularly for failing to invite him to his Coronation.

The Governor sent a message to Umdat-UI-Umara through his son that he should hand over some taluks to the English East India Company instead of 'Qist', that is a stipulated rate and time of payment of revenue; a tax. money. However, Umdat-UI-Umara was not agreeable to this and expressed to the Governor that the 'Qist' money would be paid only in cash, in accordance with the agreement signed between his father and Lord Cornwallis in 1787 AD. When this was brought to the notice of the Governor General in Council, he disapproved of the Governor's action and directed him to offer his congratulations on the Nawab's accession to the throne and also to accept the 'Qist' money in cash.

The rising power of the English East India Company and the waning authority of the Nawab of the Carnatic, created a situation favourable for the establishment of the British influence in the Carnatic region. The wars that Nawab Muhammad Ali fought with the aid of the Company against Chanda Sahib, the French, the Polaiyakkars, the rebels of Madurai, and the rulers of Tanjore, Vellore and Mysore contributed to his financial embarrassment and erosion of his authority. The treaties of 1787 and 1792 AD accorded recognition to the supremacy of the English in the Carnatic. The Treaty of 1787 AD was signed on the 27th February 1787 AD.⁵⁸ According to this treaty the Nawab should pay nine lakhs of Pagodas in support of the defence establishment created by the English. The Nawab was also to pay twelve lakhs of Pagodas annually to his creditors. During the time of war, the contracting parties should pay four-fifths of their revenues to the British East India Company. In case of non-payment by the Nawab, he should assign certain districts to the Company as security. According to the Treaty of 1792; the Nawab had to pay nine lakhs of Pagodas annually to the Company. Carnatic should be garrisoned by the British troops. British should collect the tributes directly from the Poligars on behalf of the Nawab. This treaty also authorized the Company to assume the administration of the mortgaged provinces on default of payment by the Nawab.⁵⁹ Nawab Umdat-UI-Umara strove hard to reassert his sovereignty but found his task insurmountable.

Lord Wellesley directed Lord Edward Clive, the Governor of Madras, to open negotiations with the Nawab and to announce the Company's decision to take over the administration of the Carnatic. But, by this time, Umdat-UI-Umara fell seriously sick and the Governor of Madras postponed the announcement for fear of disturbing the peace of a sick ruler. The Nawab passed away on 15th July 1801 AD. Before his death, he had nominated his son Ali Hussain, also known as Tajul Umara, eighteen years old, as his successor.

Soon after the death of Nawab Umdat-UI-Umara, Lord Edward Clive, the Governor of Madras deputed Webb, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras to finalize a fresh political settlement with the new ruler. The

commissioners met the deputies of the Nawab and informed Tajul Umara of the Company's decision. But he refused to accept the terms. Then Azim-ud-Daula, the son of Amirul Umara, the second son of Nawab Muhammad Ali was offered the terms which were accepted by him. Azim-ud-Daula signed 'The Treaty of the Carnatic -1801 AD'. By this treaty, to quote the words of Arthur Wellesley, "This prince having agreed to the arrangement, a treaty was concluded by which the whole of the civil and military government of the Carnatic was transferred forever to the Company, and the Nawab, Azim-ud-Daula, and his heirs were to preserve their title and dignity and to receive one-fifth of the net revenues of the country".⁶⁰

Carnatic After 1801 Ad:

Under the terms of the treaty of 1801, Nawab Azim-ud-Daula had to give up the Civil and Military administration of the Carnatic to the British East India Company. Therefore he was the first titular Nawab of the Carnatic.

Nawab Azim-ud-Daula, as the titular Nawab of the Carnatic was allowed one fifth of the net revenue or one lakh forty four thousand star Pagodas annually, whichever was greater. He was given the honour of 21 gun salute. He died in 1819.

Nawab Azam Jah was the eldest son of Azim-ud-Daula. He became the second titular Nawab of the Carnatic in the year 1820, after the death of his father. His period also was an eventless one and he died in 1825, leaving a minor son, Ghulam Muhammad Ghouse Khan to continue as the Nawab.

Nawab Muhammad Ghouse Khan died in 1855 at the age of 31. He did not leave behind any male heir. The candidatures of Ghouse Khan's uncle Azim Jah, the only possible successor to the throne were set aside and the kingdom was formally annexed by the British East India Company as per the Doctrine of Lapse of Lord Dalhousie.⁶¹

On the death of the Nawab in 1855 AD, Azim Jah pressed his claims to the succession and was represented by legal counsel in England.

Creation Of Princeship Of Arcot By The British:

After several negotiations with Queen Victoria, Azim Jah was made a political pensioner and the new title of "HIS HIGHNESS OF THE PRINCE OF ARCOT" or "AMIR-E-ARCOT" was created in 1867 with several honours and privileges attached to the title in perpetuity.⁶² Prince Azim Jah was also granted

- i) The title of 'Prince of Arcot'
- ii) A salute of 15 guns
- iii) Permission to maintain a body guard of 50 sepoy, 8 troops and 80 artillery men and
- iv) Exemption from civil and military process.

Close members of the family of Prince Azim Jah were also given perpetual political stipends known as the Carnatic Stipends.

Azim Jah's litigious efforts and representations succeeded. On the 12th April 1871, His Excellency the Governor of Madras, held a Durbar in the Banqueting Hall, Madras, for the purpose of presenting to His Highness Prince Azim Jah Bahadur, the Letters Patent issued by the command of Queen Victoria, investing His Highness and his successors with the title and dignity of "Prince of Arcot" or "Amir-e-Arcot. Since the Kalas Mahal (Chepauk Palace) had been taken over by the Government in 1859, Prince Azim Jah moved to the 'Shadi Mahal' on Triplicane High Road and the Government was paying a monthly rent of one thousand rupees for his accommodation. As part of the settlement with Azim Jah, the Government undertook to build a palace, now known as "AMIR MAHAL" in Royapettah on lands belonging to the Nawabs.

Prince Azim Jah died in 1874 AD and was buried with full state honours. In the passage of time i.e. 1874 – 1993 AD seven successive successions took place and Muhammad Abdul Ali is the Eight and the present Prince of Arcot.

Conclusion:

The history of Carnatic from the beginning of the 18th century to the mid 19th century is indeed epoch making event. In the Eighteenth Century the Nawabs of Carnatic played a prominent role in the history of South India. It marks the creation of a Muslim Nationality and the genesis of political relations which affected the whole course of Indian history. This period of

the Carnatic history is the starting point for the building up of the British Raj in India and it indicates, in fact the transition from the medieval to modern times. The region of Carnatic and the period from 1700-1855 AD were in themselves highly important for the future of the Indian nationalism. The Nawabs of Carnatic, in spite of their fluctuating fortunes, extended a hand of benevolence towards their contributions.

The famous Nawabs like Nawab Saadatullah Khan, Nawab Anwaruddin, Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajahi had all the qualifications and characteristics of strong sovereign rulers. They were comparable to the

rulers of any other State of India in their political acumen, sagacity, as military commander and as administrators.

One of the most glorious aspects of Nawabs was their administration and their policy in general towards the public that set secular ideal for the betterment of the public. Therefore, Tamilagham is made to be a haven of peace today, because of the flow of humane quality, from the period of Sangam.

With this, I conclude my Presidential Address. Many thanks for a patient listening.

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ROLE OF AYYANKALI MOVEMENT IN THE FORMATION OF ASABIYA AMONG THE DALIT COMMUNITY IN TRAVANCORE.

M.A. Abeenraj

INTRODUCTION

Ayyankali is the first social reformer and leader who united the disorganised and unprivileged class of people in Kerala. The struggles and its results initiated by Ayyankali had resulted in the shaping of unity among these classes of people both physically and mentally. The self-esteem created by Ayyankali in the dalits acted as the basis of a progressive social mobility among them.

The developmental sequels /modifications formed in a society is analysed by Ibn Khaldun on the basis of his theory Asabiya and came in to an interpretation that solidarity will become a reason for the birth of a civilisation, its downfall and then the birth of another different civilisation. While studying the social conscious attained by the dalit communities of Kerala, we can understand that Ibn Khaldun's theory Asabiya itself is the reason behind their social consciousness. While analysing the social journey that the dalit had travelled to reach the present world, we can witness the inclusion of asabiya in them.

ASABIYA AND AYYANKALI

The dalits have a past which tells the story of a multitude who were forced out of their own lands through caste formation and had to live in enslavement and had gone through constant persecution. "It is after 1910 that untouchables have their own land in Kerala"¹. Ayyankali is the one who convinced the people about the necessity of cooperation and mutual trust between them.

Untill the period of Ayyankali the dalits were an aimless group of people without a leader among them, where they couldn't see the leader in Ayyankali, there changes the history. The dalit unity behind the leadership of Ayyankali can be interpreted as a cross section of Ibn Khaldun's theory Asabiya which tells that there is a tendency in any society in approving a person from their own community as their leader."² Leadership over people who share in a given group feeling cannot be vested in those not of the same descend ". This argument can be substantiated by analysing the fact that the dalits never got attracted towards Chattampi Swamikal, Arattupuzha Velayudha Panicker, Ayya Vaikunda Swamikal etc. just as they got attracted towards Ayyankali.

According to Asabiya, the blood relations in a society is more intense than anything. "The group feeling results only from blood relationship or something corresponding to it "³. In 1907 the Sadhu Jana Paripaalana Sangham was formed to unite the whole dalits under a single shade. Without any sub caste barriers, but uniting the slave people inside a single premise named 'Sadhu Janata'.

Ayyankali had created a new bonding of the social blood relations among them. What Ayyankali fulfilled through Sadhu Jana Paripaalana Sangham was to unite a society through issues and subjects that affected them in general. Just like interpersonal blood relations, a new social blood hood had formulated in these societies by considering the social issues they had faced. The unity that had formulated in the basic people through Ayyankali movements had happened through the recognition of such a

common issue. Based on such social relations, Asabiya was formed among these people.

“Following the formation of Sadhu Jana Paripaalana Sangham , a new wave of community consciousness was formed among the basic people all over Travancore under the leadership of Kuppappuram Seethankan one of the followers of Ayyankali had started a movement in Kuttanadu from 1910 onwards”⁴. The dalits were united through an invisible loop which was formed by spreading about a social situation based on a common problem. The first organised peasant struggle under the leadership of Ayyankali that had started in 1914 and lasted about a year was the most visible example for this fact. The basic people who lived as different sub caste came together and lined behind Ayyankali because of the general nature of this demands and made the struggle a great success. This solidarity had worked as an energy booster for their later struggles.

The famous ‘villuvandi samaram’ conducted by Ayyankali in 1893 raised him to the position as a widely accepted leader. Though the entering of Ayyankali in the Popular Assembly as a member had strengthened this leadership, the strongest history of group consciousness among the dalits were evident in the One-year-long agricultural strike and its successful culmination.

Until 1911 P.K. Govindappillai, the chief editor of ‘Subhashini’, represented the Pulaya community in the Assembly. But from 1911

onwards Ayyankali was the representative. This led to a group consciousness among the dalits all over Travancore which had resulted in the Agricultural Struggle (1913-14). Based on Asabiya, it is said that blood relation is one of the reasons for group feeling. The actions of Ayyankali changed this subjective fact into a more wider concept called ‘social blood hood’ or ‘social blood relation’. This is the factor that united the basic people.

“Although sub caste representation was allowed in the assembly to break the popular movement, in 1917 Ayyankali had come as a mediator to solve a rebellion that broke out in Cherthala.”⁵ It was a fight between converted Christian dalits and other dalits. Ayyankali was called as mediator because he was a commonly accepted person in for both the groups. “There he advised them not to convert to Christianity”⁶. The perspective of blood relation put forward by Asabiya is shaping into a social blood hood. This is the reason behind the acceptance of Ayyankali among both the groups.

To Dalits, the social discriminations that they had gone through itself is the reason behind the formation of Asabiya. They had broken the barriers of separation that had been forced on them by the privileged castes, and formed a unity for counter acting their general issues. The later history tells that this became more visible with the arrival of Ayyankali and gave way to a new breakthrough.

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ROLE OF CHATTAMPI SWAMIKAL IN THE SPHERES OF KERALA RENAISSANCE

S. Ardra

Introduction

Chattampi Swamikal was a Hindu sage and one of the greatest legendary social reformers in Kerala. His thoughts and works influenced the

beginning of many social, religious, literary and political organisations and movements in Kerala and for first time gave voice to those who were marginalized. The name of Chattampi Swamikal was well remembered, who initiated the social

reform movements among the Nair community. Through the Nairs belonged an upper caste, their position was inferior in the caste hierarchy. However, they had gained a dominant position in the society with their peculiar relationship with the Brahmins. Through the joint family system and Taravadu property, they had enjoyed financial soundness. The reformers introduced by the British paved way for the decline of the Marumakkathayam system resulting in the breakup of the Taravadu and joint family system. The emergence of new values in society, the introduction of western education, the growth of social consciousness among the lower caste etc contributed for the decline of Nair dominance in the society of Kerala during the second half of the 19th century. It was in the background of the decline of Nair dominance in the society of Kerala, the new generation of Nairs raised their voice for reforms. It was Chattampi Swamikal who initiated the social reform movements among the Nairs. He tried to put an end to the Brahmin dominance in religious rites and ceremonies. He ridiculed the caste system. He joined hands with Ezhavas in social reform activities.

Sree Vidyadhiraja Parama Bhattaaka Chattampi Swamikal was born on 30th August 1853 at Kollur in southern Travancore. His father was Vasudevan Namboothiri, A Nambuthiri Brahmin from Mavelikkara, and his mother was Nangamma, A Nair from Kannammoola. He was formally named Ayyappan but he was called by the pet name Kunjan. As his parents were not able to provide him formal education, he learned letters and words from the children of his neighbourhood who attended schools. He also learned Sanskrit by overhearing the classes at Brahmin house nearby. Knowing his thirst for learning an uncle took him to the traditional school conducted by Pettayil Raman Pillai Asan, who taught him without any fee. It was there that he earned the name Chattampi on account of his assignment as a monitor of the class. His thought were influenced all aspects of the Kerala society.

The aim of the Chattampi Swamikal was the building up of a Hindu society joining together an equal terms Nairs, Ezhavas, Nadars, Pulayas and Parayas. He was above the meaningless caste feelings. He believed every human being belonging to the same caste. His way of life was according to his thought. For him

all are brothers. Swami has not built up an organisation or a people's movement to fight against caste. But it is without doubt that he has planted the seed of a far-reaching revolution. Source of all revolution is the human mind. He attempted to build up a social system based on love and equality. His life and work formed the sources and inspiration for the social and political revolutions that occurred in Kerala during the first half of the 20th century.

Swamikal was born in the age that was darkest in history of Sanadanadharma. During this period the so called Hindus were prohibited from entering temples by the upper caste and were cut off from the main stream of social and spiritual life in the name of untouchability. To Swamikal, society and world was universal family of man without the barriers of caste and creed. He was not done anything directly for reforming social structure. But his life really influenced many leaders' movements for reforming religion and society. As per the laws and customs that existed in the 19th century Kerala a non-Brahmin has no right to learn Vedas or to have minimum education. The customs related untouchability and pollution that existed treated low caste as inferior even to animals. He strongly opposed the unjust customs and Brahmin domination. He forcefully stated that like food spiritual knowledge and education are basic requirements of every human being. He also stated that each and every human being is responsible to fight against any power for fulfilling his basic requirement. He was the first to infuse this thought into the low caste people of Kerala. His works, Pracheena Malayalam and Vedadikara Nirupanam contain this view. Swami also made people aware of their right to education and its need for their progress towards attaining equality in society. Sree Narayana Guru started and influenced the establishment of a network of schools all over Kerala for the lower caste people. Influenced by the ideas of Swami and a practical model suggested by Guru, the leaders like Mannathu Padmanabhan and K. Kelappan took initiative in organizing the Nair Service Society (NSS) and Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP).

Chattampi Sawmikal played a vital role in the history of the cultural renaissance and social reforms of Kerala. His teachings of Vedic concepts and Dharmas of life can easily be

followed by common man. The major struggles for the social and religious reforms starting with the famous Vaikkam Sathyagraha and Guruvayur Sathyagraha were influenced by the religious teachings of Swami, Guru and other disciples. Swamikal supported the temple entry movement ideologically. He was the first in Kerala to argue for the equal status of women and the abolition of absolute practices like Devadasi system. Gradually for improving the condition of women, Cochin and Travancore Government started banning Devadasi system in 1930.

Swamikal also worked for the emancipation of women and encouraged them to come to the forefront of society. He stated that ancient religion and law in India gave equal status to women and that their role is very important in family and society. He was very much in favour women being educated. Swami strongly opposes alcoholism. He belied that alcoholism would take the family life to a brink of disaster.

Swami respected the great principles enshrined in Christianity. But he severely criticized the baseless abuses that missionaries have thrown against Hinduism. His religious doctrines are yogic culture, non-violence, love and universal brotherhood. His view was that religion is not meant for the welfare of the inner

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world of man alone. Swami's ideals inspired numerous socio-religious reform movements in different communities and castes. The system of inheritance, child marriage, polygamy and many other outdated customs (untouchability, Taliketttu Kalyanam, Tirandukuli etc) were stopped or reformed.

A majority of the followers of Chattampi Swami influenced by his teachings later became the revolutionaries and joint the left stream, which found the country's independence, social equality and democratic government.

Conclusion

Chattampi Swamikal was an evershining resplendent star in the history of modern Kerala. His life and works helped our society to make huge increases by transforming itself and revolutionizing our religious and social perspectives. Through his writings Swamikal critically analysis the social evils of the traditional caste based Hindu society. He was also a great advocate of equality. His main aim was to reform the Hindu religious thoughts and Dharma which come under the universal law of knowledge for all people. The socio- religious contributions of Swamikal and the change it has brought about and its relevance in the modern society were remarkable.

IMPORTANCE AND IMPACTS OF DR. A.P.J. ABDUL KALAM'S VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

E. Arunkumar

Introduction

India and South Africa have long historical relationships as both were British colonies. Both have contained social and cultural similarities.

During colonialism, a large number of Indians were taken to South Africa as indentured servants. Mahatma Gandhi was against any colonial and discriminatory regimes.¹

India is a crucial partner for South Africa in South Asia, and total trade has been increasing rapidly since 1994. South Africa and India have enjoyed strong historical ties, which have translated into a firm political commitment. In light of these shared historical links, closer economic ties are being fostered using initiatives such as the Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) and the India-South Africa Commercial Alliance.² Developments in building economic relations with India are also expanding to include partners in Southern African Customs Union (SACU), as reflected in SACU's decision to pursue PTA negotiations with India. The proposed preferential negotiations between SACU and India should accelerate. Trade flows between the two economies, extend the range of traded goods and services and, more importantly, increase the proportion of trade in higher value-added products. The Apartheid government vanished between 1980 and 1994 by domestic pressures and international situation arise with the change in the international system.³

In this regard, a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between India and South Africa, which was established through the Red Fort Declaration (March, 1997) that later reaffirmed in the Tshwane Declaration (October, 2006) which was hailed as an essential mechanism that has contributed in the past to both South Africa and India achieving identified national objectives. Both countries further committed to elevating efforts in achieving the goals set out in the Declaration.⁴

Exchange Visits

Ties among India-South Africa were advances strengthened several visits exchanged by dignitaries at all levels. The former Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral visited South Africa in October 1997. This was the first highest level visit by an Indian Prime Minister to South Africa.⁵ Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee go to South Africa during the Non - Aligned Conference in 1998 and the second time during the Commonwealth Heads of Government conference in November 1999. Further, in June, 1999, Shri Jaswant Singh, the then external affairs minister visited South Africa. In a similar vein, President Mandela visited India twice, in 1995 and once more in 1997. Former South Africa President Thabo Mbeki visited India as

Deputy President in 1996 and assume dan effective State Official visit in October 2003.⁶ At the invite of the former President of the Republic of South Africa Thabo Mbeki, The highest political level between the two countries was maintained with the visit of the former President of India Dr. Avul Pakir Jainulabdeen Abdul Kalam to South Africa from 14-18 September 2004. There have also been several ministerial-level visits exchanged between the two countries for support their ties.⁷

Importance of Kalam's Visit to South Arica

Three important agreements serve as the basis for the relationship between South Africa and India. The first is the Agreement on the Inter-Governmental Joint Commission for Political, Trade, Economic, Cultural, Scientific and Technical Co-operation engaged by former President Nelson Mandela and former Prime Minister NarasimhaRao on 25 January, 1995.⁸

The second significant foundation of the bilateral relationship between India and South Africa is the historic Red Fort Declaration on the bilateral partnership, which was engaged during former President Nelson Mandela's State Visit to India in March, 1997. The partnership is founded on a common commitment to economic development, social justice and co-operation for a global order that is marked by peace, security and equity.⁹

The third is the Delhi Declaration signed through the 2003 State Visit of South Africa President Thabo Mbeki, which reaffirms the strategic partnership between the two nations.¹⁰

The process of consolidation of the strategic partnership between India and South Africa relationships gathered further momentum in 2004. Dialogue at the highest political level between the two countries was maintained with the visit of the During President of India Dr.A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's to South Africa from 14-18 September,2004. This was the first visit by an Indian President to South Africa and marked a milestone in the bilateral relationship. The two Presidents exchanged views regarding the excellent state of bilateral relations, India Brazil South Africa Forum and issues of regional as well as global importance.an MoU on Cooperation in Information and Communications Technology was signed during the visit.¹¹

Addressed by the Kalam's to the Parliament of South Africa on 15 September, 2004. He spoke about the importance of Indo-South African friendship and working together. "India - Brazil - South Africa (IBSA) Forum signed among the three nations connecting Asia, South America and Africa is a valuable tool to further shape our friendship for the development of our nations. India-South Africa friendship and partnership is crucial to this forum as you are nearer to us geographically. I am thankful for the privilege of sharing with you and the people of South Africa whom you represent, our experience in our efforts to develop the nation socially and economically over the last fifty years. I do so in a spirit of understanding that we may learn from each other and strengthen our resolve to move our nations ahead to greater prosperity, happiness, and freedom from insecurity in the years ahead. Perhaps as we do so, we shall realize that we have so much in common that we shall wonder why we have not got closer together much earlier. Both our nations are free, independent states in an increasingly complex and interdependent world where the values of friendship and mutual assistance are of paramount importance. Now that our banners of freedom are unfurled, by the sacrifice of our political leaders and people, we should contribute towards happiness and peace in the world".¹²

Impacts of Kalam's Visit to South Africa

India and South Africa reaffirmed their support for the Asian-African Sub-Regional Organizations Conference (AASROC) development aimed at forging a New Strategic Partnership between Africa and Asia, incorporating existing advantages, exchanges of experience and best practices among the countries and sub-regional and regional organizations of Africa and Asia. Both countries expressed their resolve to ensure that this corporation will seek to translate ideas into reality and guide Asia and Africa toward an improved future based on their collective self-reliance. Considerations in this regard centred around the existing participation by India in Africa, including the India Africa Fund and the need to streamline and align these initiatives for coherence and maximum benefit with similar initiatives.¹³

The Pan African e-network Project is an initiative of former President of India Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, to use the Indian expertise in information technology to bring welfares of health care and higher education to all nations of Africa. He made this proposal at the inaugural session of the Pan-African Parliament in Johannesburg on 16 September, 2004. The President addressed the Pan African Parliament, the first Non-African head of state to do so.¹⁴ The project officially launched on 26 February, 2009 by former the External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee (former President of India).¹⁵ The Network will be connected by a satellite/fibre (C-Band with INTELSAT-904/RASCOM), optical network to arrange for tele-medicine, tele-education and VVIP connectivity to these nations. The present total project cost is about US\$ 130 million, which will be a total funding from the Government of India. The Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi is accountable for the project, while the Telecommunications Consultants India Limited (TCIL, a Government of India Undertaking) is the implementing agency. Each country of Africa is necessary to sign a Country Agreement with the TCIL to participate in this project.¹⁶

The Network will consist of 5 regional universities, 53 learning centers, 5 regional Super Specialty Hospitals and 53 remote hospitals in all countries of Africa. There will be 6 universities and 5 Super Specialty Hospitals from India linked into the Network.¹⁷

After taking into account the untapped potential for bilateral co-operation in certain areas, reiterated the need to expand bilateral trade, economic, scientific and technical co-operation. They also noted that the business and scientific circles of both countries should establish direct contacts for the implementation of industrial, scientific and technical projects. With To implement cooperation, the South Africa-India Memorandum of Understanding on Information and Communications Technologies signed on 15 September, 2004.¹⁸

The importance of the Joint Ministerial Commission, the India-South Africa Commercial Alliance, the India-South Africa Joint Committee for Scientific and Technological Co-operation and the India- South Africa Joint Committee on Defence Co-operation for the development of bilateral ties was reiterated and it was noted with

satisfaction that regular meetings were taking place.¹⁹

Conclusion

Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam was affectionately conventional by the South African leadership and people on this first-ever visit by an Indian President to South Africa. The visit was described as significant and a reaffirmation of the time-established relations between the two nations and their peoples. India and South Africa agreed that the State visit of Kalam's to South Africa will unquestionably further consolidate and expand two-sided cooperation in all fields. They decided on the importance of increasing the frequency of two-sided visits at all levels including by dignitaries, ministers, officials, experts as well as people-to-people contacts.

Pan African e-network project is a shining example of India's partnership with Africa. It is an Indian satellite to help sub-Saharan Africa bridge the digital divide for e-connectivity. Institutions, hospitals in seven distinct regions in Africa have been linked with super-specialty hospitals of India, universities of Africa have been linked with the major universities of India.

In the previous alone, 25000 Africans have been skilled or educated in India. The Pan Africa e-network, which now connects 48 African nations, is becoming the new highway of

regional connectivity and social development. Under the India Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme, over 100 administrators from sub-Saharan Africa receive training annually in India. The continent's progress will add great stability and momentum to the global economy and advantage India as well.

Strong support for United Nations Security Council reforms. The endorsement of India's position at the WTO with regard to agrarian subsidies. An understanding of the South African position on developing mega free trade agreements like the US-led Trans-Pacific Partnership. Finally a 'Feel Good Factor' to deepen diplomatic relations with India and South Africa.

Kalam's visited the next four years impacts, the India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) is a celebration of the close corporation between Africa and India, started in 2008. It was decided to hold the summits every three years, alternately in India and Africa. New Delhi was the venue in 2008 and Addis Ababa in 2011. The third summit, scheduled to be held in 2014, was postponed because of the Ebola outbreak and held in Delhi from 26 to 30 October, 2015. African countries have insisted the next conference be held after five years, not three years. The next India-Africa Forum Summit will be held in September 2020.

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UNITED KERALA MOVEMENT IN 1947- AN OVERVIEW

Asha Rajan

On 1946 saw in Cochin the some democratic upsurge as was then being witnessed in Travancore. The demand for responsible was rallying behind it all section of the people. Aikya Kerala Convention held on 26, 27 April 1947 at Trichur .5000 persons attended the conference Tickets were issued to Travancore peoples also. His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin inaugurated the conference. On the next day the conference passed a resolution under the leadership of K.Kelappan. The conference appointed a Aikya Kerala council to organize the people for the formation of the Aikya Kerala. The newspapers such as, cochin express, the Deepam, the Gomathi, the malaharmail the Navalokam and the Jenmabhoomi published detail information about the conference on the next day. The convention constituted a working committee of 15 members to organize the people for the formation of United Kerala. The Maharaja Cochin agreed to serve as the patron of the United Kerala movement. On June 2, 1947. The Mountbatten Plan as it was called, propose the division of India into two dominions India and Pakistan and transfer of power to take place on 15 August 1947¹. State Congress held a propaganda meeting at Thirunakkara maidan on June 3, 1947 under the presidentship of Pattom Thanupillai. In this meeting Pattom states that, 'representing the states have no relation with the states and asked' whom does, Sir C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar reiterated his plea for the immediate formation of an interim Government of the people .5000 persons gathered inside the maidan and 3000 persons outside it .

As against the United Kerala movement on 11 June 1947 the Dewan of Travancore announced that Travancore would assumed and maintain an independent state after the transfer

of power by the British². On 12 June 1947 The Diwan made an announcement on behalf of the Nizam that Hyderabad would set itself as an independent state when the Government of India invited Travancore to join the constituent assembly convened early in July 1947 Maharaja conveyed the decision of Travancore not to participate in its proceedings³. On June 4, 1947 State Congress propaganda meeting was held at Thiruvalla under the presidentship of Mannathupadmanabha pillai. In this meeting K.A.Mathew states that "*India attains freedom Travancore should also achieve freedom . the Dewas considers this state as his estate and that he could sell the people like sheep and cattle "*

On June 5, 1947 State Congress propaganda meeting held at Trivandrum on under the presidentship of Pattom Thanu pillai a resolution passed to protesting the present policy of the government towards Indian union. They requesting the government to establish an interim Government about 3000 persons attended the meeting, 200 womens were also present this meeting⁴. The political situation turned favourable for a renewed agitation. Taking this to its advantage the party with a view to securing the support from all section of the people. The KPCC, The Cochin Praja Mandalam and the Travancore State Congress declared in one voice that they were going to work towards the realization of the objective set before them by the 'Magnanimous' Maharaja.

They in consultation with several other organizations, setup a United Kerala Committee and began preparation for a United Kerala Convention Which was held in April 1947 Under the Chairmanship of The President of KPCC. As a next step Thanu Pillai called the

people to observe 13 June 1947 as Constituent Assembly Day and appealed to them to hold meetings and pass resolutions to the effect that the statements made by C.P. Ramaswamy. The administration instructed the police to concentrate their attention on important places and to break up meetings if attempted to be held. The Government invoked the Emergency power Act of 1946 under its provisions no public procession could be held for a period of six months from June 29, 1947⁵. On 11 July 1947 the advocates of 'Independent Travancore' held a public meeting at the V.J.T. Hall Trivandrum. When the organizers spoke supporting 'Independence' the state congress workers who attended the meeting opposed it. On 11 July 1947 the congress men and students took out a procession at Alleppey. The police made lathi charge and dispersed the crowd⁶. On 13 July 1947 the Travancore State Congress held a meeting at Petta under the presidentship of Kalathil Velayudhan and Pattom Thannu Pillai in this meeting the leader spoke the importance of responsible government⁷. The meeting was attended by more than 1000 people, the police entry into the meeting place resulted in a clash between the people and police. This resulted in a lathi charge by police. The Indian Express reported that 3 men have died in the spot and three more have sustained fatal injuries.

On July 28, 1947 Ernakulam State Congress Committee held a secret meeting and passed a circular and sent to all Taluk committees in Travancore to observe August 1, 1947 as "Travancore People's Day". A secret meeting of the Travancore state congress was held at Paravur under the leadership of Pattom Thannu Pillai and the meeting planned the programmes of coming struggles. This meeting was attended by the KPCC leaders like Kelappan and K.P. Madavan Nair. The meeting declared the aims of the state congress as the achievement of responsible Government, the joining of Travancore in the Indian Union and the formation of the United Kerala State⁸. The Travancore state congress established its centre at Ernakulam and from there it directed the struggles for responsible government. Several public meetings were conducted throughout Travancore against the 'Independent Travancore' declaration of the Diwan and for the responsible government in Travancore. Separate meetings and conferences were also held in

Malabar and Cochin in support of the struggle and the demands of the state congress. It decided to conduct the annual conference of the Travancore students congress at Travancore. The government banned the conference still the students conducted the conference defying the ban orders. On July 15, 1947 the students of the University College, Law College and Ayurveda College and several High schools in Travancore observed complete strike⁹. On July 18, 1947 the Maharaja issued a royal proclamation creating an independent Travancore. The strategy adopted by the government was to disperse the meeting and conference by using force, conducted anywhere in Travancore.

The police fired on a public meeting at 'Pettah' in Travancore three persons were killed in the 'Pettah firing' and this paved the way for the already tense atmosphere to become more conflicting. The people retaliated to the oppressive measures adopted by the Diwan to suppress the people's movement¹⁰. On 25th July 1947 an attempt was made to murder the Diwan C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer at the Swathi Tirunal Academy Trivandrum. The king of Travancore understood that it was impossible to act against the will of the people of the country and he informed the Governor General of India Moutbatten, his willingness to integrate Travancore in the Indian Union. After the declaration of the king of Travancore C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer resigned his post of Diwan on 19th August 1947. P.N.G. Unnithan was appointed as the temporary Diwan of Travancore. He started discussing the details of the responsible government.

Soon after this discussion the king declared the granting of the Responsible Government in Travancore on 4th September 1947. This marked a new era in the history not only in Travancore but also in Malabar and Cochin¹¹. State Congress held a meeting at Thirunakkaramaidan on 5-8-47 under the presidentship of K. A. Mathew. In this meeting he urged the need of the people is that the C.P. Ramaswami Iyer should quit Travancore¹². On August 17, 1947 State Congress held a meeting at Kallankode and passed a resolution demanding the resignation of Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer¹³. On August 18, 1947 State Congress held a meeting at Paravur under the presidentship of N.J. Thomas in this conference exhorted the labourers to work up from their lethargy to fight

for terminating the Dewan rule. They demanded to immediate responsible Government in Travancore¹⁴. A section of democratic people in Cochin and Travancore was made to accept the responsible government of Travancore however it was a step to realization of United Kerala for not only did it continue the multilingual character

of the new state of Travancore-Cochin. The same time perpetuated the rule of the maharaja of Travancore as the Rajpramukh of the new state and provided for the payment of nearly Rs 40 lakhs per year as allowance to the ruling families of Trvancore and Cochin. With this ended one phase of the struggle for United Kerala.¹⁵

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THE PRESS IN KERALA

P. Ashmi Jenex

Introduction

The Press in Kerala has played a major role in the shaping of modern Kerala being a powerful device of information, instruction and propaganda, by opening a wide window to the happenings of the outside world and by mobilising public opinion on problems of varied nature. It was the Portuguese who introduced the first printing press in Quilon in Kerala and the next in Vaipinkotta, a suburb of Cochin. In the early stages, the press was concerned with the diffusion of knowledge of Christianity among the illiterate and downtrodden people of the country.

Vidyavilasini

The publication of Vidyavilasini in 1881 from Trivandrum was an important landmark in the history of journalism in Kerala. Its editor was Mullassery who published articles on literature. Mullassery got the patronage and support of literary giants like Kerala Varma Valiakoyil Thampuran whose translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntalam first appeared in the Vidyavilasini.

SATHYANADA KAHALAM

Sathyanada Kahalam, a fortnightly, was published by Rev. Fr. Candidus in 1876. Criticism of government policies by the press drew wide attention all over Kerala. The Sathyanadam made notable contributions to Malayalam literature and also in the social and political fields.

Kerala Patrika

In 1884, Kunjirama Menon, a teacher with great skill in journalism, published the paper Kerala Patrika from Calicut. The paper published national issues, and after the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, it came to be regarded as a Congress paper. Its editor 'Kesari' was fearless in criticising the government of the day.

Kerala Mitram

Kerala Mitram published by Kandathil Varghese Mappila provided a wide range of contemporary accounts maintaining a high standard. It published articles on general topics of public welfare. This paper produced a remarkable effect upon the political critics.

Nazrani Deepika

The Nazrani Deepika, published from Kottayam, stood for the social, cultural and political uplift of the Christian community. Gradually, it began to show interest in politics, literature and other topics of general interest.

Malayali

In 1886, the Malayali was published from Trivandrum. It spearheaded the crusade for political and civil rights. It played a positive role in the struggle for freedom, and fought against the authoritarian government of Shri C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer. West Coast Spectator, Kerala Sanchari and Deepika were the major organs of public opinion at the end of the 19th century in Kerala.

Malayalam Manorama

The Malayalam Manorama Company was started in 1888 by Kandathil Varughese Mappila, a man of deep understanding of human problems. In its early states, it got royal patronage from Kerala Varma Valiakoil Thampuran and Sri Moolam Tirunal Maharaja. In 1890, Malayala Manorama started publication as a weekly from Kottayam. It started as a literary publication to promote the growth of Malayalam literature, but in 1928, it was converted into a daily. Varghese Mappila was its first editor and organizer of the Malayala Manorama Company. He successfully projected the social, economic and political problems of the period. He organized the intellectual stalwarts of Kerala and made significant contributions to the promotion of Malayalam language and literature. This leading paper discussed problems relating to public health, medical facilities, plantation, economy, responsible government, civic rights, etc. In September 1938 the paper was confiscated by the Government, on the charge of having published seditious and provocative news. Its editor was arrested and sent to jail, and the paper discontinued publication till 1947. At present, this paper is published from Kottayam, Kozhikode, Kochi, Thiruvananthapuram, Palakkad, Kannur, Kollam and Thrissur and it has also the largest circulation among the Malayalam dailies in Kerala.

T.K. Madhavan through Desabhimani, C. Ayyappan through Sahodaran, C. Krishnan through Mithavadi, Murkoothu Kumaraj

through Vivekodayam carried on ceaseless struggle against social injustice.

Mathrubhoomi

Mathrubhoomi published from Calicut in 1923 was the most popular nationalist paper of Kerala. It published articles on a variety of subjects and its circulation extended to remote villages. The Madras Government banned the daily and the order invited an agitation for withdrawal of the ban. The Government withdrew the order after a few days. Diwan Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer refused the entry of the paper in the princely state since he could not accommodate public reaction. Mathrubhoomi had to stay out, but made triumphant re-entry in 1947.

Al-Ameen

Al-Ameen, another popular daily, was started by Mohammed Abdul Rahiman Sahib. It was published from Calicut and it inflamed national feeling, which infuriated the authorities to issue orders for its discontinuance.

Prabhatham

E.M.S. Namboothiripad was the editor of the paper Prabhatham, published from Shorannur. It was the organ of the newly formed Congress Socialist Party. It published a poem on Bhagat Singh's martyrdom and therefore its license was cancelled.

Deenabandhu

During the period of the Quit India Movement, Deenabandhu, edited by V.K. Krishnan Ezhuthachan, was published. It echoed the sentiments of the radical nationalists. It had to face a lot of opposition from the authorities and it was banned by the Government. In spite of all these problems, Deenabandhu continued publication till 1962.

Kerala Kaumudi

Kerala Kaumudi earned an abiding place in the hearts of the depressed classes in Kerala. It started its publication in 1911 from Quilon by C.V. Kunhiraman, and later it was shifted to Trivandrum. With the death of C.V. Kunhiraman, the editorship was taken over by his son K. Sukumaran. He championed the cause of the backward classes and fought for responsible government in Travancore.

Samadarshi

Kesari Balakrishna Pillai edited the paper Samadarshi. Kesari was very popular as an essayist, critic, poet and public activist. He attacked the orthodox Hindus who denied the right of freedom of movement to the untouchables. Samadarshi was banned by the Government. Malayala Rajyam started publication in 1924. Freedom of the press was restricted by the Government with the intensification of the struggle for freedom. Stringent measures were taken by the authorities against editors who criticised the activities of the Government. Swadesabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai attacked the nepotism and corruption of the Government, and its measures of suppressing the agitation for responsible government. The Government arrested and deported him from the State and the paper and press were confiscated. The Government had passed regulations to control the press from 1903 by preventing the publication of seditious matter. In 1926, a Regulation Act was passed depriving the people of freedom of expression and thought. The Act insisted that a licence should be obtained from the Government for publishing a newspaper, and that it should not contain any matter that might promote disaffection towards the royal family and the Government, or promote feeling of hatred against various classes, or habitually disseminate false information. Public meetings were held and resolutions were passed against this Act of the Government. In 1926, the licence of Navasakti was cancelled and in 1927 the licence of such other small papers were also cancelled. In 1930, the Travancore Press Act was passed. It stipulated that an amount of Rs. 1000/- should be deposited as security before the District magistrate when the Manager of a paper sought licence for publication. The Government retained the power to forfeit the amount and property in the case of the abuse of the freedom of the press. The licence of Desham was cancelled by the Government in 1933 since it supported the demand of the communities like Ezhavas, Muslims and Christians for adequate representation in the legislature of the State of Travancore. Press Regulations were again issued by the Government in 1935 against the newspapers which offered sharp criticism of the policies and programmes of the Government.

Kottayam Patrika was cancelled in 1935 by applying the Regulation of the Same year. The Newspaper Regulation Act 1936 of Cochin was strongly protested by the people. The All India Journalists Association expressed deep resentment against the repressive legislation against the press. The Malabar Press Association of editors, printers and publishers of newspapers requested the repeal of restrictions against the press. In spite of public protest, severe action was taken against journalists who inspired the Civil Disobedience Movement and the agitation for temple entry.

Politics and Press

In the Pre-Independence period there was stiff competition among papers and a fierce struggle for survival. Journalism in Kerala became increasingly politically-oriented. In spite of political orientation certain standard newspapers searched for the root of the issues and tried to expose the truth to the public. Chandrika, the official organ of the Muslim League, started publication as a daily in 1939 from Kozhikode, Desabhimani, the official organ of the Communist party (M), became a popular daily from 1946. It was banned in 1948 by the Government, but it resumed publication in 1951. The Communist Party of India published Janayugam from Quilon, highlighting the problems of the working classes. The Malabar Mail of the Archbishop of Ernakulam published news relating to the Catholic Community of Cochin. There were papers having regional outlook like Pauradhwani, Paurakahalam, etc.

Conclusion

The History of the press in Kerala is one of repressions against the freedom of the press. In spite of repressions, the press in Kerala succeeded in spreading the ideas of freedom of thought and expression, civic, economic and political rights, freedom of movement, challenge against authoritarian rule, etc. At present, Kerala has about 70 dailies including both English and Malayalam like The Hindu, The Indian Express, Malayala Manorama, Mathrubhumi, Kerala Kaumudi, Mangalam, Madhyamam, Desabhimani, etc., more than 80 weeklies, about fifty fortnightlies and about a hundred, monthlies.

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WELFARE PROGRAMMES TO TAMIL NADU POLICE PERSONNEL – A STUDY

A. Ashok Naveen

Introduction to Tamil Nadu Police Department

Tamil Nadu Police Department is the primary law enforcement agency of the state of Tamil Nadu. It is over 150 years old and is the fifth largest state police force in India. Tamil Nadu has a police-population ratio of 1:632. For administrative purposes, the state has been divided into four police zones – North, South, West and Central and each zone headed by an Inspector General of Police.

Inspector-general of police will be assisted by a Deputy Inspector-General Of Police with a jurisdiction of range comprising two or more districts. Each district is headed by a Superintendent of Police, whereas a major metropolitan city such as Chennai is headed by the Commissioner of Police equivalent to the rank of Additional Director General of Police. Madurai, Tiruchirappalli, Salem, Tiruppur, Tirunelveli, Coimbatore are headed by a City Commissioner Of Police equivalent to the rank of Inspector-General of Police.

The posts of Additional Director General of Police and Inspector General of Police have been created to take care of the welfare activities meant for the Men and Officers in the Police Department and also to redress their grievances.

The Government of Tamil Nadu has directed all Unit Officers to conduct the grievance day for the Police personnel on the scheduled dates earmarked for them.

All the SsP of districts should attend the AR parade and hold orderly rooms to listen to and to redress the grievances of the police personnel	Every Friday
All the SsP of districts should hold Grievance Day for Local Police personnel attached to the various units in the districts	Every Tuesday
Range DIGs should hold Grievance Days at Range Headquarters	Once in a Month
ADGsP/ Zonal IGsP/ IGsP of Special Units should hold Grievance Day	Once in two Month

DGP will conduct the Grievance Day once in three months in State Headquarters. To provide an opportunity for re-employment for retired Police personnel and Ministerial Staff, the details of Retired Police personnel who want employment with private agencies are made

available on their website. The details have been arranged as per their preference for place of working. A variety of police welfare schemes are created for the benefit of police personnels, their dear and near. Therefore, the purpose this article is to list out the welfare programmes created for the benefit of police personnels.

WELFARE PROGRAMMES TO TAMIL NADU POLICE PERSONNEL

Tamil Nadu Police Benevolent Fund

This scheme was introduced in the year 1957 with the objective of providing monetary and other relief to the Non-gazetted Staff and their Family Members. The government constituted the Tamil Nadu Police Benevolent Fund (TNPBF), for the benefit of Non-Gazetted Police and Ministerial Staff of the Police Department. This fund is being generated by way of collecting subscriptions from the Police Personnel as well as from the Ministerial Staff of the Police Department and also by way of donations from the Officers of the Police Department.

(a) Family relief of Rs.25,000/- is provided in the event of the subscriber's death and Rs.5000/- for death of family members of the subscriber.

(b) Centenary Scholarship for the children of employees of the Police Department ranging from Rs.4,200/- to Rs.12,000/- is sanctioned. Every year approximately Rs.3 crores is utilized.

(c) A special medical relief scheme of providing financial assistance to the subscribers of TNPBF up to 4 Lakhs as a one time measure for his entire service period and maximum amount of 1 Crore per year has been allotted from TNPBF towards the treatment of life threatening diseases.

(d) Medical relief of Rs.5,000 has been granted to subscribers and family members for three times only during the entire service.

(e) Financial Assistance to the subscribers of TNPBF up to Rs.4 lakhs is in vogue. An amount of Rs.2 crores per year is allotted from TNPBF Central Committee towards the treatment of the threatening diseases. During the year 2015, an amount of Rs.5.43 crores has been utilized from Tamil Nadu Police Benevolent Funds and 581 Police Personnel were benefited. During the year 2016 (up to 30.36.2016), an amount of Rs.2.95

crores has been utilized and 293 Police Personnel were benefited.

SCHEMES UNDER THE ANNUAL GOVERNMENT GRANT

Prize Scheme

In G.O. (D) No.8371, Government had issued orders with regard to the increase of Prizes under the Prize Scheme (in) from 3 to 10 both in 10th and 12th Standard in each District and Commissionerate and also the Prize Scheme is extended to the children of Ministerial and Auxilliary Staff. The Prize amount is also increased from Rs.6000/- to Rs.6500/-, Rs.4000/- to Rs.4500/- and Rs.2000/- to Rs.2500/- for 10th standard and Rs.7000/- to Rs.7500/-, Rs.5000/- to Rs.5500/- and Rs.3000/- to Rs.3500/- for 12th standard respectively. Similarly, the other seven prizes have been increased (i.e.) 4th to 10th ranked students of 10th and 12th standard from Rs.1500/- to Rs.2000/- and Rs.2000/- to Rs.2500/- respectively. Every year nearly about 750 children of Police personal / Ministerial staffs are benefitted under the scheme.

Tamil Nadu Police Centenary Scholarship

This Fund was introduced in the year 1959. The main objective of this scheme is to motivate the deserving children of the non-gazetted Police Personnel to pursue higher education through this scholarship. The Annual donations and Lumpsum contributions constitute this Fund. A sum of Rs.2,87,87,500/- was sanctioned during the year 2009-2010.

Tamil Nadu Government Special Scholarship Fund

In order to encourage and facilitate the bright and promising young children of the Employee of the Police Department, Government in their order has introduced the Tamil Nadu Government Special Scholarship to pursue their higher education and in which the first 100 wards who had secured highest marks in +2 standard will be paid Rs.20,000 or the amount paid to the institutions whichever is less for 4 years or till the course is completed.²

Tamil Nadu Government Special Scholarship

The Tamil Nadu Government Special Scholarship is granted to the children of Police

Personnel to pursue higher education. The First 100 students who secure highest mark in +2 standard are granted Rs.20,000/- or the actual amount paid to the institutions, whichever is less, for 4 years, or till the course is completed. Special Scholarship amount sanctioned to the wards has been enhanced from Rs.20,000/- to Rs.25,000/- by including hostel fees.

New Health Insurance Scheme

In G.O. No.174³ Government has issued orders for the implementation of the New Health Insurance Scheme with effect from 11.06.2008. Government of Tamil Nadu has engaged Star Health and Allied Insurance Company Ltd. to implement this scheme. Enhanced coverage upto Rs 2 lakhs for every 4 years period as compared to Rs. One lakh for the entire service period, No need to make payment to the hospital, Expanded coverage for more diseases, More number of new hospitals included, Treatment in approved hospitals outside state also made eligible for coverage are the highlights of the scheme.

Under this scheme, so far 69,575/- Identity Cards have been received from the Star Health Insurance Scheme and issued to the police personnel. Government Servants and their Family Members are eligible to avail the concession of Rs.2 lakhs for every 4 years for their Medical Treatment subject to certain restrictions laid down in the Government Orders referred to above.

Ex-Gratia Payment

The Government sanctions ex-gratia amount to Police Personnel who are killed / disabled/injured under heroic or tragic circumstances in the course of duty to compensate for their sufferings/loss ranging from Rs.10,000/- to Rs.5,00,000/-. The Police Personnel today face various challenges and threats while discharging their duties, particularly while handling crowds in Law and Order situation. They are exposed to serious injuries also. Therefore, Government have sanctioned ex-gratia payment for the heroic deeds of the Police Personnel to compensate for their sufferings/loss. The following amount is sanctioned as ex-gratia irrespective of the rank held by them and the unit in which they are serving as per G.O. Ms.No.284.⁴

1.	Killed	Rs.5,00,000
2.	Totally Disabled	Rs.2,00,000
3.	Single amputee and one eye blind, loss of toes, fingers precluding employment	Rs.1,00,000
4.	Burns Gun shot wounds multiple compound fracture	Rs.50,000/-
5.	Simple injuries for all ranks	Rs.10,000/-

In case of death in harness, the legal heirs of the deceased are paid along with the pay last drawn by the deceased Police Personnel as family pension till the date of superannuation of the deceased.

Appointments on Compassionate Grounds

Appointments on compassionate grounds are given to the legal heirs of the Government servants who die while in service. The appointments on Compassionate grounds are given only for the posts of sweepers, OAs, Data Entry Operators,/JAs and Gr.II PCs.

Three separate waiting lists for appointment on compassionate grounds to the posts of Junior Assistant/Typist including Data Entry Operator, Office Assistant and Sweeper are being maintained. These waiting lists are not permanent ones. The seniority of the candidates in the waiting lists may change whenever new candidates are included in the waiting lists on the basis of their date of preferring the first application.

Schemes in relation to Health of Police Officials

Certain health related issues are addressed in the schemes for the better performance of police officials.

Tamil Nadu Police Health Fund

During the financial year 2015 – 2016, an amount of Rs.1.50 crores has been allotted to the Police Health Fund Scheme to settle the pending have been provided with financial assistance.

Formation of Medical Out Patient Units

In G.O. (Ms).No.707⁵ the Government of Tamil Nadu has sanctioned the formation of Out

Patient Unit at 26 Armed Reserve (AR) Headquarters and 10 Tamil Nadu Special Police Battalion Headquarters for the welfare of Police Personnel and their family member. All Police Personnel and their family members are availing these facilities.

Master Medical Health Check Up

As per the Government of Tamil Nadu announcement, the Police Personnel who have completed 40 years of age are provided a free Master Health Checkup once in a year at Government Hospitals. Orders to this were issued in G.O. (Ms).No.142.⁶ During the year 2015, 87% of Police Personnel have availed of these facilities.

Police Hospitals

There are 12 Police Hospitals at present in various places i.e Chennai, Madurai, Trichy, Coimbatore, Salem, St. Thomas Mount, Vellore, Cuddalore, Virudhunagar, Tirunelveli, TSP II Bn. Avadi and TSP IX Bn. Manimuthar. It has been decided by the Govt. to upgrade the Police Hospital at Chennai as 100 bedded hospital with some specialities. It has also been decided to upgrade the Police Hospital at Madurai City with some specialities.

Tamil Nadu Police Insurance Scheme

Police Personnel of all ranks are covered under the existing Tamil Nadu Police Insurance Scheme. The legend heirs and the nominees are benefited under this scheme in case of death of Police Personnel. This scheme includes accidents resulting in death and permanent incapacitation or partial disability suffered during the course of their duties.

The amount of insurance payment in the event of death of Police Constables to Inspectors is Rs.2.00 lakhs while for Deputy Superintendents of Police and Additional Superintendents of Police, it is Rs.4.00 lakhs. Insurance payment for disabilities suffered will depend on the extent of disablement.

Compassionate Ground Appointments

Steps have been taken to consider the 805 persons in the waiting list for appointment as Data Entry Operators who are waiting for an appointment for more than eight years. Government orders were received in G.O. Ms.

No. 9897. Out of 805 candidates 671 candidates have successfully completed the 3 months training from 14.02.2005 to 13.05.2005 & posted to all Cities & Districts in Police Stations on a consolidated pay of Rs.2500/-P.M.

Tamil Nadu Police Subsidiary Canteen

Benefits of this scheme are enjoyed by both serving and retired Personnel of Police, Fire Service and Prison Departments. At present there are 81,082 families which are benefitted by Tamil Nadu Police Subsidiary Canteen. During the last five years, Government of Tamil Nadu has started 47 Canteens at a total cost of Rs.7.56 crores at 32 District Headquarters and 15 Battalions.

In G.O. Ms.No.1162⁸ Government has issued orders for the implementation of the New Food Subsidy Scheme for the supply of some essential commodities to Police Personnel from the rank of Police Constables to Inspectors through the Public Distribution System at 50% rate with effect from 01.10.2008. As on to-day, 58,947 Khaki Cards had been issued to the Police personnel for the supply of Essential commodities.

Food Subsidy Scheme

Police Personnel from the rank of Constables to Inspectors are given 50% subsidy for essential articles bought through the Public Distribution System. They have been given distinctive khaki cards for this purpose. 70,973 Police Personnel have khaki colour Ration Cards and are purchasing the commodities at subsidized rates.

Tamil Nadu Police Welfare Co-Operative Societies

Several Magalir Sangams and Co-operative Industrial societies are functioning under the control of the Commandants. They mostly undertake the work of stitching the police uniforms and earn profits. Films are shown to the police personnel and their family members every week at the Battalion headquarters.

Recreational Facilities

Films are shown to the Police personnel and their family members every week at the Battalion Head Quarters. Apart from this, dailies, weeklies and other periodicals are supplied to

the personnel at the reading rooms. In all Battalions, Police stores are available and they cater to the needs of the Police personnel.

Tamil Nadu Chief Minister's Public Relief Fund

Relief from the Chief Minister's Public Relief Fund is sanctioned to the family of deceased Police Personnel.

Sanction of Discretionary Fund

The Government of Tamil Nadu in G.O. (Ms).No.838⁹ has sanctioned an amount of Rs.5.00 crores as discretionary grant to the Director General of Police, Tamil Nadu, for purchase of equipment and other requirements for the Police Department. A total of 4,315 articles were procured by different unit offices throughout the state.

Compassionate Grounds Appointments

Compassionate grounds appointments are given to the eligible legal heir of the Police Personnel who die in harness and the family is left in indigent circumstances. In the year 2016 only, Government of Tamil Nadu in G.O. (2D). No.102¹⁰ has sanctioned 96 Office Assistants under compassionate grounds appointments.

Conclusion

The creation and execution of such welfare schemes are essential for the better functioning and performance of police personnels. The life of staff and officers of Police Department must be comfortable and their basic amenities must be fulfilled. In order to provide a corrupt free police service these welfare programmes and schemes are mooted. Creation and right execution of these welfare schemes not only address the issues of Police personnel but also to their wards, dear and nears.

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SARDAR PATEL AND THE POLITICS OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY

K. Ashok

Madras Presidency was a heterogeneous collection of autonomous territories in which the Tamilnad or the Tamil country has been described as " a country, almost a nation, on its own."¹ Madras Presidency represents a unique picture in the Political map of Colonial India. By the turn of the 20th century the provincial politics of Madras was dominated by the Brahmin, Non-Brahmin contest and challenges. The Congress party in Madras presidency from 1919-23 was also deeply divided along ideological, strategic

and factional lines.² The Congress party in Madras presidency was studded with many leaders such as T. Prakasam, Satyamurthy and later his disciple Kamaraj, Kesava Menon and Rajaji. Of all Rajaji was the leading political figure from Madras who had a close association with the National leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. Gandhiji used to call Rajaji as his "conscience keeper".³ Rajaji differed with the Congress on important issues such as the Quit India Movement and on the Issue of Partition.

In August 1945 the Government of India announced elections for the Central and Provincial Assemblies. With the announcement there was unrest in Madras Presidency for the post of leader, Gandhiji backed Rajaji, and Patel as the Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board and Maulana Azad as the President of the Congress Party tried to uphold the decision of Gandhiji. But Rajaji was attacked by Kamaraj from one end and Andhra Kesari, Prakasam on the other side. This was the first instance of successful defiance of the Congress High Command. This Paper deliberates on the correspondence between Sardar Patel as the Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board and the Congress leaders of Madras Presidency.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who is known as '*the Deputy Commander*' of Gandhi was known for his organisational skills. His successful organised the Bardoli Satyagraha campaign which made the British to call him as *the Lenin of Bardoli*⁴ and after the Bardoli Satyagraha he was conferred with the title Sardar.⁵ During the Civil Disobedience it was Sardar who decided to break the law at Dandi, and the march was successful mainly due to his arrangements. In 1931 he was elected as the President of INC at the Karachi session and by 1936 he assumed the new role as the Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board. As Chairman he supervised the task of selecting the Congress candidates for the 1937 election.⁶ In addition he gave guidance to the Congress Ministers, to pull up defaulting party men, to smother revolts even by stalwarts and thereby discipline the party. In his capacity as the Chairman he had interactions with all the Pradesh Congress committees including the TNCC, where his advice was nullified.

Rajaji, the leader from the South was a son of a Brahmin village munsif, educated in Bangalore and Madras, and practiced his legal profession first at Salem and moved to Madras. He was very much taken by the programmes of Gandhiji and championed the Non-cooperation movement in South India. He organised a parallel salt march from 13th to 30th April 1930 from Trichy to Vedaranyam and was arrested. In 1937 when the elections were conducted based on the Government of India Act of 1935, the Congress party won the election and Rajaji became the Premier of Madras. Most of the

programmes of the Rajaji's Ministry ended up failure so he became unpopular. In 1940 he received a major setback in TNCC, his candidate C.P. Subbiah was defeated by Satyamurti's Kamaraj. Later he also differed with the Congress on important issues such as the Quit India Movement and on the Issue of Partition and resigned from the Congress.

On 21st August 1945 the Government of India announced elections for the Central and Provincial Assemblies. The Congress party went in action and set up the Central Election board with Azad as president and Sardar Patel as the chairman of the Parliamentary board. It was decided by the board on 25th September 1945 regarding the selection of candidates:⁷

(1) In the case of reports from a Pradesh Congress Committee containing the name of one candidate for a constituency, and where there was no contest among Congressmen, Sardar was given authority to approve the proposal.

(2) In other cases the names were to be circulated with Sardar's recommendations to the other members of the Board for their comments.

At that time Sardar was not well and was getting treatment at Nature Cure clinic Poona and the President of the Congress, Azad was also undergoing treatment at Bindhachal in United Provinces. On 15 October 1945 Sardar wrote a letter to Azad pointed out, if the procedure for circulation was followed, it would not be possible to dispose of the applications in time; that it was not possible to call a meeting which members of the Board could attend at short notice; and that in the circumstances he had no alternative but "to give a decision according to my own light in case replies are not received in time from the members of the Committee"⁸

Elections to the Central Assembly was done in 1945 and the Congress party was not performance was not so good in reserved seats. Sardar felt the selection of candidates was the reason for the mediocre performance of the Congress and decided for the Provincial election the final selection of candidates should be done by the Board. In his letter to Azad on 6th November 1945 he remarked, "we must send our instructions to the Provinces as soon as possible and must also decide about the

procedure to be adopted by the Board.⁹ Sardar wanted the Central board to function as a single unit and would recommend the names to the local boards.

With elections to the provinces were approaching faster, there was a spur of political activity in Madras Presidency for the post of leader. The TNCC Chief Kamaraj, Prakasam the President of the Andhra Congress and Madhava Menon, the leader of the Malabar Congress sought the advice of the Congress High command for the post of leader. Gandhiji backed Rajaji, and Patel and Azad tried to uphold the decision of Gandhiji. But Rajaji was attacked by Kamaraj from one end and Prakasam on the other side. This was the first instance of successful defiance of the Congress High Command.

Patel had a close association with Rajaji for many years. When he was behind the bars, he announced Rajaji as the acting president of the Congress in July 1932 to represent the Congress at the Poona negotiations and signed the Poona pact on behalf of the Congress Party.¹⁰ In 1937 Patel wanted Rajaji to be president of INC and by 1939 Patel and Rajaji wanted an agreement with the British for India's support at War. Later Rajaji openly opposed the Quit India Resolution and strongly supported the Issue of Partition. On 5th July, 1942 Kamaraj the president of TNCC issued a show cause notice why disciplinary action should not be taken against him?¹¹ Rajaji resigned his congress membership.

In 1945 many Congress leaders of Madras such as Prakasam and Kamaraj were released from jail. Rajaji was back in the Congress with Azad accepting him after his failure in bringing the Congress and the League on the issue of partition. Rajaji's re-entry to Congress created a general anger since he didn't take part in the Quit India Movement. The TNCC met at Ariyalur in 1945 and passed a resolution denying roles for those who stayed out of the Quit India Movement by 670 to 4 votes.¹² Hitting out Rajaji indirectly for his re-entry into Congress.

Sardar wanted Rajaji not only to be admitted but wanted him to take up the leadership due to his outstanding qualities. He remarked, "I would any day welcome Rajaji's coming back to the legislature, because I know

that he is head and shoulders above all Congressmen in the Province in ability, integrity and sincerity."¹³ He was in favour of Rajaji but didn't want to impose it from above and he left it to the provincial board to decide. Further to ease the situation, Sardar thought of nominating Rajaji to the Central Legislative Assembly and sent word through Kamaraj but the information didn't reach Rajaji and he mistook Sardar wanted him not to be at the centre.

In Oct 1945 the TNCC met at Tiruparankunram and it was decided not to accept Rajaji back into congress. In order to straighten the affairs Sardar appointed Mr. Asaf Ali to work with TNCC. But Asaf Ali was not able to bring a amicable settlement regarding Rajaji's entry. Kamaraj sent a telegram to Sardar if the high command takes any decision without consulting him, it would have unfortunate repercussions. In response to the telegram Patel wrote to Kamaraj on 25th December 1945: The working Committee naturally is anxious to see that the atmosphere in the province is settled before the elections, but it is unfortunate that your attitude is not helpful at all. Your telegram contains a veiled threat of indiscipline if not of revolt, there is no question of imposing any decisions from above but you and your colleagues must realize that the working committee has also a responsibility and it cannot abdicate its function if it has been approached by as many as about one third of the members of your Provincial Congress Committee.¹⁴

After this letter Kamaraj sent a telegram to Patel that the provincial election board has been constituted in consultation with Rajaji and he will consult with him at all stages of selection. The composition of the board was Kamaraj, Muthuranga Mudaliar, Ramasami Reddy, Avanashilangam, Mrs. Lakshmi pathi, Subbaiah, Muniswami Pillai and Annamalaipillai as members.¹⁵

In reply to the telegram Sardar wrote a letter to Kamaraj dated 30th Dec 1945, in this letter he noted " I am glad that at last you have all agreed on a joint formula....You also know that a deputation from England is visiting the country, rightly or wrongly Rajaji happens to be an international figure and the deputation would meet him without fail during their visit to Madras. It would be unwise to antagonise him altogether and throw him away. We must use him and his

talents for the good of the country as far as possible without compromising our principles."¹⁶

Later Sardar learnt that in the TNCC election board meetings Rajaji was not allowed to be present and Kamaraj simply consulted him after the decisions were taken. Sardar was very furious and send a strong letter condemning the action of Kamaraj. Kamaraj in his letter dated 23rd Jan 1946 noted, "I have been acting in full consultation with him and I am quite confident that he himself will have no occasion to complain to you in the matter."¹⁷ Sardar replied in his letter dated 27th Jan 1946 as you had given assurance to me you will consult him. "But if he has anything to complain regarding the settlement made with me, I will see that it is enforced in full. It would, therefore still be wise for you to act up to it without creating any trouble."¹⁸

Meanwhile Gandhiji visited Tamil Nad and wrote an article titled "Curious" in reference to situation of the Tamil Nad Congress. In the article he noted, " Rajaji is a great social reformer and his political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. I was therefore, pained to find a clique against him. It is a clique that evidently counts in the official Congress in Madras. But the masses are devoted to Rajaji. He also added I had no hesitation in saying that Rajaji was by far the best man for the purpose in the Southern Presidency and if I had the disposal in my hands I would call Rajaji to office."¹⁹ In reference to the article of Gandhiji, Kamaraj resigned his membership of the Parliamentary Board and sent his resignation by telegram to Sardar. Sardar felt disappointed with the action of Kamaraj.

To bring a compromise, Rajaji was offered a University seat but he decided not to contest and sent a letter to Gandhiji asking his permission to leave the Congress and for the University seat he suggested Sambamurti. Sardar in response to Rajaji's permission to withdraw wrote a letter on 22nd Feb 1946 noted, "How can anybody support you if you were to act like this?"²⁰

The personality conflict in the TNCC worried Patel. In his letter on 9th Feb 1946 to Dr. Subbarayan he expressed, "The Tamil Nad problem has been a constant source of trouble and anxiety to me. I am doing my best to be helpful but there are elements which seem to be

irreconcilable and although there is apparent calm over the surface. I sense there is a good deal of disturbance underground. I am longing for the day when this would disappear".²¹

The elections for Madras took place in March 1946 and Sardar wrote a letter to Kamaraj dated 19th March 1946 regarding the formation of ministry and leader of the Congress Assembly Party. He in his letter noted, " No time should be lost, therefore in the selection of the Leader. I should like to know whether you have thought of this questions and if so who is your choice. If you have not decided yet, some of you who count must meet immediately and let me know on whom the choice is going to fall."²² On the same day he wrote another letter to V.V. Giri in which he stated that there is a political vacuum due to the withdrawal of Rajaji and the Congress party will miss the keen intellect and guidance of Rajaji during the Parliamentary delegation visit.²³

Telegrams were sent to Gopala Reddi, Kamaraj, Rajaji and to Prakasam by Azad and Sardar in April 1946 asking them to come to Delhi for settling the Party Leader's Election at Madras. In his letter to V.V. Giri dated 6th April 1946 Sardar expressed his anguish, "Everybody is anxious to see that a proper selection is made but there seems to be enormous difficulties and the one man who could run the show with efficiency and integrity is not likely to be selected for various reasons...we have called some of the leading congressmen from the three provinces and if they come, we propose to enquire and give them our advice. More than that we cannot do."²⁴

On 18th April 1946 Sardar got a telegram sent by Parkasam, Madhava Menon, Kamaraj and Giri, and the telegram read:²⁵ *Madras Congress Legislature Party Met Today. 188 out of 196 Attended. Your Message Advising Rajagopalachari Leader and Subsequent Telegrams Placed before Party. After Full Discussion Party Recorded Inability To Accept Your Advice By 148 Votes Against 38 Neutrals. Meeting Adjourned for 19th 4 PM for Electing the Leader.*

In response to the telegram, Sardar wrote a reply to V. V Giri dated 20th April 1946 and noted: ²⁶ "All through this unfortunate controversy, I have advised consistently that the election of the leader rests with the party, we can only advice and it is for the party to accept or

reject it. *If democracy chooses to go wrong, it has a right to do so....* This is the first instance in Congress history where responsible Congressmen have failed to respond to a reasonable appeal from the leaders."

In July 1946, Nehru became the president of the Congress and recommended the name of Rajaji as the Premier of Madras with the support from Gandhi, Azad and Patel. This suggestion of

Nehru was put to vote in Madras Provincial Congress, it was defeated by 148 to 38 votes. Later Prakasam won the election and became the Premier on 30th April 1947.²⁷ Sardar's wish of Rajaji leading Madras turned true in 1952 but he was not alive to witness it. Sardar in spite of being the Chairman didn't enforce his decision and allowed the inner party democracy which is a classic style of leadership.

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THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPHERE – RETROSPECTION IN THE LIGHTS OF PRINTING TRADITION AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN NORTH MALABAR

M. Babitha

One of the foremost ideologists has defined public sphere we mean a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion¹. The public sphere is a vital component of socio political organization it is the space where people come together as citizens and articulate their independent view. These views strengthen or influence the political institution of a society ²

This paper is an attempt to analyse the structural transformation of public sphere and how printing, Education, public libraries to

creating public sphere in North Malabar. Printing is prime symbol of formation of a public sphere in Malabar. The institutionalization of missionary Education and printing the missionaries were not only interested in educating the illiterate and ignorant but also to educate them in their way. Efforts at translation and printing began as the result of the realization that sufficient amount of textual material for religious teaching and secular education, the missionaries were in the danger of lapsing into

the methodology of indigenous education which they were opposing introducing new education was a risky affair. There was the justifiable suspicion among the people that the new schools were centers of conversion³. People were also suspicious of printed books. Hence *olas* were used in elementary schools, but the missionaries managed to make copies of several texts by using writes on *Olas* as well as on paper⁴. In 1835 a general permission was given by the British Government to start printing presses anywhere in Kerala⁵. Printing presses and the early Malayalam grammars and dictionaries provided the frame work for the production of text book in Malayalam. This text book contains moral lesson and imparting or served indirectly a hidden agenda as followed⁶

The public sphere was a place between private individuals and government authorizes in which people could meet and have critical debates about public matters. Education, Media, Letters, Books, Drama, and Art etc. This are the major symbols of Public sphere⁷. The government entry into printing was also inspired by the missionaries and adoption of modern education was facilitated by the transformation of public sphere in North Malabar⁸. Malabar government began to encourage Malayalam education during the 19th century onwards. In response to the gradually developing movement of the social depressed castes and sections of population and also as a part of the effort to check the growing influence of the missionaries⁹. Use of the new technology of printing which was popularized by the missionaries had the capability to breaking through caste and gender barriers in the dissemination of knowledge¹⁰. Thus literacy along with print was treated as important tool for creating a space in North Malabar, British had developed a scientific temperament in all walks of their lives. Now British states began to manifested their power through a gradual extension of official zing procedures that established and extended their capacity in many areas. They exercised their control by defining and classifying their space, making separation between public and private sphere, by recording transactions such as the sale of property by counting and classifying their population replacing religious as the registers birth, marriages and deaths, and standardizing language and script¹¹

Knowledge is the tool for creating active Public sphere in North Malabar realm the relationship between power and knowledge fruit fully worked during colonial North Malabar. Knowledge and information is the basic resource for individuals social and national development. A society with abundant physical resources but lacking information infrastructure registers slow development. There is a continuous shift in society from industrial economy to the information economy free access to information is a social right. The library is a social institution which collects, preserve, retrieves and disseminates information. Public library is the most dominant social institution that facilities the multifarious progress of the society it is the agency that support formal Education also. During 19th onwards many colonial officials took initiative for the establishment of formal and non-formal educational institution in North Malabar area¹²

The printing is the most powerful and effective mechanism to bring desired and progressive changes in the society. Printing is a common plat form for the people to discuss matters of public importance it discusses vital issues of the masses it is an agent of mobilizing public opinion on problems and prospects of humanity. North Malabar witnessed a rapid growth of printing press and also formal and informal institution than in other parts of Kerala¹³. Printing press create widening the scope of public sphere. Reformers and political leaders their work concentrated on formation of a formal and informal institution and publication of many books book produced certain knowledge that transferred from one generation to another thus libraries became the center of cultural heritage¹⁴. During Nineteenth century the intervention of the state in the sphere of education Government established formal and in formal institution like libraries, as a part of its programmed expansion of educational facilities in the state. Various social and political forces directly or indirectly contributed to the birth and growth of many libraries in North Malabar. The political consciousness and organized movement resulted in recognizing the increased importance of the individual to creating public opinion and spreading political ideas presupposed an educated and informed public political workers therefore gave more emphasis to social education activities which necessitated

establishment of libraries in all area of North Malabar¹⁵.

With the advancement of printing technology several literary publications came into existence. The first newspaper Rajayasamacharam by Basel evangelical mission at thalassery started publication in June 1847 and other newspaper like Kerala Sanchari, Malayala manorama ,Darpanam , panchika , Swadeshabhimani were emerged as a part of literary movement and these dailies were subscribe to libraries and people were very curiosity to know the issues and current events . Newspaper and other dailies served as an important means of mobilizing public opinion people often had to travel many kilometers for now the newspaper news this was one of the main causes for the birth of libraries and reading room in every nook and corner of North Malabar ¹⁶.The educational work of the Basel Mission in North Malabar was always directed educating the masses through primary education. The educational contribution the mission did not think of spreading Christianity but also in giving primary education to make the people of North Malabar literate .The Main aim of a mission emancipated the people from all kinds of social evils ,North Malabar experiencing from several types of caste bondage the Basel mission made efforts to eradicate the caste bondage .The mission started school and give admission to all caste group people the teaching also stressed upon unity and equality in humanity¹⁷. The Basel mission had a short span of activity in many areas of North Malabar promoting educational institution .it thus worked intensely in the field of

education, literature, etc the mission achievements contributed to the development of education that create equality and public sphere among people and modernization of North Malabar society¹⁸.

The North Malabar region was famous for the establishment of libraries some of the important libraries are Calicut public library [1890], Victoria memorial library now known as Azad memorial library in Thellichery [1901], Sree Narayana vilasam Vayanasala Kannur [1926], Aikya Kerala library at Kozhikode[1934],Tagore library and reading room New Mahe [1934], Gurudeva vilasm library and reading room Pathayakunnu ,Deshaposhini Vayanasala Kozhikode [1934] etc. These libraries are influenced intelligentsia group in North Malabar¹⁹.

The activities of libraries mobilized all sections of people; libraries possess many roles conducting educational programmers, Self-employment programmers, Cultural activity etc. Libraries strengthens the reading habit among the people. Library is the most dominant Social institution that facilitates the multifarious progress of society it supplements formal education and supports the non-formal education and continuing self-education it is the best institution for eradication of illiteracy

Formation and nature of public spaces are always transforming according to the needs of time and period. Both printing technology and education have made valuable contribution in the developments of Public sphere in North Malabar.

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VELU NACHIYAR : A SYMBOL OF BRAVERY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH POWER IN SIVAGANGA

A. Bala Mary & Dr. L. Selvamuthukumarasami

In general, everyone born in North India has a high reputation in all fields. Historians hail them to the world stage. But people who are born in the soil of South India inherit full of energy, knowledge and martyrdom but history does not recognize them. The first reason, the South Indians do not feel the best of ours. Even if they do, it is not appreciated. Velu Nachiyar was the first woman to fight the British regime. During those time after the death of her husband, it was the usual practice of the wife to commit Sati but Velu Nachiyar as a heroine avenged not only the victims who killed her husband, but also won 8 years of war to recover the lost state. That is why the heroic Tamil people glorified VeluNachiyaras a Brave Woman. Muthu Vadakanathar's wife Veera Mangai Velu Nachiyar, who fought against the British 200 years before Jhansi Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi appeared in the North of Venkatam. It seems to refer Jhansi Rani as "Velunachi of the North" than to be called the Jhansi Rani of Tamil Nadu.¹

Birth and upbringing of VeluNachiyar

Velu Nachiyar was born on 3rd January 1730 A.D. in Ramanathapuram, Tamilnadu, India in the royal family of Ramnad Kingdom. Father was Raja Chellamuthu Sethupathy and mother Rani Muthathal Nachiyar belonging to the region of Sakandhi. Velu Nachiyar is the only child and her father provided skills in using the sword in the war and Velu Nachiyar excelled as a heroism.

Velu Nachiyar was excellent in archery, horse riding, *silambam*, a martial, and Handling of weapon *valari*. Velu Nachiyar had speaking and writing skills in several languages like Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Sanskrit, Urdu, English, French, learned scholar in Sanga Illakiam (Literature) like Mahabharatham, Kambaramayanam, Silapathikaram besides good administrative skills.² VeluNachiyar gained

all these skills within her age of 16 years and became famous Princess of Ramnad regime.

Velu Nachiyar ruled as the Queen of Sivaganga from 1780 A.D. to 1789 A.D. and during this term VeluNachiyar learned French language from Jose D. Bray, a catholic priest. Velu Nachiyar was considered to be a brave queen who struggled and recaptured Sivaganga during the war of Sivaganga which made the Nawab of Arcot and the British regime withdraw their force by looking at her bravery and finally fled away from Sivaganga.

Velu Nachiyar met Hyder Ali in Dindigul and conversed in Urdu and highly impressed him. This meeting paved the way for Hyder Ali to understand Velu Nachiyar's motive to chase out the British. Hyder Ali promised and provided full support to Velu Nachiyar to succeed in her mission to retrieve her Sivaganga Kingdom. Velu Nachiyar is also known as "Veera Mangai of Sivaganga or Veera Mangai Velu Nachiyar" which means the 'Brave Woman'.

Velu Nachiyar's marriage with Muthu Vaduganathar

In 1746 A.D. at the age of 16 years, Velu Nachiyar was married to Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar, in-charge of the administration of Sivaganga, son of Sasivarna Periya Udaya, the King of Sivaganga. The couple had a daughter named Vellachi after 20 years of married life in 1766 A.D.³

Death of King Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar of Sivaganga

King Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar ruled Sivaganga with the support of Thandavaraya Pillai and the Marudhu Pandya Brothers. In 1772 A.D. British regime had an eye to capture Sivaganga so various groups of forces marched towards Sivaganga. One group of soldiers under the British led by Commander

Joseph Smith, another group led by Umdat-ul-Umra, son of Mohammed Ali, the Nawab of Arcot and another group from the west side under the British led by Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Bonjour. These three groups of soldiers under different leaderships attacked from various sides and captured Cholapuram Military Station, Keeranur Military Station and region of Kalaiyar Koil. Muthu Vaduganathar, the ruler of Sivaganga did not expect this sudden attack and could not withstand the British soldiers on Sivaganga.⁴ Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar was treacherously killed by the British Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Bonjour in the Kalaiyar Koil War against capturing Sivaganga.⁵

This battle has killed many children, women and nobles. During this attack Velu Nachiyar stayed in Kollangudi with her daughter Vellachi, Minister Thandavaraya Pillai and trustworthy Marudhu Brothers who escaped from this battle. Velu Nachiyar on hearing the death of her husband Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar in the battle she fled with her daughter Vellachi to Virupatchi near Dindigul, stayed under the protection of Palayakarar Gopala Nayakar.⁶

Eight years of exile of Velu Nachiyar

After the death her husband Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar, the British forces under Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Bonjour targeted Velu Nachiyar of Sivaganga. The invading forces captured the region of Kalaiyar Koil and plundered gold ornaments worth of Rupees 50,000 and Sivaganga was annexed by the Nawab of Arcot.⁷ Velu Nachiyar underwent 8 years of exile in various Forts at Dindigul, Ayyampalayam and Virupatchi, under the protection of Poligar Gopala Nayakar.⁸ While staying in Virupatchi, Velu Nachiyar started to build her strong and a powerful army to fight against the British. Her main motive was to recapture Sivaganga and to chase away the British power. It was Velu Nachiyar and Marudhu Brothers who trained and well equipped the soldiers to fight the war.

Velu Nachiyar took support from Gopala Nayakar and Hyder Ali, ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore. She met Hyder Ali in Dindigul and conversed in Urdu and highly impressed him in her courage.⁹ This meeting made Hyder Ali to

understand Velu Nachiyar's intention to teach a lesson to the British. Hyder Ali gave full support to Velu Nachiyar in her mission to retrieve her kingdom.¹⁰ He allowed her to stay at Virupatchi and Dindigul Fort where she was protected and taken care. Financial support was granted to her to maintain the army.¹¹ In such a way, Velu Nachiyar gathered a big force from Hyder Ali with weapons to put up a tough fight against the British.

Restoration of Sivaganga by Velu Nachiyar

Velu Nachiyar with the help of Hyder Ali fought against the British power to recapture Sivaganga. The troops followed guerrilla warfare method and attacked their enemies. In 1780 A.D. Velu Nachiyar marched towards Sivaganga and attacked Commander Joseph Smith who had killed her husband Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar. Commander Joseph Smith not only withdrew his force by looking at her brave march but also fled away from Sivaganga. The role of Marudhu Brothers and recapturing Sivaganga from the British rule was noted remarkable.¹³ Velu Nachiyar was 55 years old when she recaptured Sivaganga from the British power and continued to rule as the Queen of Sivaganga till 1789 A.D. Velu Nachiyar was well known as Veera Mangai of Sivaganga or Veera Mangai Velu Nachiyar which means the Brave Woman.¹⁴

Velu Nachiyar's revenge on Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Bonjour

After the victory over Kalaiyar Koil, Velu Nachiyar gathered a force of 30,000 women soldiers to attack Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Bonjour at the Fort of Sivaganga. The Marudhu Brothers defended the British power to advance and continuously attacked the British troops during Vijayadasami, Navarathiri when Velu Nachiyar attacked Sivaganga. She utilised this opportunity and opened the main gate of the temple and made the people to enter and worship Raja Rajeswari.¹² Velu Nachiyar and her women soldiers entered the temple in disguise and mixed with the people and furiously attacked the British power which made them to run away leaving the land of Sivaganga.

Velu Nachiyar the First Freedom Fighter

In 1780 A.D. Velu Nachiyar became the First Queen of India to fight for freedom against

the British before the actual freedom struggle began in North India in 1857. Velu Nachiyar was famous for the destruction of the British ammunition store through human suicide attack.

Velu Nachiyar also had an adopted daughter Udaiyaal, who also sacrificed her life for saving Velu Nachiyar from the British but the disappointed British force mercilessly beheaded Udaiyaal in front of Kali temple. For this brave act of saving the life of Velu Nachiyar, a temple has been built in Udaiyaal's name. In gratitude, Velu Nachiyar presented her Thali to the temple and ordered continuous pooja to be performed. Till date this Thali has been the first ornament in Kollangudi Vettu Udaiyaal Temple.

Under the support of Hyder Ali, Velu Nachiyar reformed a Women's Troop and named it as "Udaiyaal Padai", after her adopted daughter. Velu Nachiyar succeeded to recapture the Sivaganga Pollam and ruled for the next 10 years while making her daughter Vellachi, the heir of the Kingdom of Sivaganga.

The First Human Bomb

Kuyili, a women soldier of Sivaganga troop and a loyal follower of the VeluNachiyar, came forward to carry out the mission as the suicide bomber. Kuyili, drenched herself with ghee on her entire body and set herself on fire and jumped into the British armory and blew it up, thereby procuring a victory for Velu Nachiyar. The British force under Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Bonjour, who killed her husband Muthu Vaduganathur Periya Udaiya Thevar, did not expect this vast destruction. Suddenly Velu Nachiyar attacked Colonel Bonjour and made him to fall prostrate, but Velu Nachiyar did not kill but pardoned Colonel Bonjour, though he killed her husband. Few historians believed that Kuyili was the adopted daughter of Velu Nachiyar. She was the First Human Bomb Suicider in India, and this was the first act of war against the British.¹⁵

Role of Marudu Pandya Brothers under Velu Nachiyar

Udaiyar Servai alias Moka Palaniappan and Anandhai alias Ponnathal belonging to Narikudi Mukkulam had 2 sons named Periya Marudhu and Chinna Marudhu. Udaiyar Servai was the commander of Ramanathapuram and his sons were brought up in the

Ramanathapuram Palace. The Marudhu Brothers came to Sivaganga to serve the kingdom. Both these Brothers were well known for their bravery. While hunting they bravely killed a tiger with their hands which tried to attack King Muthu Vaduganathar Periya Udaiya Thevar. On this act, King appointed Periya Marudha as a commander and Chinna Marudhu as a minister under his kingship. These Brothers had the authority of governance and supported the queens in their regime. Periya Marudhu was gifted Siruvayal and Chinna Marudhu with Puliadithan and raised to the level of Zamindars. Both the Marudhu Brothers served Velu Nachiyar in various aspects during her regime.

In 1780 A.D. Velu Nachiyar bestowed powers to the Marudhu Brothers due to their loyalty to administer the country following the restoration of her kingdom. Velu Nachiyar appointed Chinna Marudhu who was trained by Thandavaraya Pillai as her advisor and Periya Marudu was with her husband since childhood, accompanied him during hunting and in battle fields as his protector and well versed in the usage of war weapons as a commander.

A Symbol of Loyalty

Velu Nachiyar expressed her deep gratitude for the support provided by Hyder Ali to restore the power and constructed a Mosque and Church at Saragani. Hyder Ali earlier conveyed his true friendship by building a temple inside his palace with a goddess idol made up of gold. She had also sent a Golden Tiger to Tipu Sultan, the Son of Hyder Ali as a gift to show her gratitude and considered him as her brother. She also gave many gifts to the Muslim soldiers, who had helped her to restore her kingdom. Till her last breathe, Velu Nachiyar and Hyder Ali maintained a good and cordial relationship. Velu Nachiyar's daughter Vellachi succeeded her to the throne in 1790 A.D. as the Second Queen of Sivaganga and ruled till 1793 A.D.¹⁶

Incredible Achievements of VeluNachiyar

Velu Nachiyar constructed roads in the regions of Narikudi, Pamban, AzhaganKulam, Kudiyur, Manamadurai, Kundrakudi, Thirupathur. Planted trees on the roadside and built free food center for the travelers, pools, ponds and voorani were built. The Tower of Kalaiyar Koil was raised higher than its existence. A chariot made up of Marudha timber was contributed to Kalosan.

Illuminated Thiruvachi deepam throughout the day and subsidized some villages to cover the costs of the above maintenance. Contributed gold and materials for the welfare of the temples situated in and around Rameswaram. She arranged free marriages for the poor and necessary opportunities for their survival. In harmony with religion, a mosque for the Muslims and a church for the Christians were built in Sarangani by Velu Nachiyar.

Death of Queen Velu Nachiyar

Velu Nachiyar was famous as a great patriot, first freedom fighter against the British and courageous woman ruler in India. Velu Nachiyar was suffering from heart ailments and health became worse in her last days and underwent treatment in France. Finally died at the age of 66 years on 25th December 1796 A.D. at Virupatchi in Sivaganga, Tamilnadu, and India.¹⁷ Her mortal rites were sent to Sivaganga and buried in the east of Lord Anaimugan Temple with full respect. Her last rites were

performed by her son-in-law, Vengan Periya Udaya Thevar, in the place of her son and later he was heir of the kingdom.¹⁸

Conclusion

Velu Nachiyar was the First Queen of India who fought the British regime before the celebrated Jhansi Rani Lakshmbhai of Jhansi and Rani Chellammal of Kittur. Velu Nachiyar was a brave lady right from her birth, later struggled hard and almost lost everything in her life including husband and kingdom. Courageously defeated the Nawab of Arcot and regained her kingdom which concerned her love to the state and her people. After 8 long years of exile gathered the women force and attacked Nawab and brought down their flag and placed the Hanuman Flag in Sivaganga Palace. Velu Nachiyar lived in the history of the world and been an example for women who have gone through failures in their life.

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THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN TAMIL NADU (MADRAS PRESIDENCY)

P. Balagurusamy & S. Palanikumar.

This analysis on **The Khilafat movement in Tamil Nadu** (Madras Presidency) is an effort and endeavour undertaken mainly to explicate the different circumstances which led the Tamil Muslims of the contemporary period to join the Indian national movement especially the Non-co-operation launched by of Gandhiji during

the year 1920. This Khilafat movement was a movement one directed against the alien British rule's communal attitudes and approaches and its unjust treatment of Turkey after the first world war by imposing the treaty of Sevres in 1919. The meeting of the Indian Muslims held at Madras on 17, October 1919 insisted that

the British should always be cautious and careful in dealing with the Muslims as well as the Islamic sacred and holy centres¹. Subsequently on 25th May 1920 the Muslims arranged for another a meeting, just opposite to the Presidency College, Madras and in that meeting they vehemently criticised and condemned the British as people who aimed to bring the Muslims under Christian faith and supervision².

The meeting earnestly and sincerely made an appeal to the Indian Muslims to participate, without any partiality, in the Non-co-operation movement, the brainchild of Gandhiji. Further, Yakub Khan, the frontline Muslim leader of Tamil Nadu with the wholehearted support of Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad stressed that the Khilafat issue should be converted into a mass movement for attaining much popularity among the Muslims³.

This Pan Islamic movement influenced and encouraged the Muslims of the Madras Presidency to offer a great stress to the importance of **ulema**, to spread traditional education, to follow Islam and Islamic principles and to also widen the adoption of Islamic law. Raising Funds and publication of pious Islamic literature were the other steps undertaken by the Muslims to achieve the promotion of the Khilafat activities in Madras⁴. With the thickened relationship between the Hindus and Muslims, the Khilafat movement was executed by both the groups, with all co-operation sincerely in a co-ordinated and combined manner⁵

That in turn enabled the Congress League Scheme signed on 31, December 1916, to be approved by both of the parties. Both the Hindus and Muslims in an united and cordial way carried out the different activities of Non-co-operation and Khilafat Movements simultaneously. The Hindus and Muslims were also allowed to safeguard the interests of one another in opposing and fighting against the alien British⁶.

The tightened and thickened relationship between Hindus and Muslims caused the real success of the Khilafat movement in India including Tamil Nadu⁷. This was a favourable and congenial factor for the Khilafat movement

to be continued in all possible and successful ways in the Madras Presidency too.

This issue created temporary friendly relationship among Hindus and Muslims but that cordiality and co-ordination did not last for a longer period.⁸ As it was a period of Indian freedom struggle, the attainment of **Swaraj** i.e., freedom to India alone was given top priority than that of the Khilafat issue of the Muslims⁹. Both the Hindus and Muslims co-operated with each other but with suspicion in their ways and minds. When the Hindus treated the Muslims as aliens, the Muslims felt that the Hindus would expel them from India at anytime after the attainment of freedom on the plea that they were foreigners¹⁰

There was mutual mistrust among them. Further in a despondent, state the Madras Muslims showed greater zeal and enthusiasm towards the Khilafat Movement but hesitated and unwilling to combine it with the Non-co-operation movement. Further they thought that a religious movement could not coincide with the political movement. They even treated the non-violent passive resistance programme as an ineffective one.¹¹

The Khilafat Movement made the Muslims of all parts of India to be very severe because they were ill-treated heavily by the foreign British rule as well as the native Hindus. Hence they diverted their entire energies seriously towards the Khilafat issue and the Muslims of Madras with the same mind too showed the same affinity¹² So the Khilafat movement was a well knitted and a nationwide movement in India.

The Mohammadans, by abandoning their usual traditional customs, habits and ideas of farsightedness and for the sake of Islam they were enthusiastic in carrying out the Khilafat issue in constitutional and methodical ways without any breach of peace at any level ¹³

In another meeting held at Trichinopoly on 15, March 1920, the Muslim leaders like Sayed Murtasa Sahib, Moosa Sait, Vallula Basha. Sahib, Nawab Gulam Ahamed and many other Muslim members firmly insisted the joint and united action of the Muslims and the Hindus in the anti-British fights and activities.¹⁴

The same stress was reiterated and insisted at another meeting arranged at Triplicane Beach, Madras on 18, March 1920¹⁵. From these things it is obvious and evident that the Khilafat movement was introduced among people through public meetings and also by the other ways. Hence it became a popular anti-British and but a Indian native movement acknowledged by all the Muslims.

When the mighty alien British administrators were so keen to obliterate the Muslims, Islam and Mohammedan customs, such things wounded and affected the feelings of the Muslims¹⁶.

The British also pointed out to the Hindus that the Muslims would derive benefits through India and its riches and from at the same time they would treat and rule the Indian as slaves.¹⁷

Such things promoted the Khilafat spirit among the Muslims. The British also teased the Muslims by saying that in the struggle between the Crescent and the Cross, during the Khilafat movement, the Cross would succeed finally at the end¹⁸. Perturbed by these multifaceted kinds of teasings, the Muslims took it as a challenge and maintained the Khilafat movement on the routine move constantly in all the areas of the Indian sub- continent. So the Muslims heartily combined the Khilafat issue with the Indian **Swaraj** issue¹⁹.

The problems posed to Turkey by the British also stressed and compelled the Muslims of Tamil Nadu and other regions of India to maintain the Khilafat spirit in all possible ways²⁰. This movement also succeeded due to the unity and solidarity among the Muslims, who were unanimous in their religious pursuits.

The Muslims wanted Gandhiji to take up the Khilafat issue along with the Non-co-operation movement. Gandhiji too unhesitatingly conceded. So the Muslims acknowledged the views and ideas of Gandhiji regarding the national movement²¹.

When Gandhiji asked the Hindus and the Indian Muslims to avoid all the supports rendered by them to the British government for upsetting the plans of activities of the British during the first world war period²², the Muslims

took that as an opportunity to maintain the tempo of the Khilafat movement in their favour. They started to render their support the British. Without minding the then prevailed political trend.

The participants of the Khilafat conference met at Madras between 17th and 18th April 1920 at an estimated cost of Rs.10,000/- to Rs.15,000/- openly declared that they would no longer be loyal to the British crown and would scrupulously follow only the dictates the Holy of Quran²³. Due to their zeal and enthusiasm over Khilafat, the Muslims paid a lot of money as donation along with regular subscription²⁴.

The Muslim educational institutions, with all seriousness infused the Khilafat spirit among all the Muslim students²⁵. Further the Muslim students, with great zeal and enthusiasm acted according to the decisions and directives of the All India Khilafat Committee²⁶. The Khilafat Committee, established on 20th March 1919 started to function with the sole aim of protecting the religious zeal and faith of the Muslims in addition to their allegiance to the Caliph²⁷. The Muslim newspapers like **Quami Report, Muslim Outlook, Jaridan-i-Rozgar** also encouraged and supported the Muslims to identify themselves with the Khilafat issue.

The Khilafat movement, being a religious movement of the Muslims, had its contact with the non-Muslims of India based on political grounds. But the Hindu-Muslim relationship was always an oscillating and unsteady one without any consistency. They never came so closer to each other in any aspect and they all moved according to their own individual traits and spirits. Anyhow the efforts and endeavours of Gandhiji brought unison and co-operation among them.

The Khilafat movement, not only encouraged Gandhiji to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity and communal harmony but also it offered ample scope for execution of valuable historical pursuits. So, when the Khilafat movement was associated with the Indian National Movement, the Tamil Nadu Muslims and the Hindu population approved and acknowledged the Khilafat issue with all earnestness²⁸.

The Muslims of Madras arranged for a meeting on 25th May 1920 just opposite to the Presidency College mainly to discuss and to deal with the Khilafat issue²⁹. In Tamil Nadu the Muslims were encouraged to follow different ways and means of their counterparts of the other parts of India with regard to the Khilafat movement³⁰.

Some of the Muslims of Madras independently and openly declared that they would no longer be loyal to the British and would adhere only the Quranic principles³¹ So, gave by giving priority to religion than to politics due to their piety, made others to note that religion is superior than politics.

The Khilafat movement in Tamil Nadu marked the arrival of an admirable and remarkable trend in the political progress of the native Muslims. This movement encouraged the conduct of many protest meetings against the British administration and policies. As the nature of the Khilafat movement was mostly communal in character, the field of action of the movement too became a restricted one.

Hartals and demonstrations uninterruptedly continued. Even the picketings in front of foreign cloth shops and toddy shops

were quite common. The involvement of the Indian youths and students was greatly beneficial and supportive to the organisers of the Khilafat movement. Anyhow the Khilafat movement did not achieve any solid success because of the sudden stoppage of the non-co-operation movement by Gandhiji due to the violent Chauri Chaura police station occurrence.

The non-violent nature of the movement was also a congenial and favourable factor only to the ruling British government all over India including the Madras Presidency.

Thus the Khilafat movement, though was for a noble cause, it could not successfully achieve anything tangible in favour of the Muslims. Anyhow this movement stood for united action of the Muslims at all levels without minding the success of failure. It was also a political as well as religious movement. It also helped the combined activities of the Muslims which further encouraged their unity and solidarity. Further it did not talk anything about the Hindu-Muslim unity or faction. Anyhow the Khilafat movement had its own impact over the politics as well as the social set up of the then Tamil country.

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AMBEDKAR'S VISION FOR THE EMPOWERMENT OF DALIT WOMEN

B. Balasubramanian & Dr. V. Thirumurugan

It was Ambedkar's firm belief that women had a rightful role to play in the political process of change and in the pursuit of full and equal citizenship for both dalit men and women. He thus challenged widely prevalent Brahmanical notions of gendered spheres, constructions of 'ideal' womanhood and their nationalist reconstructions. The slogan of Ambedkar is 'Educate, Organize, agitate' applied equally to men and women, and Ambedkar called for the political participation of women belonging to all castes. His call for action evoked a phenomenal response from Dalit women whose participation grew from less than a hundred women in the early phases of the movement to 25,000 at the All India dalit Women's Conference in Nagpur in 1942. At the Mahad Satyagrahain 1927, which was launched to secure access for untouchables to a public water tank, Ambedkar's first deliverable was longest and most famous address to dalit women. He publicly acknowledged the deep esteem in which he held them, appreciated their special qualities of determination, fortitude and courage and lauded their contribution to the survival of dalit communities. Ambedkar advocated separate organizations for women's political mobilization and for the holding of separate dalit women's conferences. Ambedkar's gender agenda was made explicit in the personal campaigning that he undertook against the exploitative ideologies and practices of female sexuality and reproduction. He was an active campaigner of the dalit women's cause. A cultural politics of gender was a key aspect of women's political socialization. Ambedkar evoked the identity of motherhood to raise women's political consciousness, urging them to think deeply about their differential social valuation: why children born to them were considered impure, untouchable and undeserving of social worth, while those born to Brahmin women were not. By rejecting the derogation of motherhood, women's identity as mothers was deployed to reject the identity of untouchability, as well as to inscribe the equal social worth of, and the equal respect due to, all mothers. This was not a regressive extolling of woman's natural role or a move to stress femininity. Rather, it was an attempt to give motherhood a new social value

and to transform women as political agents. Women's roles as mothers now transcended the boundaries of the home and were reinvented to include the public roles of educators and community workers. This was different from the divine reverence that was attached to motherhood in our cultural thought. Further, the need to reject the dalit women's culturally constructed inferiority vis-à-vis high-caste women was a recurrent theme in Ambedkar's speeches. He advised the bold emulation of forbidden high caste practices, whether in dress habits or lifestyle. These seemingly mundane everyday acts were not meant to devalue dalit women, but rather to enable cultural resistance and the assertion of social equality.

Ambedkar was hardly unaware of the existence of traditional Hindu patriarchal norms in dalit communities and of dalit women's personal anguish on this account. However, he was constrained to choose the politically strategic option of prioritizing issues of caste and untouchability, and of caste-based sexual violence against dalit women. Yet along with the oppressions of public patriarchy, matters of familial patriarchy were also taken up. Rather than radical action, which would have hampered collective mobilization, Ambedkar advocated concrete and definitive action to challenge gender norms, giving women cues to think and behave in modern ways. Early marriage, he said, was an obstacle to the development of girls and ought never to be forced upon them. dalit girls were advised not to marry early and were urged instead to gain economic independence before marriage and equality within it. Thus, woman was to be a person with equal rights. She was to have equal moral and social worth.

Studies have shown that dalit women's activism long preceded Ambedkar's movement. Under his charismatic and inspiring leadership, however, it gathered greater force and autonomous strength. Hundreds of women, many braving family oppositions, participated in Satyagraha, meetings and marches. The decades of the 1930s and 1940s saw dalit women emerge as political activists and leaders, identifying with the goals and articulating the concerns of the Ambedkar movement. dalit

women became political organizers and thinkers, labor leaders, educational and religious activists, community social workers and rank and-file participants. While early female leaders hailed mostly from Ambedkarite families, being usually the daughters, wives and daughters-in-law of male activists, space was increasingly created for dynamic others. Women contributed in multifarious ways: organizing meetings and conferences, writing, participating in public speaking, teaching and engaging in awareness-raising activities. The proceedings of women's conferences were reported in the newspapers founded by Ambedkar: *Leader of the Silenced*, *Boycotted India*, *The People*, and *Enlightened India*. As public speakers, women political activists disseminated Ambedkarism and sought to awaken and conscientious masses of women. From this vantage point, they spoke on a wide range of topics: female education, 'decent' employment, child care and child development, community work and development, leadership development, good motherhood, home science, social work, personal grooming, religious conversion, etc. The impact of Ambedkarian lessons in rational critique, morality, equality and justice is amply evident in women's constructions and articulations, but, as will be revealed below, the women also made their own distinctive contributions. Caste, untouchability and the Hindu religion were central topics of critique. They encouraged women to repudiate demeaning caste-ascribed occupations and village duties, and self-destructive Hindu customs such as child marriage. Education was endowed with noble qualities and morality. The general apathy of poor dalit women towards education was a matter of great concern. Spreading awareness of the significance of education and campaigning for its popular acceptance were key agendas.

The 'community service' function of education was articulated in a variety of ways as women made important connections between society, community, politics and the self. Inflamed by the indignity of caste and untouchability, women described how they wished to change the social relations of power. Education became the site for rejecting caste morality and for asserting the right to progress and develop. Strong community identification governs the yearning to make the Dalit community 'strong, capable, and progressive'.

Empowerment of the self was defined in terms of a new dignity and self-respect, and an improved social status for individual women was seen as a corollary of community empowerment. Despite its prevalence, gender oppression within the community was generally underplayed. We lived in appallingly stagnant conditions, wallowed in wretchedness and were disabled and dependent. To add to this, we bore the stigma of untouchability. Ambedkar changed all that. Earlier reformers herded sheep from atop a camel, gave superficial messages regarding education, cleanliness, and neatness. The purpose of education is self-respect and promotion of egalitarianism, not trivial benefit. Woman should strive to gain wisdom. In order to impart inspirational education to their children, they should first be educated. To the dalit woman who has always worked (outside the home), the idea that work will bring liberation is strange. In urban areas, better-off middleclass women have just begun working. Widows need to earn their livelihood and therefore need vocational education. Education must bring self-respect, self-reliance, and freedom. Don't be hostile to men. We can still talk of women's progress. We need a system of adult marriages based on love. We must reject evil customs in order to control the stubborn dominance of unreasonable men. In these new times of equality and freedom, this is in our hands.

The responsibility of making the community self-reliant rests on the woman. Traditional women should be made aware of new ideas so that they don't become obstacles. Women should become members of the Independent Labour Party. They should overcome their shyness and become public speakers. Adequate educational resources should be set aside for women's education. They should be given health education so that they can care for the health of the community. Economic support is essential for poor girls to avail of an education. Women are trampled upon in the name of religion, and have suffered thousands of years of cruel tyranny. Our social status will be determined totally by our politics. There is no alternative to politics. We need to cultivate our intellect. Lacking this, we would be impoverished to the core. That is why we must all begin with education. A mother is the child's first guru. Without education a mother's first duty

cannot be satisfactorily performed. Today's children are tomorrow's respected citizens.

Because of Babasaheb, a feeling of self-respect was awakened in our minds. Baba would say, 'The pride of being human exists among everyone. Go to school, learn to wield a stick, a sword, learn lazy exercises. Just saying "Jai Bhim" won't do you any good. You must put it into action. Teach your daughters and sons. Throwing a few grains at Dalits so that they will dance to their bidding is the morality of the Hindus'.

In the aftermath of the conversion to Buddhism, many women spoke of the benefits that this had brought to the community. According to them, women had the major responsibility of spreading the teachings of Buddha. Every Buddhist must take pride in our religion. We must adhere to the principles of Panchsheel. We must become bearers of pradnya, sheel and karuna.

While the maintenance of gender harmony was the advice given consistently, an occasional voice also stressed the need to fight gender subordination. In addition, several women, armed with their newfound consciousness and strength, challenged gender norms and left bad marriages. Significantly, many of them were daughters of Ambedkar activists who received parental support and were themselves drawn to Ambedkarism. The period witnessed a phenomenal response from ordinary women to the call by Ambedkar and other social activists to pursue education. Poor illiterate dalit parents made education to the singular focus of their struggle activity and as a means of becoming involved in the larger political struggle. Thousands of laboring women waged inspired and tenacious struggles to educate their children. Family- and kin-based support networks were created for needy relatives. Despite abject poverty, Dalits even made donations to

educational institutions. Women also strove as first-generation learners to gain an education, fighting bravely against the constraints imposed by caste, poverty and gender bias.

Conclusions

This researcher has explored the complex political and educational roles played by Ambedkar, Ambedkarism and Ambedkarite women in early and mid-twentieth-century in challenging the social and cultural reproduction of the Brahmanical order. Together Ambedkar and dalit women changed the terms of the debate and discourse on what was to be women's new social position in the modern era and charted an ideological agenda for social action. While Ambedkar's political mobilization was primarily aimed at invoking women's agency in the struggle against caste, he also redefined the purpose of their lives in ways that questioned traditional patriarchy. Ambedkar's agenda of equal status and equal rights for women made it clear that it had no place for their subordinated existence. Rather, it envisioned new public roles for women in the development of new kinds of communities and of a society framed by a new value system. Thus, Ambedkar's imagining of the independent modern nation provided a different agenda for dalit women that of enlightened citizenship aimed at social transformation. This was opposed to the dominant ideal of an enlightened domesticity for women that would preserve the purity and conjugality of the traditional culture and home. Education was the site of caste contestation, was imbued with new values and meanings and was assigned multiple roles, both ideational and instrumental, in the task of social reconstruction. The women emphasized the importance of education in attaining the higher moral purposes and goals set by Ambedkar and for achieving the empowerment and uplift of the dalit community.

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POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF HOYSALA KING VIRA BALLALA II

K.C. Basavanna

An attempt is made in this paper to explain about the Political achievements of Hoysala king Vira Ballala II. Vira Ballala II has been regarded as the outstanding ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. By his series of conquests, he not only extended the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom in all directions, but also transformed it into a prosperous and powerful empire. Vira Ballala's long and glorious reign extending over a period of nearly half a century marks an epoch in the political and cultural history of Karnataka in particular and South India in general.

Vira Ballala II was the son of Vijaya Narasimha I and the queen Echaladivi. His name appears for the first time in a grant of 1153 A.D of Channarayapalna taluk of Hassan district. It may be inferred that he was born in that year because the palace priest figured prominently in the record. Probably this inscription refers to the naming ceremony of Vira Ballala II. Unfortunately the available records do not throw sufficient light on the early career of Ballala. Of course it was a custom in those days to give training in all branches of knowledge to crown prince. He must have been given proper training in political themy, administration and warfare. The very fact that he used to sign personally many of the documents including the inscriptions show that he was properly educated. His sign manual was "maleporeleganda Vira Ballala". Some of the titles of Vira Ballala like "Sarvajna Chudamani" and "Sabda Vidya Lakshna Sushikhita" suggest that he was well versed in literature. Undoubtedly he was a great warrior and was compared to many puranic heroes.

From the very young age Vira Ballala II actively participated in the administration of the kingdom. As Yuvaraja he played a major role. As Narasimha was suffering from ill health he allowed Vira Ballala II and other members of the royal family to take part in the administration

and share the administrative responsibility. A few records from the year 1168 A.D. state that "Snmanmahamandaleswara Asahayasura, Ekangavira Nissanka Pratapa Hoysala Vira Ballala Deva" and his mother Mahadeviyarasi were ruling the kingdom as regents. The crown prince also assumed the titles "Giri Vajradanda Ganda Bherunda". These titles of the prince suggest that he had successfully participated in many battles. He also styled himself as Kumara Vishnuvardhana Vira Ballala and set himself the ideals of Vishnuvardhana. Like his grandfather had the high ambition of securing the independent status.

Political achievements of Hoysala king Vira Ballala II

An attempt is made in this paper to explain about the Political achievements of Hoysala king Vira Ballala II. Vira Ballala II has been regarded as the outstanding ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. By his series of conquests, he not only extended the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom in all directions, but also transformed it into a prosperous and powerful empire. Vira Ballala's long and glorious reign extending over a period of nearly half a century marks an epoch in the political and cultural history of Karnataka in particular and South India in general.

Vira Ballala II's Accession

Vira Ballala II ascended the Hoysala throne on Sunday the 22nd July 1173 A.D. which is recorded in several inscriptions. Ballala's coronation was hailed by the courtiers as the commencement of 'Ramarajya'. Ballala celebrated the coronation with all the magnificence that the event deserved and the dynasty. His coronation ceremony was conducted in a befitting manner. Arrangements for the special offerings and worship was made in almost all the temples of the kingdom and

several grants were made to temples and Brahmanas.

Vira Ballala's Conquests

From his accession till his death he constantly exerted himself for the prosperity of state and the people. His reign constitutes a landmark in the history of south India. Immediately after his accession to the throne Vira Ballala started a series of conquests in all directions. At the time of his accession there prevailed in the Hoysala kingdom disorder. Because of the civil war many feudatories had declared their independence on the northern frontier of the Hoysala kingdom. The political turmoil and insecurity created by the Kalachury usurpation posed a threat. The erstwhile Chalukya feudatories although subdued by the strong hands of Bijjala were still in sympathy with the Chalukyas. They were not prepared to continue themselves under the Kalachury hegemony. Moreover Chalukya Somesvara III who was the son of Nurmadi Taila spared no attempt to recapture the throne. In the meanwhile the other distant feudatories of the erstwhile Chalukya house like the Sevunas of Sevunadesa and the Kakatiyas of Andhra were active in carving out their own territories. Thus the fall of the Kalyani Chalukya dynasty had brought several problems in the Deccan. It was only during this period that Ballala II guided the fortunes of the Hoysala kingdom. He began a series of attacks on the feudatories to bring under his control. He marched towards Asandi, Hulyaru and the other places to establish order. Soon peace and order was restored in the kingdom.

The Changalvas together with the other petty chiefs in the hilly region invited his attention at first. The Changalva king who had supported Ballala during his revolt, now declared his independence and also assumed many Hoysala titles. Therefore Ballala dispatched an army under the command of Bettarasa Dandanayaka to Coorg. Bettarasa defeated the Changalva king and occupied Palpare. The defeated king Mahadeva took refuge in the interior hilly region. Afterwards he collected an army consisting of all the chiefs of Coorg. When Bettarasa was in possession of the fort of palpare in Kiggatanad the enemy under the command of Pemmanna Veerappa, son of Mahadeva surrounded the Hoysala forces.

When Vira Ballala heard this news he sent another army under a distinguished warrior named Madya Nayaka. In a terrible battle the Hoysala forces completely defeated and disbursed them. Madyanayaka who was responsible for the victory lost his life. For his dependents Ballala granted Nettaru Kodige. After this defeat Changalvas never attempted to lay their hands against Ballala. Bettarasa was appointed as governor and palpare became the headquarters of the Hoysala authority in Coorg.

The Kongalvas remained loyal to Ballala II. The Kongalvas had supported Ballala II during his revolt against his father. Vira Chola Kongaladeva accepted the allegiance of Ballala and granted certain concessions. He agreed to pay annual tribute to the Hoysalas.¹

Vira Ballala II brought under his control Tuluvas of Tuluvanad. Tuluvas became the feudatories of the Hoysalas from the time of Ballala II. Vira Ballala invaded Alvakhedra and brought the Alupa and the Tuluva rulers under subjection. It appears that one of the queens of Ballala II namely Tuluvala Devi hailed herself from Tuluva royal family.² As a result of this matrimonial alliance the friendly relations between the two royal families continued till the end of the Hoysala dynasty.

Then Ballala II turned his attention towards the north of his kingdom. The Santaras, Kadambas, Sindas and the Pandyas of Uchchangi who had been subdued by his grand father Vishnuvardhana and that they had turned against the Hoysalas during the weak rule of his father.

Subjugation of Pandyas of Uchchangi

Ballala first turned against the Pandyas of Uchchangi. It is stated that Uchchangi in those days was an impregnable fortress. The Chola king had failed to capture this fortress. The conquest of Uchchangi which was the capital of Pandyas in 1177 A.D.³ by Ballala II has been regarded as an important event. It was situated in a strategic place. Earlier Ballala's grand father Vishnuvardhana had subdued the Pandya king Raya Pandya and became the Hoysala feudatory. But during the reign of Narasimha he not only changed his allegiance but also caused a lot of disturbance on the border. In 1160 A.D.⁴ Raya Pandya was succeeded by his son Vijaya Pandya also known as Kamadeva Pandya.

Kamadeva began to rule like an independent king. But he was subdued by Bijjala and was forced to accept Kalachury supremacy. But immediately after the death of Kalachuri Bijjala and his eldest son Vira Sovideva, the Pandya king declared himself as the feudatory of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. During this period only that the Pandya king was attacked by Vira Ballala II. The Hoysala ruler himself led an army against Kamadeva in 1177 A.D.⁵ Kamadeva came out of his capital with his army. At a place called Ummaduru both the armies met and severe battle took place in which the Pandya army was defeated. Kamadeva retreated to his capital and took shelter there. The victorious Hoysala army chased the Pandyan army and laid siege to Uchchangi. The Pandya ruler could not withstand the attacks of the Hoysala army. Finally Ballala captured the fortress on Saturday. Kamadeva Pandya managed to escape, leaving behind his wives and the rich treasure. Ballala took possession of Uchchangi.

Kamadeva Pandya who had escaped from the capital, fled to the nearby forest. But the Hoysala army chased him and captured him. He was produced before Vira Ballala II. Kamadeva appealed to Ballala for mercy. Ballala took pity on the Pandya king and instead of putting an end to his life and he generously re-instated Kamadeva. After his victory Ballala assumed many titles. Since this victory took place on a Saturday he assumed the title "Shanivarasiddhi". He also took the title 'Pandayarajagajakesari' and 'Pandyaraja Prathishtapana Charya'.

Though Kamadeva got back his territory he could not enjoy his position for a long time. Kamadeva did not remain loyal to Ballala II. He changed his allegiance with the re-establishment of the Chalukya power. The grants issued by Kamadeva between 1183 A.D. and 1187 A.D.⁶ reveal that he remained loyal to Chalukya Somesvara IV. This became a sufficient plea for Ballala II to attack Uchchangi and put an end to the rule of the Pandya. Two records of the year 1187 A.D.⁷ suggest the second attack of Ballala on Uchchangi and its occupation. This was in all probability the end of Kamadeva. Further we do not hear him again after this date. Ballala assumed a fresh title namely "the smitter of Pandya" against the one

which he had assumed on previous occasion, 'Pandya Rajya Prathishtapanacharya'.

The death of Kamadeva resulted in the occupation of Nolambavadi by the Hoysalas. Ballala II appointed certain *Bebaya Dandanayaka* as the governor of Nolambavadi. A grant of 1220 A.D.⁸ of Holalkere taluk of Chitradurga district refers to the occupation of Nolambavadi 32,000 by Vira Ballala II. The incorporation of Nolambavadi not only increased the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom but also it enhanced the fame of Ballala.

Soon after the first battle of Uchchangi in 1177 A.D.,⁹ Ballala sent two expeditions forward. One of the expeditions was directed against the Chola Chieftain Henjeru. The Chola ruler of Henjeru submitted to Ballala II. The other expedition crossed the Tungabhadra and attacked Kalachury feudatories. In support of Tailapa who was the son of Ekkalarasa of Udre. the Hanungal Kadamba territories were attacked and the outlying area was captured and given to Tailapa of Udre who remained loyal to the Hoysalas. The Sinda king Vikramaditya of Gutti was also attacked and defeated.

After these expeditions Ballala returned to Dorasamudra and stayed there for few days. After a brief stay he marched in 1178 A.D.¹⁰ towards the Tungabhadra region. He tried to establish his authority in that region. He soon attacked the Kadambas of Hanangal and penetrated as far as Halasige and Belavola which were once conquered by his grandfather Vishnuvardhana. However Ballala had to wait for a few years more to establish his authority beyond the Tungabhadra region.

Ballala II's policy towards Kalachuris and the Chalukyas of Kalyana

Vira Ballala was very much eager to extend the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom on the northern side. He decided to establish his authority as far as the Krishna river in the north. He realized that the conditions were favourable for the establishment of the Hoysala authority there. He was aware of the contest that was going on between the Kalachuri and Chalukya powers. He learnt that the sympathy of most of the Kalachuri feudatories was towards Someswara Chalukya. He rightly calculated that

a severe contest between them was imminent. Hence he was carefully watching the developments.

In 1156 A.D. Bijjala occupied Kalyana by ousting Nurmadi Taila. Bijjala ruled upto 1167 A.D. Then he was succeeded by his eldest son Sovideva better known as Raya Murari Sovideva in 1168 A.D. He ruled till 1177 A.D. Sovideva was succeeded by his younger brother Sankamadeva in 1178 A.D. who ruled till the end of 1181 A.D.¹¹ It was during this period a series of conflicts between the Hoysalas and the Kalachuri took place.

The death of Raya Murari Sovideva symbolized the fall of Kalachuri power. Chalukya someswara appealed to the former feudatories of his house to come to his support to put an end to the dynasty which came to power as a result of usurpation. Moreover it appears that Sankama was forced to face opposition by his younger brother Ahavamalla Rayanarayana for power. It was during such a situation that Vira Ballala tried to extend the Hoysala territories at the cost of the Kalachuris.

Taking advantage of the conflict that was going on between the Chalukyas and the Kalachuri, Ballala attacked the feudatories who were under the control of Kalachuris. Since Sankama was preoccupied with the conflict with the Chalukyas, he was not in a position to fight against the Hoysala forces effectively. Ballala sent a force against Kalachuris under his general Bebaya Dandanayaka of Kabbahunad. He fought against Sankama. Ballala also marched to the north and attacked the fort of Udre and captured it from the governor of Sankama. In 1180 A.D.¹² Ballala himself marched and encamped at a place called Hallavuru and captured several fortresses of the Kalachuri empire. Many battles were fought between the Kalachuri forces and Hoysala troops. The results of these battles are not clear. The inscriptions refer to a treaty signed between the Kalachuris and the Hoysalas in 1181 A.D.¹³ However the details of the treaty are not forthcoming perhaps Sankama's pre-occupation was greatly responsible for this treaty. Ballala became the supreme master of the region below Tungabhadra, as a result of this treaty. Perhaps Sankama expected the help of Ballala in his conflict with Chalukya Someswara.

Soon after these developments Ahavamalla passed away. He was succeeded by Rayanarayana Ahavamalla as the Kalachuri emperor. He also could not enjoy this position for long. By the end of the year 1183 A.D.¹⁴ the Kalachuri power collapsed and from the year 1184 A.D. the Chalukya power was revived and Someswara became the emperor. The short lived Kalachuri dynasty no doubt maintained the Kuntala empire intact for a generation more.

Bijjala and of his all the four sons who came to the throne one after another in quick succession were the contemporaries of Ballala II. The Hoysalas and the Kalachuris tried to overpower each other. But both were not successful. On the other hand it must be stated that the Hoysalas by their continuous attack, constantly engaged the attention of the Kalachuris in the Tungabhadra region by successfully assaulting Uchchangi and defeating the other Kalachuri feudatories. Ballala II by his constant attack on the Kalachuri borders caused great damage to them and thus partly responsible for the down fall of the Kalachuris.

Someswara IV, who revived the Chalukya power had neither the energy nor time and resources to control the feudatories and to consolidate his position. At the same time Hoysala Ballala II from the south and Sevuna Bhillama from the north competing to establish their supremacy over the empire of Kuntala.

Ballala II from the southern side attacked the Chalukya empire. During this attack in 1188 A.D.¹⁵ a general Brahma boasted himself as having disbursed the army of Hoysala Vira Ballala. But his was a false boast. Because soon general Brahma received a severe blow at the hands of Ballala II.

It was in the year 1189 A.D.¹⁶ that the reign of Chalukya Someswara came to an end. Someswara IV and his trusted general Brahma disappeared soon after this date. Ballala marched towards the north in the middle of 1189 A.D. He attacked the Chalukya army. General Brahma was severely defeated which is clearly mentioned in the famous Gadag record of Vira Ballala II. The defeat of General Brahma was a severe blow to Someswara IV. After this event which took place towards the end of 1189 A.D. We do not hear of General Brahma and also

Chalukya Somesvara. Somesvara left Kalyani and took refuge under one of his feudatories. Ballala occupied the Chalukya territories as far as perdore including Kalyana.

Two grants of Vira Ballala confirm his conquests as far as Krishna. One of the grant records that Ballala having slain warriors took possession by the strength of his valour, Vishnu's conquests namely Halasige, Beluvola, Huligere and Lokkundi as far as Heddore (the Krishna). Another grant of the same year records that Vira Ballaladeva, putting down the evil and upholding the good ruling the kingdom as far as Heddore, including Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Banavasi, Halasige, Huligere and Belvola.

In recognition of this great achievement namely the capture of Kalyana he assumed for the first time the imperial title "Pratapachakravarthy". This title clearly speaks of his exalted position of Vira Ballala II.

From the above narration it is clear that the year 1189 is a turning point in the history of the Hoysala dynasty and as well as in the history of the Deccan. After the disappearance of the Chalukyas of Kalyana much of their territory was brought under the control of the Hoysalas. A few parts were captured by the Sevunas of Devagiri. Vira Ballala declared himself the emperor of Kuntala. The collapse of the Chalukya dynasty gave way for a severe contest of supremacy between the two royal houses namely the Sevunas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra.

Conflict with the Sevunas of Devagiri

The collapse of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyana in 1189 A.D. led to the beginning of a long struggle between the Hoysalas and Sevunas for supremacy in the Deccan. The Hoysalas, the Sevunas and the Kakatiyas of Warrangal emerged as independent powers on the ashes of the empire of the Chalukyas of Kalayana. The Kakatiyas did not come into clash with the Hoysalas. But they continued their struggle with the Sevunas. Both the Sevunas and the Hoysalas competed for supremacy after the fall of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. This rivalry, which was commenced following the collapse of the Chalukyas continued till the fall of the Sevuna dynasty.

After the capture of Kalyana in 1189 A.D.¹⁷ Ballala returned to Dorasamudra to celebrate his victory in the capital. Soon after his return the Sevuna Bhillama made an elaborate attempt to establish his authority over the southern part of Kuntala. Bhillama had already subdued the northern feudatories of the Chalukyas, collected a huge army and marched towards Kalyana and further. The Sevuna army reached Heruru in the early part of 1191 A.D. and encamped there for sometime. At Heruru Bhillama granted the village Hiriya Handigola to the ascetic Siddhanta Chandra Bhushana deva popularly known as "Satyavakya" of the shrine of the god Swayambu Thrikuteswara in 1191 A.D.¹⁸ The huge Sevuna army then moved forward and reached the village called Soraluru in Dharwar district. The army was led by Jaitugi who has been described as the right hand of Bhillama.

As soon as Ballala heard the news of the arrival of the Sevuna army marched with an army towards Soraturu. A severe battle took place in 1192 A.D.¹⁹ The Sevuna army could not withstand the attacks of the Hoysalas. There was a lot of confusion and chaos in the Sevuna army. A record composed by Janna describes this event in glowing words. Another Viragal mentions that Ballaladeva fought heroically in the battle of Soraturu and defeated Jaitrusimha. A number of records of the subsequent period contain the vivid description of the heroism and bravery exhibited by Ballala in the battle of Soraturu. The Sevuna army which fled from the battle field of Soraturu took refuge in the fort of Lakkundi, which is situated eight miles away from Gadag. The city of Lokkundi also known as Lokkigundi in Dharwar district is an ancient place and formed the sub-capital of several royal families including the Sevunas and the Hoysalas. It is described in the contemporary records as an impregnable fort. Ballala chased the enemy and laid siege to Lokkigundi. Another severe battle was fought before November 1192 A.D.²⁰ It is stated in many records that a large number of Sevuna soldiers lost their lives. Jaitugi the commander of Bhillama also lost his life in the battle. The fort was destroyed and Lokkundi was captured. The terror striker Sevuna army fled away in different directions. Rajaditya the famous scholar writes in his work Vyavaharanitha about the destruction of the Sevuna army of Ballala II. Bhillama fled from the

battle field with the remaining six hundred horsemen.

Ballala II after this great victory granted the village Hombalalu (modern Hombal) to the Acharyas of the temple of the God Thrikuteswara of Gadag known as Vidyabharana gurudeva also called Satyavakya from his victorious camp at Lakkundi in November 1192 A.D.²¹ This important record refers to the defeat of the Chalukya general Bomma and the death of Jaitugi at the hands of Ballala. Further it states that Ballala acquired sovereignty of the Kuntala empire by the grace of God Narayana. He assumed the imperial titles "Sri Prithvivallabha", "Samasta Bhuvanaraya" and "Tenkana Chakravarty" or emperor of South.

After conquering Lakkundi Ballala chased the enemy as far as Heddore. Billama also lost his life during this conflict. When he was fleeing Ballala captured him and killed him. After the capture of Lakkundi by Vira Ballala II, we do not hear the name of Bhillama. Afterwards his son Jaitru Simha succeeded him in the same year 1192 A.D.²² Further, the death of Bhillama at the hands of Ballala is confirmed by the Annigere record. Several inscriptions of Ballala also refer to the death of Bhillama. From the above narration it is understood that Ballala II killed the Pandya king Kamadeva. The Sevuna commander Jaitugi and the Sevuna king Bhillama.

The battle of Soratur is an important event in the history of the Hoysala dynasty. The Hoysalas claimed superiority over the Sevunas. The Sevuna menace temporarily disappeared. As a result of this victory Ballala soon took possession of a number of towns and cities like Kurugodu, the Matanga hill, Dorevadi Gutti, Guttavolal, Udre, Kaladi Bandanike, Ballare, Soraturu, Eramparge, Haluve, Manuve, Lakkundi and all the territories as far as Krishna and the Bhimarathy. Ballala assumed the titles like the "Dakshina Chakravarty", "Smastabhuvanaraya" and "Sriprithvi Vallabha". He also assumed the titles such as "Sevuna Badabanala Varidhi" and "Sevuna Katakasurekara". To commemorate this victory Ballala started an era of his own from the year 1192 A.D. It took several years for the Sevunas to recover from the rude shock.

Nearly for two decades the Sevunas could not lay their hands against the Hoysalas. Vira Ballala, as a result of this great victory became the emperor of Karnataka and the imperial status enjoying the prerogatives of influencing war or concluding peace in the whole of south India. Ballala appointed his generals and ministers as governors over the conquered area and returned to his capital. For more than twenty years there was no trouble from this quarter.

The Sevuna king Jaitugi was succeeded by his son Singhana. He began to raid the Hoysala border after few years. Vira Ballala II marched to the northern boundary of his empire in 1212 A.D.²³ Singhana was not in a position to meet the Hoysala emperor in a direct battle. Ballala returned to his capital. Again Singhana started attacking the Hoysala borders. In spite of these frequent attacks Tungabhadra river more or less became the permanent northern boundary of the Hoysalas in course of time.

Ballala II and the Cholas

The political conditions in Tamil Nadu also attracted the attention of Vira Ballala II. Kulothunga III began to experience some trouble in his kingdom and wished to maintain close alliance with the Hoysala neighbour. It is stated that one of the daughters of the Chola king known as Cholamahadevi was given in marriage to Ballala in about 1200 A.D. Later on the Chola king Raja Raja III married Somaladevi who was the daughter of Ballala II. Ballala II never entertained any territorial designs in Tamil country at this juncture. But towards the end of the year 1216 A.D.²⁴ a few developments took place in Tamilnad which led to Ballala's interference in the affairs of the Chola empire. The Chola emperor began to face lot of problems from the Pandyas of Madurai.

The Pandya ruler Maravarma Sundarapandya decided to put an end to the nominal Chola over lordship. He formed an alliance with the other Chola feudatories like the Banas and the Kadvas. Afterwards Sundarapandya then attacked Raja Raja III and humiliated him. The Chola king appealed to Ballala II for help. Ballala II decided to go to the rescue of the Chola king. Already both the dynasties had come closer through matrimonial alliance. Finally Ballala II sent an army to the

help of Chola king under the leadership of his son Narasimha II in 1218 A.D.²⁵

The Hoysalas had direct access to the dominions of the Banas. Atturu below the ghats was the center of Bana chief whose dominions stretched as far as Taramangalam eastwards, as far as Tittagudi on the Vellar and northwards to the Ponnaiyar including Tirava Sangam and Jamba. The Adijaiman ruled the valleys of Ponnaiyar including Tiruvannamalai. Narasimha II met the Adijaiman and Bana forces and defeated both of them. Then he reached the cauvery plain. He attacked the Pandya forces near Srirangam and defeated them. Certain Malleyanayaka showed great valour in disbursing the Pandyan army. By these exploits Pratapa Narasimha saved Rajaraja from the menace of his feudatories and returned to the capital. Thus for the first time Narasimha interfered in Tamilnadu politics and established the Hoysala protectorate over Tamilnadu. Prince Pratapa Narasimha assumed the titles 'Chola Pratishtapanacharya' and 'Adiyamayakagharatta' and 'Magara Rajya Disapatta'. Soon after the return of Narasimha the Vijayabhisheka ceremony was performed in the Hoysala capital and Vira Ballala II also assumed the titles 'Magara Rajya Nirmulava' (uprooter of the Magara kingdom), 'Tandya Rajya Gaja Kesari' (Lion to the elephant the Pandya king) and "Raja Raja Prathisthapana Charya", Rudra Bhatta, the contemporary poet also alludes to this event in his Jagannatha Vijaya by applying the epithet Rajaraja Prathisthapanaacharya to Ballala II. However it is for the first time that the Hoysala army marched into Tamilnadu as far as Kanchi and Srirangam. It enabled his successors, Narasimha II and Someswara to establish their supremacy in the Tamilnad. Ballala II gave proper training to his son Narasimha II in the art of warfare and administration and celebrated his coronation in 1220 A.D.²⁶

After an eventful reign of 47 years and elevating the fortunes of the dynasty to its climax. Vira Ballala II passed away in the year 1220 A.D. The queens of Ballala II also evinced a lot of interest in the administration of the kingdom. They also took interest in the social

wellbeing of the subjects. The crowned queen Padmala also known as Padmavathi who was the mother of Narasimha II was governing Belagavathinad. Queen Umadevi was a brave general and raided the Sinda kingdom twice. Queen Bommala devi was an accomplished lady who was wellversed in music and dance. Another queen Chola Mahadevi was ruling over Kembalanad as governor. Abhinava Ketaladevi constructed the famous Kedareshwara temple in the capital. The other queens Tuluvaladevi Bichaladevi and Santaladevi also evinced interest in promoting culture. They constructed a number of temples and tanks and gave grants. They patronized music and dance. A number of weekly fairs were also established. Thus they contributed a lot for the cultural development.

Death of Vira Ballala II

The farsighted king conducted the coronation ceremony of his experienced son Narasimha II, a few months earlier to his death. Ballala breathed his last in the heyday of his fame. His death was deeply mourned by his courtiers and subjects. His general and ministers Kuvara Lakshma who was also a garuda after setting up of the Veera Shasana at Halebeedu mounted up on the splendid pillar together with his wife Suggaladevi and his followers ended their life. This is how the people used to pay homage to princes and kings. It was a sacrifice befitting the heroic age.

Estimate

Vira Ballala II is undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. By dint of his ability he transformed the kingdom into a prosperous empire. He was constantly engaged in warfare against his neighbours and uniformly successful in almost all the battles he fought. His reign also witnessed the expansion of the Hoysala influence into Tamilnad and thus justified his title Dakshina Chakravarthy. He patronised learning, religion and art. The empire enjoyed unprecedented prosperity under Ballala II. The age of Ballala II witnessed remarkable progress and ensured itself into an epoch.

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NO- TAX CAMPAIGN IN UTTARA KANNADA DISTRICT KARNATAKA

Basavaraj N. Akki

Uttara Kannada (North Kanara) district the Southern part of the Bombay Presidency lies between 13.55 and 15.31 north latitude and 74.9 and 75.10 East longitude. It has an area of 3910 square miles in 1881 and 10,327 sq. km. in 1983 and had a population of 4,21,840 in 1881 and 10,72,034 in 1981. This district was also known as Bombay Kanara to distinguish it from South or Madras Kanara. It was separated in 1862 from South Kanara. It's length is about 110 miles from North to South and from ten to sixty miles from East to West. The district is famous for its natural beautiful scenery of the Western ghats and endowed with variety flora and fauna. The district is bounded by Alnavar of Dharwad and Beedi of Belgaum districts in the North and Kalaghatagi, Bankapur and Hanagal subdivisions of the old Dharwad district in the East. Shikaripura of Shimoga in the South East and the South Kanara in the South. On the extreme West there is Arabian Sea and Goa State in the North West. These are the geographical features of the district. As on today the district has 12 taluks. They are Ankola, Bhatkal, Dandeli, Haliyal, Honavar, Joida, Karwar, Kumta, Mundagod, Siddapur, Sirsi and Yallapur. After the construction of dam at Supa the city was shifted to Joida and it is the biggest taluk in the district. The population of Sirsi was 53,071 in 1901, 47,875 in 1911, 40,987 in 1921, 37,000 in 1931 (because of epidemic disease and

declaration of reserved forest area the population declined considerably)

History of the District: The district was subjected to the rule of the Satavahanas from the beginning of the Christian Era. Later, the feudatories like the Chutus started rule from Banavasi. For some time the region was under the control of the Pallavas of Kanchi and the Northern part was under the control of Bhojas of Chandore in Goa. By the middle of 4th century A.D. the Kadambas of Banavasi extended their kingdom in the districts of Dharwad, Belgaum, Chitradurga and Shivamogga. The Kekayas, feudatories of the Kadambas administered some parts of the district from Haigunda, Honnavar taluk. The Chalukyas of Badami overthrown the Kadambas and took control over the entire territory. Then Rashtrakutas the successors of the Chalukyas took over the control of the district. It was at that time the Banavasi -12,000 was a province in which major part of the district was included. The other administrative units in the district were Haive-500, Konkan-700, Halasi-12,000, and Hanagal-500. There was also a branch called Kadambas of Chandavar. From the close of the 13th century the Saluvas of Gerusoppa ruled the district. The Hoysalas ruled for a short period. Then the Vijayanagar Empire established their trade centers in the district and ruled for a very long period. The Alupas and Saluvas were the feudatories of the Vijayanagar

empire. Bilagi and Sonda were also ruled by the feudatories of Vijayanagar. The Sondas ruled the district for a long period who were later on overthrown by the Adilshahis of Bijapur and the Marathas. In 16th century the Keladi were entrusted by the Vijayanagar rulers to administer the district. It was during the last quarter of the 18th century, Tipu Sultan captured the district from the Keladi's after defeating the Bilagi and Sondas. After the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan the district was part of the Kasaragod taluk and looked after by the British. Thomas Munro was appointed as the first Collector of the district in 1799. Later in November 1800 the district was divided into two divisions namely the Southern and Northern. Honnavar was the head quarter of the Northern division and the Kundapur was the head quarter of the Southern division and Uttara Kannada was in Northern division. In 1817 it was once again formed into one district, but in 1862 it was once again divided into South Kanara and North Kanara. And Uttara Kannada was then transferred to Bombay Presidency. As on today the district has 12 taluks with three sub divisions namely Karwar, Honnavar and Sirsi.

After the establishment of Indian National Congress the struggle for freedom took a definite shape against the British. The 1857 revolt was initiated by the selected Princely States for their personal cause, hence it was not a mass movement. The moderates who lead the first phase of the INC requested the British for few rights in polite manner. Their strength was not sufficient to fight united against the British in non-violent way. The second phase was lead by the extremists who believed in bloodshed and their activities were mainly violent in nature. Hence they could not attract masses towards them. But the British were terrified with their underground activities. They also took very harsh measures to suppress them. Hence there were incidents of hanging of Bagat Singh, Raj Guru, Sukhadev etc. in 1913, Jallianwallh Bagh tragedy in 1919. There was a group of leaders in these two phases of INC who guided the movement and took combined decisions. Hence the incidents failed to attract the masses and even the British. They wanted the British to quit India at the earliest, so in order to divide the movement the British directly supported to form the Indian Muslim League and partition of India. These events destabilized the unity of the country. The third phase of the INC was lead of

M. K. Gandhi who was the sole leader of the movement and followed the principles of non-violence, truth and satyagraha up to 1947. Those principles of humanism attracted women on large scale (who were half of the population), peasants, workers, students and educated class etc. The events like Non-Co-operation Movement in 1920, Civil Dis-obedience Movement in 1930, (Salt Satyagraha) and Quit India Movement in 1942 were organised systematically. They were held in different parts of the country. These national movements were successful in spreading the message of discontentment of the Indians against the British rule. The important demands of the INC were constitutional reforms, economic reforms, administrative reforms, education reforms and equality in government jobs, military services to Indians. Amidst all these activities Gandhi and Vallabhai Patel had made up their minds to start a No-Tax Campaign only at three places in India. They were held at Bardoli in Gujarat 1928, Midnapure in Bengal and Uttara Kannada 1931 in Karnataka. The real motive behind the selection of three places is yet to trace. The success of this movement in Uttara Kannada attracted the attention of nationalist leaders. Hence they called it as the Bardoli Satyagraha of Karnataka.

From the advent of Gandhi in the freedom struggle of India his influence was more on the people the State, hence the State was known as Gandhi Karnataka. The people of Bombay Karnataka were responded positively to INC and the call given by leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and later on M.K.Gandhi. Since the inception of Indian National Congress the natives attended its annual sessions held in different parts of India.

After the sudden call given by Gandhiji to start the No-Tax campaign in the district of Uttara Kannada i.e. in the taluks of Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapur a committee was formed and deputed to the district to form the necessary preparations. It was decided to celebrate 26th January 1930 as Independence Day all over the country. Gandhiji convened the meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Sabaramati on 14th Feb. 1930 which was attended by Gangadhara Rao Deshapande and Dr. N. S. Hardikar leaders of Bombay Karnataka.

What is No-Tax Campaign? Farmers made up their mind rejecting the payment of land

revenue to the Revenue Officers of their respective areas. In case cases their land, property both moveable, immoveable were seized. And standing crops either destroyed or harvested by the Revenue Officials. Thus refusing to pay the land revenue, farmers invited economic sufferings. In spite of all this the farmers refused to pay the land revenue in the taluks of Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola. of Uttara Kannada.

Formation of an organizing committee:

After the meeting of Sabaramati the leaders returned to Dharwad. They called a meeting in order to create awareness about which was consisted the leaders of Uttara Kannada district. Hence the leaders of the region had influenced the freedom movement in the district. Since the inception of the Indian National Congress educated people like N.G.Chandavarkar participated in the freedom struggle. *(Narayana Ganesh Chandavarkar was born at Honnavar in 1855. He took his degree from the famous Elphinstone College Bombay in 1877. He had obtained his LL.B. degree in 1881 and became pleader in Bombay High Court. He had attended the inaugural session of INC held at Bombay in 1885. It was his privilege to preside over the Congress session held at Lahore in 1900. All his life he was deeply interested in education and social reform. Lord Curzon made him a member of the Education Commission in 1902. It was there he was regarded as a first rate moderate in politics. He breathed his last due to heart attack in May 1923 at Bangalore. Since then the Congress workers started to take active part in the freedom struggle). But the district had no senior leaders. They were followers of the order given by the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. Hence all the main leaders were from Belgaum and Dharwad)*

Shri Ranganath R. Diwakar of Belgaum was the leader of the freedom movement in Bombay Karnataka. He was head of the Pradesh Congress Committee. Hence the responsibility of organizing the No-Tax Campaign was shouldered upon him and Karnataka Satyagraha Mandal was set up. It was decided to start the campaign in Ankola taluk because all the previous agitations like salt satyagraha, forest satyagraha, burning of foreign cloths were proved very successful. The participants must be land holders and ready go to jail and even to

starve along with their family members. This was the last step of the Civil Dis-obedience Movement. He along with Dr. N.S. Hardikar and Smt. Krishnabhai Panjekar travelled extensively in Ankola taluk. They met the Nadava leaders in a temple at Surve and discussed about the pros and cons of the campaign. Leaders of the Nadava community like Ram Nayak of Basagod, Bole Bommayya Nayak, Devanna Nayak, Kanagi Hammanna Nayak, Shetageri Jogi etc attended and addressed the meeting. Ranganath Diwakar explained the Bardoli Satyagraha and hardship faced by the farmers there. Dr. Narayan Kabbur from Dharwad also addressed the gathering. Then Diwakar conducted similar other meetings at Hichkad, Vasre, Hoskeri, Shetageri. Dr. Hardikar was declared as commander of the Nadavas in this campaign. Seven members team was formed to conduct the campaign in the district. They were Siralige Subbraya Bhat, Tarakhod Sitaram Hegde, Inkai Venkataramana Hegde, Hosakoppa Ganesh Hegde, Hobli Gangapath Bhat, Dasan Hudil Narayana Bhat and Dodmane Ganesh Hegde. One important aspect is that Shri K.V.Venkataramanayya and his Gouramma from Bangalore came to Siddapur in order to take part in the campaign. They settled at Siddapur and earned the good will of the people. He was a trainer of Hindustan Seva Dal and high School teacher at National High School, Bangalore. He was arrested on 30th Aug.1930 at Karwar. His Wife Gouramma too joined No-Tax Campaign. She opened Balaki ashram at Karwar and Shimogga.

Siddapur was the head-quarter of the Campaign. The other sub-centres were Shiralage, Bidarakhan, Korkisaval, Taresar, Herur, Hosatotu, Kanchikai, Kanasur, Tyagli, Kanagodu, Gunjagond, Bilagi, Kyadagi, Itagi, Lambapur and Dodmane.

Leaders of Sirsi taluk: Timmappa Nayak, Hodake Vamanarao, Manjunath Devaru Hegde, Kadave Ramakrishna Hegde, Ganapati Bhatta Bisalakoppa, Krishna Bhatta of Sogoanvi, Ramakrishna Shankarapa Hegde of Mandagesara, Paramayya Ganapati Hegde of Balagundi were in the organizing committee. For the successful conduct of No-Tax Campaign they selected seven of the taluk. They were Hegdekatte, Hulekall, Hulgol, Suganvi, Ekkumbi, Mundagesar, Harogar.

After the arrest of Manjunath Devaru Hegde there was protest march on 12th January 1932 and the satyagrahis conducted a jungle satyagraha. On that occasion they cut the sandalwood and other important trees in the forest area. The police tried to arrest them along with the wood. But they could not trace the wood that was cut in the forest. They conducted raids on the houses of the leaders to search the looted wood. They the police even brought carts to transport them. But by that time the wood was looted and transported from the police station. They made up their mind to conduct the satyagraha at Punchlingeswara temple at Shivalli village of Hegdekatte centre. The police succeeded in arresting Gopal Subbaraya Hegde of Kanalli, Subbaraya Ganapayya Hegde of Honnekatte, Ganappa Bhatta, Annayya Bhatta, Narasimha Bhatta Annayya Bhatta and Narasyan Venkappa Hegde were imprisoned them in Sirsi Police Station. They got six months rigorous imprisonment. Others were released without any action.

On 26th January 1932 processions in the streets, jungle satyagraha, salutation to flag were conducted as usual. They auctioned the sandalwood and Salt which was called as Gandhi Salt in the temple.

The congress workers decided to take the resignation of patels working in the Sirsi taluk. Hence Mahadev Subbaraya Shetty and Narayan Naranappa Hegde sought the resignation of Patels namely Ramakrishna Timmayya Hedge Kadabal, Subbayya Hegde Kanhalli, Subbraya Subbayya Hegde Hegdekatta, Subbraya Ramakrishna Hegde Hebbbar. But only first two Patels rendered their resignation. Other two took back their resignation after receiving a threat from their officers. For this criminal act two Congress activists namely Mahadeva Subbaraya Shetty and Narayan Naranappa Hegde were arrested and imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 500/-. Local leaders like Kadave Ramakrishna Hegde, Soganvi Subbaraya Bhatta, Ganapati Bhatta of Bisalkoppa, Paramayya Hegde of Mundagesar jointly engaged in the preparation of the campaign. They toured the Sirsi taluk and created mass awareness among the people. They organised the campaign at Hegdekatte, Kadave, Mundagesar, and Soganvi in Sirsi taluk.

Manjunath Devaru Hegde was released on Ferule. On the way he met Kadave Ramakrishna Hegde and discussed about the successful campaign of No- Tax Campaign. Then they decided to meet K.V. Venkataramanayya and at Sagar and took guidance from him to conduct the campaign in Sirsi taluk. About 150 families assured to take active part in the campaign.

Campaign in Ankola Taluk: Dr. N.S. Hardikar who was entrusted the duty of training the workers travelled widely in Ankola taluk. He mainly concentrated the Nadava community. He addressed the farmers and informed them about the consequences of their involvement in the campaign. There was search warrant against Hardika. The police wanted to arrest Hardikar at any cost and to disturb the campaign. Volunteers were appointed to look after the needs of the training camps and supply them the essential goods. Local leaders were Shyamarao Shenai, Babu Kamat, Hari Pai, Subbraya were arrested on 6th January 1931. Other people conducted prabathaperies, salutation to flags, procession, salt manufacture, forest satyagraha. The people of Nadava community were fully involved in the campaign. Congress workers from Dharwad, Belgaum, Bijapur, Mangalore, Bangalore, Mysore and Coorga assumed the leadership of different training camps. Women and children were appointed for the postal duty. They secretly worked in transporting letters from camp to camp and village to village.

The Sixth Karnataka Provincial Political Council was held at Hukkeri in Belgaum district on May 26th to 27th under the Presidentship of Jamnalal Bajaj. Because of No-Tax Campaign the condition of the farmers of Sirsi and Siddapur was very critical. They were living without food grains and most of them were in a fear of utter poverty and starvation. Hence it was decided in the Council to help those farmers with necessary assistance. As a token of initial work Rs. 700/- was collected towards Assistance Fund. Mahatma Gandhiji requested Jamnalal Bajaj to tour the affected areas of Sirsi and Siddapur to study and survey the ground level condition of the farmers and report the same to the Indian National Congress. A Committee was appointed with Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Shankar Rao Gulvadi, Ranganath Divakar, Hanumant Rao Kaujalagi, Vishwanath Rao Jog. They started their journey on June 1st and visited a small

village called Somanalli. They visited Sirsi, Siddapur, Bilagi, Tyagli, Kanasor etc. They conducted meetings with farmers of the villages and collected information about their sufferings and the treatment of government officials. In order to solve the serious problem a Local Committee in collaboration with Gandhi Seva Sangha was set up. Hence a Committee under the leadership of Shri S. N. Kehsvainar was formed. The other members of the committee were Kadave Ramakrishna Hegde, Timmappa Hegde Motensur, Vasudev Dhakappanavar (Tresurer), Nagesh Hegde Dodmane, Hanamappa Rajavaidya Bialagi, Timmayya Hegde Shigihalli, T.S Nayaka (Secretary). The members of the committee divided among themselves the place they had to visit in Sirsi and Siddapur taluk. Their survey report revealed the ground reality of the economic condition of the farmers in which they stated that the 145 families of the Sirsi had no food grains in the next rainy season time. In Siddapur the situation was very worst. 74 families were already suffering from starvation. Hence they thought they require nearly Rs. 20000 to feed those families for the next six months. Hence the Congress leaders of the other taluks come forward to collect the necessary fund to the farmers of Sirsi and Siddapur. Subbrao Haldipur the President of Uttara Kannada District with other taluk leaders like Shivarao Shastri, Shripadarao Kalyanapurakar, Narashimha Govind Shanbagh, Ganapat Ramrao Masur, B.M. Basrur, Ganesh Ram Yaji, M.P.Nadkarni requested the people to donate maximum amount to their best of capacity to the fund.

It was in the Hukkeri the Karnataka Provincial Political Council, Sadashiva Karnad was elected as President of the K.P. C. C., Ranganath Diwakar as Secretary joined by Gangadha Rao Deshpande, Hukkerikar, M.P.Patil issued a joint statement requesting for liberal donation towards that fund for the Sirsi and Siddapur farmers. June 26 was observed as Day of Fund Collection for the farmers.

The main features of the No-Tax Campaign are

1. To face the British openly by denying the payment of land revenue in Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapura taluks.
2. Participation of women along with their husband, sons and daughters

3. Resignation of Patels for the Government jobs and joining the movement,
4. Confiscation of property, houses and standing crops,
5. Rigorous imprisonment maximum period of 1 year.
6. It was a non-violent movement and not to run away from the agitation.

Training Camps for the Satyagraha: For the preparation of satyagraha training camps were set up in Ankola taluk. They were at Basagod, Surve, Shatageri, Bole, Vandige, Hosagadde, Kanagil, Hichakad, Sagadageri, Jooga, Adigon, Aggaragon, Mogata, Vasre, Kudrige, Shiragunta, Gundabale, Hillur, Agasur, Adlur, Belkere, Bhavikere, Uluvare and Avarsa. Thus there were 24 training camps spread across the Ankola taluk. Shri Ranganatha Diwakar requested the native Patel to resign for their posts and join the movement. Accordingly Subbaraya Nayak of Vasre was the first Patel to resign for his post. He was entrusted the responsibility of taking the resignation letter from other Patels of the district. The other leaders like Basagod Ram Nayak, Shetageri Jogi Nayaka, Vandige Hammanna Nayak, Bole Bommayya Nayaka, Hichkad Biranna Nayak and Ramachandra Nayak. They shouldered the responsibility of popularising the movement in the taluk. After making all the preparatory works Shri D. P. Karmarkar left to Dharwad to meet Diwakar and to seek further guidance in the matter. On 17th January 1931 Bhimaraya of Bevur and Krishnabhai Panjekar once again went to Ankola to spread the message and to create awareness about No-Tax Campaign among the people of Ankola taluk. Volunteers from different parts of the State including the Mysore came to the district to undertake all sorts of works. Balachandra Ghanekar and Anatharao Chikkodi from Dharwad also gave suggestions to the satyagrahi.

Krishnabhai Panjekar toured the rural areas and educated the ladies about the movement. She was really guiding force among the women of Nadava community. The campaign was started on 26th January 1931 which was celebrated as Independence Day from 26th January, 1930. Processions with National Flag, salutation to National Flag and taking oath of the

campaign were started on that day. All the land holders made up their mind to deny the payment of tax to the government. The Patels of Sirsi–Siddapur resigned for their posts at the time of jungle satyagraha. About 42 of them once again joined the service. In the same way 41 Patels of 63 were submitted their resignation to the government. On the same day Gandhiji and other top leaders of the INC were released from the Yarwada jail, Pune.

On 3rd March 1931 the Mamedar, Patel, Shanabhag of Ankola raided the houses of Subbaraya Nadkarni, Traimbaka Nadkarni, Radhabhai Nadkarni and seized the paddy. Similar raids were conducted at Belambara, Bhavikere, Gundubale, Shinganamakki, Surve,

According to Gandhi-Irwin pact which was signed on 5th March 1931 the No-Tax Campaign was stopped and the same message reached Ankola on 8th March and the people agreed to pay the tax to the government. On 11th March a function was organised in the Gandhi ground at Ankola in which D.P. Karmarkar and 30 to 40 volunteers who came from different parts of the State were honoured and felicitated for their whole hearted participation. Since the commencement of campaign there was a search warrant against Karmarkar and ban order against him for not to enter the district. In spite of that Karmarkar was travelled widely in the district and guided the people.

Main Events of the Campaign:

1. Kelaginmane Nagesh Hegde- An active worker arrested on 26-01-1931 beaten several times and sentenced. His first younger brother served a period of six months rigorous imprisonment and was actively working in the field. He was again sent to prison for one year, his two younger brothers and the wives of all three younger brothers have all been sent to jail. His mother was sentenced to one year. The members of the family that left outside the prison were his carrying wife and two small children.
2. Bommayya Pokka Naika of Surve was a No-taxer. His house was searched a number of times and properties attached. His lands were forfeited. The family consisted of three males, one female and five children. Out of these Bommaiyya Pokka Naik had been

sentenced to nine months rigorous imprisonment. On the ground that he was a congress worker and Venkanna Beerana Naik was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment under the forest law and observing general satyagraha. So all the males in the family were in jail. Only females and children were left behind.

3. Beeranna Devanna Naik Vasarkudrige was a Congress worker and a no-taxer. There was a lady and boy in his house. He was working in the Congress for the last eleven months. His moveable property was attached.
4. Mani Biranna Naik Magute was a no taxer and also a Congress worker. His moveable and immoveable properties were attached. His house was in the possession of the Police.
5. Honna Dasa Manigouda was not a tax payer. There were five men, three ladies and two children in the family. All the five males were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in the jungle satyagraha, suagar cane satyagraha and planting. The moveable and immoveable property worth of Rs. 1000 was attached. Their house was taken possession by the government and ladies of the family were driven out.
6. Ramagouda Huliyyappa Gouda was not a tax payer in Ankola taluk. He was active Congress volunteer. His annual income was more than Rs. 1000. His properties both moveable and immoveable worth of thousands of rupees were attached. His house had been taken possession by the Government. The ladies and children were driven outside. Yet they continued as Congress volunteers.
7. Govinda Mankali Gowda was also no-taxer in the taluk with an annual income of Rs. 500/- had lost and there by sustained a loss of thousands of rupees. His house was locked by the authorities and the inmates were driven outside.
8. Devoo Huliyyappa Gowda was another no-tax payer. His house was locked by the Government. All moveable property was attached. His land was forfeited and the

- family was driven out. He had sustained a heavy loss.
9. Bhairu Timmanna Gowda was a not-tax payer with an annual income of Rs. 500/-. His immovable property was attached. His land was forfeited. His house was locked and sold by the authorities and the inmates left in the wilderness.
 10. Nagappa Buddagouda had an income of Rs. 500/- a year. He refused to pay land revenue this year. To recover the same number of raids were conducted on his house and moveable property was attached. He was a staunch supporter of Congress.
 11. Devu Tulasugouda was another no-tax payer in Ankola. His house was taken possession by the Government officials. There were ladies in the house and his son-in-law. He had been sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment on a charge of harvesting crops in the forfeited land. Only ladies were living in the house. All of them were working for the congress day and night.
 12. Sjt. Nagesh Ganapayya Hegde Kelaginmane of Siddapur taluk was a staunch follower of Congress. He was a patel and resigned for his post during 1921 campaign. The annual remuneration was of Rs. 100. He too refused land revenue during this campaign and withholding Rs. 195. His house was searched nine times by the officials and property worth of Rs. 100 was attached. All his land was forfeited and auctioned but there were no bidders to purchase the land. Standing crops worth of Rs.300 was guarded by the police to prevent harvesting by the Khatedar. Pepper creepers were cut off by the police. Inmates were driven out of the house and the house had been locked and sealed. The house was raided in which nine ladies were residing and seven of them from same family. It was once again locked up.
 13. Katedar was an active worker and was very responsible man in the centre. Ramakrishna Ganapayya Khatedar's younger brother was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 50 fine was imposed in March 1932. Immediately he came out but soon he was arrested and sentenced to eighteen months rigorous imprisonment in November 1932. His two younger brothers were also sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment each. The wives of the three younger brothers of the Katedar had been sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment each for residing in the sealed house. Katedar's mother, sister and his sister's daughter were also sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment for taking part in it. Another sister was also acquitted. Katedar's wife was pregnant and was not well so she was set free.
 14. Sjt. Mirabhatta Ramabhatta Kulibid was another no-tax payer in Siddapur and convicted to six months rigorous imprisonment. His brother's wife Ganapamma took part in Mavinagundi fasting satyagraha and convicted for 10 days. She was beaten up very severely. His crops had been attached and a loss of Rs. 200 had been thus caused to him. The inmates of the house were driven out and his houses were locked on 23rd Dece.1932 by the Government. Both the houses were raided by the officials and taken possession by the Government.
 15. Mr. Veggappa Manjappa Hegde of Honegara was a patel of two villages. He resigned for his post. He also took active part in the movement of 1921. His gun licence was cancelled by the Government. He was arrested in Ankola when he attended the District Political Conference as a delegate and sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. His wife Devamma took part in the Mavinagundi fasting satyagraha. So she was sentenced in December 1932.
 16. Mr. Subbaraya Soorbhatta Gunjagad was not a tax payer in the taluk. He too refused to pay the revenue of Rs. 146. Hence his house was attached and a loss of Rs. 800 was sustained to him. His wife was beaten on the day of Mr. Matters tour. His elder brother Timmanna Bhatta was sentenced to six months imprisonment. His brother's wife Smt. Mahadevamma was a captain of satyagraha in the taluk. She served a term of four months rigorous imprisonment and actively worked in the same capacity after

- her release. His son Gajanan was also beaten by the police. Thus the entire family was involved in the congress and took active part in the no-tax campaign movement.
17. Mr. Subbaraya Venkappa Hegde had refused to pay the land revenue of Rs. 260. Hence his property was attached at Rs. 250. His brother's wife and his own son were sent to jail. His garden and paddy fields were auctioned by the officials.
 18. Mr. Vamana Dasappa Madgaonkar Bilagi had also refused to pay the land revenue of Rs. 387. His younger brother Hari Rama Krishna Rajavaidya was convicted in Feb. for one year rigorous imprisonment. His brother's son Mahadeva Vithal Madagaonkar was arrested on "Independence Day" and sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 150 fine or 1.5 months default. After his release he worked actively for the Congress. His son Gopal was also sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine or three months default. His son Shrinivasa was also beaten in connection with flag salutation by the police and arrested. He was sentenced to four months rigorous imprisonment and Rs.25 fine or one month default. After his release from jail he actively engaged in the no-tax movement.
 19. The Kathedar was himself an old man of seventy years was sentenced to nine months rigorous imprisonment. Then he was released on the ground of parole notice. His son was an important office bearer of the no-tax campaign in Siddapur taluk. Smt. Laxmibhai Madgaonkar, Smt. Manjula Bai Rajawaidya and Smt. Ramabai Madagaonkar were arrested and let off in March for taking part in the flag salutation, protesting against the removal of the flag staff and taking part in the Ramanavami procession in Ankola. On 22nd May, 1932 Smt. Laxmi Madagoankar offered fasting satyagraha all along at Akkkunji. Smt. Sitabai Madgoankar with a child of four months and Smt. Laxmi Madgoankar offered satyagraha at the Murughamatta and at the house of Sjt. Ganeshappa Lakkappa. The latter was arrested to four months where as the former was sentenced for a day. Smt. Sitabai Madgaonkar was a Chairman of the reception committee of Siddapur taluk Political Conference. On 9th Sept. 1932 she was convicted to six months rigorous imprisonment. The Kathedars land worth of Rs. 5000 was sold in auction for Rs. 300. There were several attachments of his property.
 20. Timmanna Bhatta Kallal was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. His son Mahabaleshwara Bhatt Kallal was beaten along with Sjt. Bulusa Subramanya of Andhra at Cacinada where he was conducting a training camp of the Seva Dal. He too was arrested and convicted to two years rigorous imprisonment. His daughter took part in the fasting satyagraha at Akkunji. His son-in-law was convicted for six months rigorous imprisonment. After his release again he started to work with the Congress. Timmanna Bhatta's wife Laksmibhai and daughter-in-law Kaveramma also participated in the fast satyagraha at Hechche, Siralagi, Akkunji and Mavinagundi. Smt. Lakshamma fasted for 21 days in the Mavinagundi Satyagraha. She was then sentenced to imprisonment for one day. She was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Siddapur taluk ladies conference held on 24th October, 1932. She was very badly beaten while she took part in a procession in connection with the conference.
 21. Smt. Kaveramma was severally beaten along with Gouramma on 16th and 17th April 1932. She was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment in connection with the Mavinagundi satyagraha. She was then released and continued her work in the Congress.
 22. Mukteswara Ramachandra Venkataramana Hegde Siralagi was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. His son Shamayya was sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment. His daughter Gangamma was also sentenced to four months. After her release from the jail once again she continued her work with the congress movement. His wife Kamamma was beaten for taking part in prabhata pheries. His land was sold in auction.

23. Ganapati Timma Bhatta Belguli was not a tax payer. But if he was active member of the Congress. He also refused to pay the land revenue of Rs. 340. So his land was sold in auction for Rs. 188 which was worth of Rs. 8300/-. He burnt the crop of his field with

the consent of the tenants. Both Ganapati Bhatta and his brother Ramachandra Bhatta were sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment each. One lady and a child were left behind at home.

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A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF A FREEDOM FIGHTER – V. M. OBAIDULLAH

P. Basith Assarani & M. Muthu Santhana Kumar

V.M. Obaidullah, a dynamic personality among the Muslim Freedom Fighters of Tamil Nadu. As a secular Nationalist, he participated in almost all the movements in freedom struggle from 1919 to till the achievement of Independence in 1947. His services to the nation are inalienable in the history of the Indian National Movement. From his childhood onwards, he was inspired by the ideas of freedom from the various national leaders and freedom fighters of our nation. He participated almost all freedom movement in Tamil Nadu with Kamaraj. He followed Gandhi's ideology of non-violence during his participation in the Indian National movement. When he was young, he interacted with the freedom fighters of Vellore, who frequently visited his father's betel-nut shop freeing India from the British yoke. He was one among the prominent leaders of Tamil Nadu along with Kamaraj, who influenced the public masses during Indian National Movement. A leading personality among the Muslim freedom fighters in the North Arcot District, V.M. Obaidullah of Vellore sacrificed everything for the cause of Indian Nationalism¹. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the selfless services of V.M. Obaidullah to Indian independence.

V.M. Obaidullah was born at Vellore on 2nd May 1905. His father Madhar Batcha Sahib migrated from Vaniyambadi. At a very young age, he was inspired by the great Indian National

Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Mohammed Ali, Soukath Ali, Abul Kalam Azath, Dr. Ansari, Nehru etc., who fought against the British rule in India. At the age of 15, in the year 1920 onwards he was involved with Kodai Idi Kuppasamy (thunderstorm of summer) in organising meetings, processions, rally etc., and both of them were called by the general public as "Twins of Vellore". The statistical and explanatory notes about the British atrocities on Indians, attracted the masses of the North Arcot district to march against the British rule in this region. His satire and sportive speech in the public meetings made the audience keep thinking about their servitude under British rule, which hooked and pulled the peoples of this region to participate in our freedom struggle. Santimay Ray states that in his book entitled "*Freedom Movement and Indian Muslims*", Peoples Publishing House (P) Ltd, New Delhi, 1979, p.p 53-54, as "*V.M.Obaidullah of Vellore was another great fighter who suffered years of imprisonment during national struggle since 1930*".

The Swadeshi movement started as an economic strategy aimed at removing the British Empire from power and improving economic conditions of Indians. Strong protests and slogans against British were raised everywhere supporting this movement. Protest meetings were organised by V.M. Obaidullah of Vellore

which aroused the anti-British feelings among the peoples of Tamilnadu and intensified their nationalist sentiments.² Tilak and Annie Besant started the Home Rule movement in 1916. Home Rule Movement became so popular. V.M. Obaidullah was spreading the message of Home Rule in many rural areas of Vellore district³.

He joined Khilafat Movement in 1920 and actively took part in it. The Khilafat committee decided to observe 19 March 1920 as a Second Khilafat Day. In Madras a public meeting was arranged in the Marina Beach opposite to the Presidency College at Madras. Muslim leaders from Vellore district, Abdul Hakkeem and V.M. Obaidullah spoke in the meeting. The observance in Madras was marked by a mass meeting of approximately 20,000 Muslims and Hindus⁴. Abdul Hakeem, Moulana Sherfuddin, V.M.Obaidullah and Abdul Rahman Beig of Vellore and Subramania Sastri of Ami were the important and active members in Khilafat movement of the Vellore District⁵. He toured every village in north Arcot district and provoked the masses to protest against the British rule. He started a Gandhi Sangam at Vellore and organised meetings, processions and spread the national spirit among the youths of North Arcot district.

Flag Satyagraha was a peaceful civil disobedience campaign during Indian independence movement. In connection with the Nagpur flag fight, public meetings were organised in Tamilnadu under the leadership of the various leaders, Volunteers from Madras took part in Nagpur Flag Satyagraha. In 1923, V.M. Obaidullah participated in the flag agitation. He was arrested and convicted for one-year imprisonment by the British government. He spent some months in Nagapuri jail for the above cause and again shifted to Amaravati jail for rigorous imprisonment⁶.

In 1928, Anti-Simon demonstration began immediately after the arrival of Simon Commission in Bombay. Similar protests were organised in the then North Arcot district also. The police had detained the masses of the protestation and ordered to disperse immediately to save their lives from their bullets. V.M. Obaidullah immediately tore off his shirt and bravely shown his chest straight to the gunpoint to shoot him⁷. This shows that he was ready to sacrifice his life for the cause of India's freedom.

The Civil Disobedience Movement took momentum in North Arcot District. V.M. Obaidullah Sahib of Vellore travelled the districts of Tamilnadu and appealed to the masses to join the Civil Disobedience Movement and strengthened the cause of nationalism.⁸ All Congress leaders actively participated in the salt satyagraha announced by Gandhi in the year 1930. Prominent leaders like T. Prakasham, Durgabai etc., were led the agitation in Chennai province. V.M. Obaidullah actively participated in the processions of 100 volunteers with Kodai Idi Kuppusamy Mudaliyar and Shanmughanandha Adigal. The procession went on walk to Chennai and was supported and encouraged by the public masses in every village on the way. In every village the peoples encouraged the procession with tea, snacks and food. A lot of volunteers voluntarily joined in this procession. V.M. Obaidullah participated the salt satyagraha at Chennai with all these volunteers. The British government convicted him with eighteen months' imprisonment at Alipuram jail, near Bellary for this action along with Kamaraj⁹. Since then they became close associates with each other both personal and political life till the death of V.M. Obaidullah in 1958¹⁰.

Due to the detention of Gandhiji on 23rd January 1932 by the British Government, the Civil Disobedience protest was held all over India. The protest was held in a peaceful manner in the way of Gandhiji's non-violence policy. However, the volunteers of the protest were brutally attacked by the police. It was severely condemned by all circles. V.M. Obaidullah was also one of the worst victims of this incident and also convicted with one-year imprisonment by the British Indian court¹¹. He was released from imprisonment and invited to speak at several villages and towns in Tamilnadu. He accepted the invitation and went to several villages and motivated the public through his inspiring speech.

During Indian National movement, most of the drama artists in Tamilnadu wore only Khadi dresses and portrayed the dramas with the theme of freedom struggle. S.S Viswanatha Dass was one among them sung a Nationalist song in all his dramatic play. His famous song "kokku parukkudhadi pappa" was familiar among the public masses of Tamilnadu. V.M. Obaidullah bravely invited him to hoist the tri-coloured

National flag in Vellore Municipal office during British rule and was praised by all, for this brave act.

Jinnah deplored the resolution of the Congress to start Quit India Movement and wanted the Muslims to keep away from the mass Civil Disobedience Movement. However, the Muslims in the Presidency did not go with Jinnah. Though the issue of Pakistan was rousing their tender feelings they weighed more with Gandhiji and a sizeable population extended support to the Quit India Movement. V. M. Obaidullah of Vellore was vehemently critical of the creation of Pakistan¹². The Muslim leaders at the national level convened an anti-separation conference at Kumbakonam in June 1941 and passed a resolution against the partition of India. They also condemned the stand of Rajaji's support of Pakistan. Obaidullah was one among them¹³.

In 1942 the resolution on the Quit India Movement was passed, the National Congress wanted the immediate end of the British rule in India. Thousands of freedom fighters were arrested all over India during the Quit India Movement in August 1942. V.M. Obaidullah was also searched by the police for arrest but he managed to escape and mobilized the people from various villages to participate in the August revolution. Kamaraj appointed V.M. Obaidullah as in charge of August Revolution before his arrest. The struggle took place on a large scale in Vellore and V.M. Obaidullah was arrested after Kamaraj under the Defence of India Rules and spent 26 months' imprisonment in Coimbatore, Vellore, Thiruchirappalli, Cuddalore and Thanjavur jails¹⁴.

He served as a Municipal Councillor of Vellore for over 20 years, Vice President North Arcot District Board for four years, Vice President of T.N.C.C for seven years, President Tamilnadu Congress Committee during 1940-41, Tamilnadu Congress Executive for over 17 years, Member in A.I.C.C for ten years, Member of the Standing Committee for the Ministry of Transport (other than Roads) from 1950-1951¹⁵, Member of Provincial Parliament during 1951-52, Member of the Council of States, Madras Presidency¹⁶ from 3rd April, 1952 to 2nd April, 1956¹⁷ and the Member of the Rajya Sabha¹⁸ from 3rd April, 1956 to 21st February, 1958, re-

lected to the Rajya Sabha and continued till the time of his death¹⁹.

The Sri Jalakandeeswarar Temple, Vellore Fort

The Sri Jalakandeeswarar Temple inside the historic fort in Vellore fort had stopped worship for nearly four centuries and the main deity 'Linga' was shifted to the Jalakanda Vinayakar Temple in Sathuvacheri. The Vellore Fort was handed over to the ASI for maintenance in the year 1921 and the status quo of the temple continued after independence. V.M. Obaidullah of Vellore raised this issue in the 15th session of Rajya Sabha on 18th December, 1956²⁰ during question hours and insisted to open the temple for the public to perform puja. The other Members P.S.Rajagopal Naidu, T.V.Kamalaswamy, S.N.Mazumdar, B.B. Sharma and Dawood Ali Mirza argued and supported the cause of V.M. Obaidullah, while the then Deputy Minister for Education Dr. Mono Mohan-Das quoting other reasons to justify the status quo of non-opening the Jalakandeeswarar Temple to perform puja. The worship was revived in the temple on March 16, 1981 and the first Kumbabhishekam of the temple was performed in 1982 after a prolonged struggle of two and half decades. He raised the issue of supply of irrigation water from Mysore to Madras through Palar River in the 15th session of Rajya Sabha on 20th December, 1956 during question hours²¹. He insisted the government to provide Financial Assistance to CMC, Vellore²² and the Opening of Gandhi Maidan, open ground around the Vellore fort for public meetings²³ was banned during freedom struggle, and for the remodelling of Virudhunagar railway station²⁴.

He passed away on 21st February 1958²⁵, at the age of 53. He was a sitting member of the Rajya Sabha when he passed away²⁶. After his death when the Tamil Nadu Government requested his wife Mrs. Zaibunisa Begum to accept some free land, she refused and declared that the service of her husband was invaluable and beyond any reward or award²⁷. The main Bus Stand in Vellore named after V.M. Obaidullah Bus Stand to honour him for his yeoman services to Indian Nation.

He strove for the Indian nation and for the peoples of India till his last breath. His dedication for the cause of Nation in various stages are noteworthy and should be memorable in the

history of Tamilnadu, but a meagre information's only recorded in the history of Indian freedom movement about him. So, the young scholars of history should concentrate, to record the

unrecorded contribution of the regional leaders and dig out the real facts about our freedom struggle in this current scenario.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNDER THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

S. Brindha

Introduction

The Vijayanagar Empire founded in 1336 flourished in South India up to 1565, till its decline in the battle of Talikotta. To recover Tamilnadu from the cruel yoke of Muslims, the Vijayanagar Empire was founded. It was founded on the advice of the Hindu Saint Vidyaranya on the banks of the river Thungabhatra very near to Chirunkeri Madam in 1336. Thus prevailed close contacts between Vijayanagar Empire and Hindu religion.

Harihara was the first great ruler of the Sangama dynasty. He ruled only a portion of Telugu and Kannada territories. The Vijayanagar was expanded during his reign. He annexed certain portion of Hoysala and Kadamba kingdoms with his empire. Then the Vijayanagar army invaded Tamilnadu. The aim of the invasion was to protect the people from his autocratic rule. To visualize his aims, he sent his brother Bukka I to Tamilnadu with an army.

Kumarakampana was the son and successor of Bukka I. His wife was Gangadevi. To know the historical Southern expedition of

Kumarakampana, literatures and inscriptions served as evidences. Further the inscriptions found at Tondaimandalam also gave valuable information about the Southern expedition of Kumarakampana. The historically important Vijayanagar Empire was ruled by the rulers of Sangama, Saluva, Thuluva and Aravidu dynasties. Among them, the rulers of Sangama and Thuluva dynasties were prominent.

Judicial system of Vijayanagar Empire

The Vijayanagar Empire founded during the first quarter of the fourteenth century, established its sway in Tamilnadu for nearly two hundred and fifty years. They introduced various administrative changes in Tamilnadu, during their reign. The Nayankara and Ayyangar system introduced during this period paved the way for the decline of the Sabhas, the traditional administrative bodies in the villages.

Vijayanagar rulers gave due importance to provincial administration. The administration which existed in the provinces was called as 'Nayankara System'. According to the system all the lands were owned by the ruler. He distributed the lands to his generals. They functioned under his control and acted as feudal lords. Vijayanagar kingdom slowly established their power in Tamilnadu. They established very good administration and judicial system.

Vijayanagar Kingdom has contributed lot to the judicial system. The king was the fountain head and followed by others in a hierarchal form¹. We come to know from the literary source that in ancient India the law was based on the principles of Hindu religious and a common ethics was found in the society. Thus the king had only to enforce the law. The Vedas are the main source of law. The Dharmasastra, which were based on the Vedas are mere codification of the customary law of the land. It is believed that the Hindu law was not made by man but it was the gift of God and man could either alter or change them².

The judicial system of Vijayanagar could be formulated by a study of the Vyavaharkanda of the Parasara Madhaviya, a legal treatise by Vidyananya, who is believed to have written it to provide the new empire with a fresh code of law.³

The Nayaks were the final authority on justice in the provincial system. The power was

distributed to sabha, ur, nadu and areas which played a supporting role in establishing justice. The local chieftain was called Arasu who had the power to investigate the cases within their own jurisdiction. Very elaborate ceremonial practices were followed in the court. The oral orders were noted down by the in traditional manner. The king was always dressed in white and wore a cap the model of Galician helmet, and was bare footed.

Judicial administration

The king was the supreme judge, but at times the disputes were settled by the state officials with the co-operation of the local bodies.⁴

The Imperial court or Provincial court

The emperor had made arrangements for the efficient administration of justice by constituting a series of courts in all the provinces. The provincial courts were presided over by the Mahamandaleswara, the supreme magistrate. Permanent courts were also established at convenient Centre to transact judicial business in their jurisdiction. Temple, Sabha, Nadu and Ur had their own courts.⁵

Judgment was given to the needy and those who done the crimes, punishments were severe and included mutilation, trampling, impaling and being thrown to the elephants.⁶ 'The people were so subject to the king that if you told a man that the king asked him to stand still in a street, holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it'. Courtesans played a prominent role in the life of the palace and city and were under constant state supervision. They contributed substantial sums to its revenue.

The imperial court was located at the capital and if had jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases. It consisted of the judge (emperor) and his two or more sabhyas. The Assessors constituted Bench. In addition, there was Lekhaka or the Bench clerk who had to take down the oral statements made in the courts by the parties and witnesses. Similar system prevails even today.

Customs and usages played on vital role in deciding communal disputes. This same way marriage related cases has been solved by the

existing courts. Many of the cases deciding by the people's own customs, and also acts regulated by the governments.⁷

The Ayagars functioned as Magistrate at times when the village assembly was not functioning properly. This shows that the Ayagars enjoyed a few judicial powers. Petty cases were most solved by the local peoples themselves, very rarely it was taken to the notice of the government. Only when they were not satisfied with the justice they approached the provincial or the imperial court.

The court decided the cases on its merits and pronounced judgment called Jayapatram. The punishments inflicted upon the criminal cannot be described to be mild. The provincial court tried cases not only at the first instance but heard appeals also. The emperor Krishnadevaraya, insisted that three appeals ought to be permitted for the criminal. This can be compared with the present judicial procedure where appeals are allowed according to the nature of the cases. From the lower court to the higher court.⁸

The central government did not maintain an elaborate judicial establishment. Justice was mostly administered locally by the village officers. Arbitration was largely in vogue. Even questions like seniority among brothers, which entitled such consequences as succession to property, etc., were settled by Arbitrators. Questions of a general nature, involving social and religious rights were heard by the king and his officials.⁹

Village courts and Caste guild organization

Village courts and caste guild organization tried minor offences and violation of caste and trade rules. Temple trustees were permitted to try petty criminal offences but their jurisdiction appears to have been confined to the servants of the temple and in such cases, the court of law was the known as Sabha.¹⁰ Such cases were not referred to the courts of the crown. In deciding doubtful legal points, the Smriti of Yajnavalkya and Madhava's great commentary on Parasara's code were made use of severe punishment was inflicted on guilty persons. These penalties were chiefly of four kinds – fines, confiscation of property, ordeals and death.¹¹

Generally cases were enquired in the halls of the village temples and sometimes judiciary met under the huge margosa tree or near the temple of the village for administering justice.¹²

Caste elders also had their own courts in their respective areas. They settled their disputes among their caste as well as the village cases related to worship, break of contract and violation of customary law. To decide the matter they met their Guru and Trade or business or contract related cases solving through arbitration system.¹³ It was already followed by the Vijayanagar Empire. Justice was administered by the Sabha. Amuktamalyata explains that the sabha was attended by the ambassadors from the foreign kingdoms also.¹⁴ If anybody disobeys the village sabha, he should be ex-communicated from the village.¹⁵

Immadi Narasimha's elder brother was murdered by Timarasa. He was punished to death. Ur and Nadu were led by 'Uravar' and 'Nattavar'.¹⁶

Criminal cases

The punishments were severe. Ordeals were common. These ordeals were aimed at reducing the crimes. The territorial head was given the administrative and judicial authority. He had to collect taxes and the defaulters were brought to the public court where they were given appropriate punishment.

The epigraphs of the reign refer to certain laws like law of reason and the laws of limitation. Treason was considered as heinous crime. One who perpetrated it was punished with immediate execution.¹⁷

The criminal laws were severe and harsh at times it was barbarous as per modern standards. Crimes like theft adultery and treason was given death sentence. Hanging sentences was given to the crimes like murder and outrages on women and virgins and impalement for traitors¹⁸. Sometimes the criminals were "cast down before the feet of an elephant that they may be killed by its knees, trunk and tusks". Official oppression in the sphere of justice was not absent but the state occasionally granted remedies against it, and it was also "sometimes successfully checked by the united opposition of corporate bodies".

Whatever theft is committed, however little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one, he is hanged with a hook under his chin, "Nobles who became traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly". In trial human evidence was made use of. Trial by ordeals was also made use of when human evidence failed.

The police system functioned together with the judicial system functioned fairly efficient. It was expected that the police officer must properly detect the theft or recover the property which was lost. They performed the duties of the modern CBI (Central Bureau of Intelligence) and kept the emperor informed of the wrong doings of the subordinates all over the empire as well as of the designs and involvements of the neighboring rulers.

Palayagars were allowed to maintain a considerable body of retainers to put an end to troubles from the jungle tribes. For this purpose, they were assigned Jagirs. In towns, the streets were patrolled regularly at nights. There was regular system of espionage. This is similar to the practice followed in the modern days.

The first mahamandaleswara, Kumara Kampana administered justice efficiently.¹⁹ Mahapradhani was chief judge. Mahapradhani mallarasar is mentioned the inscriptions.²⁰ He was empowered to settle the caste dispute.²¹ Krishnadevaraya's ablest minister Saluva Timma was designated as Dharmapradhi Palagar which denotes his power of administering justice.²²

Civil cases

Most of the civil cases were settled by people themselves through the local courts without any reference to the government. If satisfactory solutions were not offered the people appealed to the provincial court of the Governor and even to the imperial court of the emperor.

The office of Avasaram received information and complaints from the people and forwarded them to the authority. Rayasam was a clerk, through whom the court order was sent to local assemblies.²³ There was no report in any inscription about maladministration or mismanagement.²⁴

The members of Mahasabha were called Mahajanas and their main function was the

judicial work. These sabha took care of the civil courts of the empire.²⁵ Uravars were kept informed by mahamandaleswara of all the land transactions within the jurisdiction of their Ur.²⁶ The disputants stated their own cases and their emotion of certitude, with which they presented their plea had its effect on the minds of the judges as there was no advocates.²⁷

Nicolo Conti of Italy attests that trial by ordeals was in vogue in the Vijayanagar Empire. There was a boiling pan, with ghee, before the deity. The defendant put two of his fingers into the ghee. The fingers were tied with a cloth and were sealed. The third day it was opened and if there is no wound, he was acquitted. If a wound was noticed, he was adjudged a criminal and punished.²⁸

Talayari was held responsible for and theft that occurred in the village and it was the duties of Ganakas calculate the amount of money involved in the cases.²⁴ Court Bailiff should produce before the court the parties and witness concerned. He had to preserve the order in the court and execute its decrees.²⁵

When plaintiff appeared in a court to lodge a complaint, he had to file a document called 'Pratijna' which he had to describe his side the case.

Then the person against whom the complaint was lodged would be called upon to answer the charge. In civil cases, a period of time was granted to the defendant, if required to file his answer or 'Uttaram', but a person accused of some crime, should be ready with his Uttaram, on the day he was summoned to the court. No concession regarding time was given. To support his case he can produce both human evidence or documented evidences.

Nuniz narrates the manner in which some of the aggrieved parties brought their complaints before the emperor. The plaintiff would demonstrate how great his suffering was, by lying flat on his face on the ground till they ask him what he wanted. The divine evidence was invoked by ordeals and when the examination of the witnesses was completed. The place where the judge sat in the court while settling disputes, was known as the 'Dharmasana'.

Conclusion

According to the principles of Hindu political Dharma, the king or Emperor of Vijayanagar kingdom had to regulate Dharma, as laid down by the Dharmasastras. It was in fact one of the pillar on which the whole structure of administration rested. Thus a very good and efficient judicial system has been in practice during the Vijayanagar Empire. The king who

was regarded as the incarnation of God, he was supposed to be impartial and justice must be given on the basis of the Hindu Dharma, were it was essential to follow a code of ethics. The system of judicial administrators of Vijayanagar Empire can be compared with the present day civil and criminal code. This shows the richness of their judicial system.

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ORIGIN OF THE KOCHES AND DRAVIDIAN THEORIES

Chandan Barman

Origin of the Koches and Dravidian theories

Present North Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Northern part of Bangladesh was the home land of the Koch community. Koches are the aboriginal people of the Kamata-kuchbehar region. Koches are the ancient tribes of the Kamata-kuchbehar kingdom. There are different theories about the origin of Koches. One of the most important theories is known as the Dravidian original theory. Now, the question arises when and how the Dravidians are entered to these regions or what is the relation between the Koches and Dravidians. In this research

paper attempt has been made to the study origin of the Koches and Dravidian theory.

Among the theories about the origin of the Koches are the following–

- (1) Mongoloid theory,
- (2) Australoid race theory,
- (3) Aryan and Dravidian origin.

Theory of these doctrines has not been analysis much in the historical context. The present research paper is mainly aimed to discuss the Dravidian theory of the Koches. At present Brahmaputra valley, Kuchbehar,

Jalpaiguri, Alipurduar, Rangpur, Dinajpur and Rajshahi areas of Bangladesh are located in the Koches. Not only that, the Koches homeland is the vast areas of Meghalaya and Assam. In analyzing the origin of the Koches, different types of Koches have been found. For example, it can be said that about Pani Koches and Poliya Koches, etc. Presently, known as Koches are familiar 'Radiances'. Naturally, these Koches renounced their little and became part of the Hindu community in the later eighteenth century and early in the ninth century. Not only that, these Koches ruled for a long time as the ruler of the Kamata- Kuchbehar state. The Koches were known as Kshatriya. H.H. Risley said that "there was no historical foundation of the claim of the Radiances to a provincial variety of the Kshatriya." ¹

From the literary sources we can find that among the oldest towns in the northern part of Bengal, the most notable *janapadas* were Pundrabardhana, Goura and Kamata states, etc.² The Pundrabardhana region was later dominated by the Kamrupa kings. Notable among the people who lived in this geographical location were the Pundrabardhana, Kirat, Kambaja people. From the *Aiterya Brahmins*³ it is known that the Pundra were non-Aryan peoples. On the other hand Kirat and Kambaja population were non-Aryans. Analyzing from the historical point of view⁴, it is possible that these Kambaja were later known as Koches. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee⁵ and others have been supported this view.

On the basis of the ethnological background 'Koches are brown skin or black skin color, thick nose and lips, fleshy cheeks, whiteface and stoned limbs, black hair, normal body-medium to high stature and both medium long and medium round shaped head.⁶ Reviewing the above mentioned characteristics can be noticed like Koches as Radiances. Koches are semi-Hindu indigenous peoples. Not only is that, the Koches, Rajbanshis and Khans of North Bengal and North-eastern India considered as single origin from a particular clan. There is no difference between them. According to scholars view, the Koches are Mongoloid. N.N. Acharya said that, Koches are come from Siberia.⁷ In view of Suniti Kumar Chatterjee⁸, Koches are from Mongolia. Gait said that Koches are "A mixed breed with the Mongoloid physiognomy."⁹

According to Dalton, the Koches are included of the Dravidian community.¹⁰ On the other hand, H.H. Risley said that, the Koch-Rajbanshi is same people called in different names and they all are of large Dravidian tribes.¹¹

One of the historical land marks in the Dravidian group of linguistic the Koches are specific social group of peoples from Dravidian origin.¹² From the point of view, the Dravidian language group has an unprecedented resemblance to the Languages of the Dravidian language group such as Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Kanada. Now the question is how the Koches are ancestor with South Indian language group. It is interesting to note that during the Chola invasion to the Bengal, a patron went to trade in North eastern India. The Chola king Rajendra Chola assumed the title of 'Gangaikonda' after the conquest of Bengal. It is assumed that some of the Cholas crossed the Ganga River into the ancient Kamata kingdom. As a result of the association with them, the words of many Dravidian languages were included in the language of the Koches. It is important to mention that the language of the Koches is known as Kamatapuri language. Under the leadership of the Koch rulers of the Kamata region in the early medieval age and medieval age, Kamatapuri¹³ language and literature became known as the rich language of the region. The Culture of the Kamata region is known as Kamatapuri Culture. As a matter of fact on search an admixture, the Cultural, a linguistic development took a new shape and we get this present language and culture. This languages date from the Charyyapada of between 8th to 12th century was the administrative and educational medium in the region of Kamatapuri kings from the 13th century down to the 19th century.¹⁴

The similarities between the Kamata language and the Dravidian language group:

In Tamil, mother was called as aya, aya, aya and in Koch language mother was called Aai. Arai in Tamil and Arai in Kamatapuri language literally mean half or two and half of one. Oti in Malayalam and otti in Koch word; Odi or Otti meaning the same, Which means 'plot of land, range of rice field border, etc. Not only that, the word Atai and the Arai or Ati of the Tamil word have the same meaning. In English, this is called shut or fester. Tamil word punal, Kamata

word pani literally means water. Not only is that, so many Tamil words and Kamata words used by Koches which have the same meaning and words are pronounced in the same pronunciation. As word Oi in Tamil, the literal meaning of the word Kamata is Gol, this are same means sound. The Tamil word Ottai is called in Koch Kamata language Otai, which means one. Tamil word Atanam Kamata word Atla literally means excess. The Tamil word Attam is known on the Kamatapuri language mirror. The word Kurukh means Gundgi in the Kamatapuri language meaning to sprout out. From the above discussion it can be said that the Koches once settled in this region from the Dravidian region. It is important to mention, however that these words were spoken by the people of the agricultural society of Koches. In most cases the above words vowel sound are closely related to phones mass. One of the reasons for this was that the Dravidians were well versed in farming and these languages were taken by the Koches.

The word Koch comes from Kuch + A-hba. This word is probably found in early Sanskrit literature. In the Jain Bhagwati sutras the reference is mentioned in the states of the Anga, Magadha, etc. The Koches were native people of the state. It is doubtful whether these Koches are from Northern part of Bengal. However, the Koches of North Bengal probably may be a part of the Kambaja.¹⁵ In *Yagintantra*, Koches have been called Kuvacha. In *Kalikapurana*, the Koches have been mentioned as Kacha and this Koches live in the country. There is no end to the debate about the origin of Koches. Another important aspect of the Dravidian region of the Koches is that Dravidian etiquette and clothing are quite similar to the Koches dress and eating. Sailen Debnath commented on the similarity of the costumes that 'the dress of Koch men consist of a long piece of white cloth tide round the waist and another piece around the shoulder and Brest and that nearly correspond with the South Indian men dress.'¹⁶

There are two types of female dresses available in this region. These are known as 'Rihe' and 'Mekhala'. Francis Buchanan says that, 'the female dress of the Koches was the same with female dress in Abha'¹⁷ and the shepherd tribe in Mysore.¹⁸ In view of this discussion, it can be said that the Origin of the Koches is

Dravidian. Not only that, the Koches came from Deccan, another great proof of this— the ornaments the Koch women is match with the ornaments of women in South India. The clothing matches, the Koches were originally a Dravidian stock.¹⁹ Kamata was mainly associated with the trade and commerce in the Kamata-Kuchbehar region, mainly Koch and Kamata. Not only that, A.K. Coomaraswamy mentioned that 'Early Maritime trade and fishing were exclusively carried on by the Dravidians. He also says that 'Bamboo-craftsmanship and the building of house-shoe-are roofs were the production of the early Dravidians artistic genius'²⁰ Kamata- Kuchbehar is the Indigenous home of the Koches. The Koch country is a reverie and a lot of bamboo also grown here and these Koches are deeply involved in bamboo-craftsmanship. Therefore many anthropologists support the Dravidian Theory of the origin of Koches.

In the religious field, the great resemblance to the Dravidians of South India is noticed with the Koches. The Dravidian region was dominated by the Shaiva country. The present North Bengal or ancient Kamata kingdom area was a land of the Aryans and God of the people in this region. Shaiva is known by various names in Kamata region or North Bengal— such as Gharbandhyadeo, Mashan, Shaiva, Buradeo, Mahakal etc. Lord Siva worshiped as the God Mashan. Mashan is probably another variant of Shaiva. Buradeothakur is worshiped as Shaiva in the village area of Kamata Kuchbehar region. Malakal Shaiva temple is famous in Jayanti region of Kamata Kuchbehar. Not only that, the Koches also worshiped Yaksha and Yakshini as a God.

Although, H.H. Risley the inventor of the Dravidian theory of Koches, Dalton also called Koches are Dravidian.²¹ Not only that, the Oldham is a proponent of Dravidian theory. But most historians such as Waddel, Hodgen, Gait, S.K. Chatterjee, think that the Koches belong to the Mongoloid race.²² It is to be noted that the Koches and Rajbanshis are the Mongoloid in origin. Later period, these Koch tribes converted to Rajbanshis. The Koches and Rajbanshis are not separated to each other. This tribal people are also known as Kshatriya. The Koches are the Kshatriya became the ruled this vast region. More than five hundred years. In this connection

Koches are the royal, so they are also Kshatriya in the sense of ruler. Probably the Koches are mixed in origin.

In conclusion we can say that colour of the Koches are black and dark that is why it may be said that the Koches are the Dravidians. But it is indeed to that the Koches are the Mongoloid in

origin. It is to be noted the origin of the Koches and the theory of Dravidian play and important landmark in the origin history of Koches. Binay considered that they belong to the Dravidian stock and probably a branch of the great Bhuiya family and the traditions of this Bhuiya family can be traced from present day North Bengal to Assam states.²³

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LIBERATION OF THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN INDIA (1947 – 1961): A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

B. Deena Dayalan & Rev. Dr. Fr. Sebastian Mathai

Introduction:

After a prolonged struggle, India gained its independence from the British on the midnight of 15 August 1947 CE.¹ This new epoch raised the question of the state of Portuguese and French settlements in India. It was hoped that both the French and the Portuguese would quietly pack up, shake hands and smilingly wish us good luck in our future national career. However, nothing of that sort happened and both didn't budge an inch, claiming that their Indian possessions were part and parcel of Metropolitan France, that they were the cherished spots of French culture and Metropolitan Portugal and were the sacred spots

where Christianity and Western Civilization had been so assiduously nurtured for more than four hundred years and that it didn't matter much if they were separated from the mother countries only by some stretch of water. Nevertheless, after a prolonged struggle for liberation, the French realized that their hold on Indian possessions would be no more fruitful and when the assurance was given by the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru that their culture in all their possessions would be faithfully respected, they in a gentlemanly way asked Indian representatives to take possession of Yenam and on the verdict of a referendum for merger with the mother country, they surrendered the de facto possession of Pondicherry to the Government of

India in October 1954 CE, so only the *de jure* possession remained, which was surrendered too in 1956 CE by mutual agreement. However, the strong-headed government of Portugal gave India a rude slap on the face by obstinately clinging to Goa and the pinpoints of Diu, Daman, Dadra, and Nagar Haveli; its Prime Minister—the Dictator Salazar had promised to hold on to Portuguese possessions in India and declared that no one can snatch them.² However, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru insisted that Goa, along with a few other minor Portuguese holdings, be turned over to India. In this regard, he addressed the assembly, “So far as independent India is concerned, we are in no way bound by any old or modern treaty between other countries in which we have not subscribed so that in no event we are concerned with the treaty between Portugal and England or other countries.... I submit that in the existing conditions, I play my case quite clearly. The Portuguese relation of Goa is a continuing interference with the political system established in India today. I shall go a step further and say that any interference by any other power would also be an interference with the political system of India today.... any interference by any foreign power in any way with India is a thing which India can't tolerate, and which, subject to her strength, she will oppose. This doctrine too applies to existing conditions to the Portuguese relations of Goa. Therefore, for a variety of reasons like national unity, national security, we can't possibly accept any interference or such foothold in India. It is the foothold of not that country, but a group of countries with a large number of alliances and therefore all kinds of possible dangers and entanglements might arise. Thus, from any point of view, there can be only one decision on this issue, that is “merger with the Indian union”.³ There was widespread public support in India as a result of the Portuguese attack on Indians. This led to the armed action, codenamed ‘Operation Vijay’, which in turn brought decisive victory for India within 36 hours and liberated Goa from the colonial rule of Portuguese on 19 December 1961.⁴

I

On the eve of Indian Independence, Portuguese colonial possessions in India consisted of Goa, Diu and Daman and its enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, with a total

area of 1,537 square miles. Administratively these territories constitute a province of Portugal consisting of three districts called Goa.⁵

Even today India is well known for its policy of non-violence globally. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of India, became the role model for many in the world to achieve freedom and independence through non-violence. Thus, the policy of non-violence experimented with the British was carried further with that of the Portuguese. To add to this, India was a member of NAM. In short, India was bound by the practices which it followed for years and years to create a unique identity for itself internationally.

Thus India's policy of non-violence and the aggressive attitude of the Portuguese Prime Minister Salazar, raised a series of questions like:

- How and by what method would the Portuguese settlements be liberated?
- Through peaceful negotiations or violent methods?

In this regard, Mr. Narhar Vishnu Gadgil, a famous freedom fighter of Goa, wrote, “Obviously, there are three ways in which the problem can be solved: negotiation, military action or making Goa a completely independent state. So far as negotiations are concerned, I think the Prime Minister and the Government of India have offered enough opportunities from time to time. In fact, they have been charged by some critics that they have gone much too far, further than they should have, that in fact, they have departed from the self-respect of this country. To start negotiation with the Portuguese authority, the Prime Minister of Portugal says that there cannot be any negotiation unless you assure that the political sovereignty of Portugal will not be questioned. What is left for negotiation then, I do not know? So far as war is concerned, even the Portuguese Government admits, it is quite alive to the situation that a small country with limited resources cannot succeed. But so far as the third alternatives are concerned, the aspirations of the Goan people at one time, particularly in the early twenties, so far as I know, were that they wanted to be independent of Portugal, wanted to be a small state independent completely in all matters”. To supplement, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said that India had always stressed the method of peaceful negotiations and

would continue to do so. However, the situation in Goa and Portuguese repression had become intolerable. This was very clear from:

- A. The situation in Angola, where the Portuguese had murdered in cold blood about a lakh of simple defenseless people. No public reply seemed to have been made by them, though unofficially it is understood that they took the line that their overseas possessions formed part and parcel of the mother country and that consequently, no question of transfer or loosening its hold can arise.
- B. Apart from the political aspect, the economic aspect of the foreign pockets surrounded by the Indian hinterland is worthy of consideration. To both Pondicherry and Goa, flow goods of every kind, which continuously filter through into the Indian Territory without paying proper Indian duties. Reports would seem to indicate that these ports were largely used as smuggling centers for precious stones and bullion.⁶

Anti-colonialism was Mr. Nehru's oldest and deepest passion. If the right of a nation to eject colonialism from its soil is conceded, then its right to eject colonialism by force, when the peaceful method has failed, has to be considered. If 14 years of patient waiting and attempts of peaceful negotiation proved to be of no avail, what alternative other than force was left for India to get rid of Portuguese colonialism from its soil? India's critics in the west studiously avoided answering this pertinent question, apart from suggesting that India should have waited some more years for the problem to solve itself. The camouflage of renaming its colonies in Africa and India as "provinces" of Portugal, was an afterthought born as recently as in 1951 CE and while it deceived none, confirmed the belief that Dr. Salazar was determined to cling to his overseas possession by hook or crook. To Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru restoring and correcting India's image in the eyes of Afro-Asia was more important than entertaining the West's impression of it. If it was concluded that colonialism is immoral and outdated, then all those who believed that should honestly work for the obliteration of that evil from the world. India waited 14 long years for a peaceful solution

to the Goan problem in the hope that Dr. Salazar would see light and reason. Only when the hope of a peaceful solution had been blasted by Lisbon's attitude, India decided upon applying force towards the Portuguese colonial lesson from its soil.

Jawaharlal Nehru believed his policy towards anti-colonialism would help India understand which side the nations may lean thereafter and cautioned that India doesn't want any nation to intervene in the solution of the problem of Goa. In this regard, he said, "Goa has become a test for all nations. In the test, every nation is on trial because it must state clearly its stand on the questions of colonialism, or whatever you wish to call it. Goa can neither change the fate of India nor enrich Portugal. It is a symbol of the old colonial idea of one country ruling over another". He further said, "Goa is the oldest symbol of this colonial idea in India. It is an ugly pimple and if anybody says that we should continue to tolerate this pimple, then he has not understood our mind and heart nor of Asia. We do not want any nation to intervene in the solution of the problem of Goa. But we want every nation to search its head and heart to decide which side it would lean and what its advice would be in the matter of colonialism. This will show whether a nation has understood the new current and the new light in world affairs or whether it continues to be stuck in old grooves". Thus, we are now to watch and see towards which side the nation of the world lean in the matter of Goa and what advice they will give to Portugal. If the right kind of advice is given, then the problem of Goa will be solved peacefully. If wrong advice was given, then tension and conflict were bound to increase.⁷

Adriano Moreira in his speech quoted Nehru as 'Unfaithful disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, Father of India'.⁸ In an interview with *Diario Popular*, former Governor of Dio Captain Paiva Couceiro gave a brief comparison between Gandhi and Nehru. According to him, "Gandhi was a man of the highest moral principles, with close connections with Christian morality. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has always lived in the shadow of the Mahatma's prestige, who was a far more virtuous man and also much more intelligent. Gandhi knew the people of the Indian union and their structural weakness well but through the principle of non-violence, he made

his weakness into a source of strength. By his attack on Kashmir which in fact, and in law, belongs to Pakistan, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru gave the first sign that he was not a pacifist. With his attack on Goa, he deliberately chose force as a means of fostering the Indian union's international policy. This gesture seems immoral and foolish to all those who, like myself, are familiar with the structural failings of the Indian people."⁹

Portuguese Prime Minister Dr. Salazar wrote, 'Nehru was the disciple of Gandhi, who based his struggle against Great Britain on the theory and practice of non-violence; he has now betrayed the Mahatma's doctrine and teachings. His betrayal has been even more in the brutal aggression against Portuguese in India than it is in the military occupation of Hyderabad, Junagadh, and Kashmir, more than in the harsh repression of the Nagas and Sikhs. All that led him to conciliate the principles of non-violence with violent action against Goa, Diu, and Daman. It is ironical that they attacked the territories about which Gandhi once said when he was sought out by some Goans with perfidious proposals for a fight with the Portuguese community. You form part of a nation which recognizes you the rights of Citizenship, without any restrictions.' Thus, he said, "You can't claim what you already possess, better go your way and be sensible."¹⁰

Firstly, the friendly countries of Portugal and their allies of NATO condemned India for using violence to force Portugal to surrender. In this regard, Jawaharlal Nehru said, "On the Goa issue certain people had held that India's policy of non-alignment and peace and befriending others had undergone a radical change. "I want to make it quite clear", he said, "that our policy has not changed in the slightest because of Goa. I don't understand how anyone can say that we acted in Goa by changing our policy or going against it." Further, he said he would have been happy if the Goa issue had been settled peacefully. But India was compelled by Portuguese intransigence to act. There was no other way. "It is correct that I was not very happy over sending our forces to Goa, but it was done because of compelling circumstances", he said. "You know that in this world, on various political and other matters we have to say and do things which we do not out of happiness, but because

of compelling forces." He did not know how Gandhiji would have felt over it, and what advice he would have given. But Gandhiji was up for seeing men and had blessed the moving in of the Indian armed forces to defend Kashmir.¹¹ He further staunchly denies that his use of force to wrest the enclaves of Goa, Daman, and Diu from Portuguese rule was inconsistent with his preaching of peaceful methods. He notes that New Delhi had tried repeatedly in vain to negotiate with Lisbon for the transfer of Portuguese possessions on the Indian subcontinent.¹² "Holding to non-violence," Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru commented, "his non-violence was more of the mind and thought also of action, but more than that. He said, if you have a dagger in your heart, pull it out and use it and not keep it in your mind and heart." Many westerners felt that Nehru's post-Goa comments merely reflected a searching for an excuse to justify an action that, had it been committed by another country, India would have condemned. To most Indians, the Portuguese enclaves represented the last vestiges of archaic colonialism that had lived far beyond its time. Some commentators felt that the United States, which was emotionally upset by the military takeover, should have used its influence long before to try to persuade Lisbon to consider a peaceful change. Another factor that probably helped to induce India was a threatened weakening of its prestige in Asian and African affairs. India's peaceful approach, although it had lent more than 5,800 troops, planes, and equipment to the UN force in the Congo and its troops with the UN in Gaza placed it out of step with the military anti-colonial clamor in parts of Africa. To many African freedom fighters, who had seen repression that was rarely known in India, the New Delhi approach was difficult to accept.¹³

Thus, ruling out violence, this was the only alternative left to her, consistent with honor. India had waited long enough. She could not wait any longer. Portugal, knowing India's non-violence attitude, took advantage of it. She had nothing to worry about. India must do something to show that she was quite serious about it, that she was vehemently in earnest and meant business this time. Let the moral issue come to the fore.¹⁴ In short, Mr. Nehru made it very clear in his speech at the public meeting at Chowpathy, as to why and what made him adopt objectionable

measures, as said by the world, to liberate the Portuguese territories in India.¹⁵

To these above-mentioned reasons, even Portuguese intolerable policies of the late 1960s forced Mr. Nehru to find immediate solutions to the issue. One of the events which take special mention is of preventing the people of Goa to meet Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru by passing the prohibitory order when his plane was stopped at Vasco Airport. The government officials who had volunteered to greet him were dismissed and charge-sheeted for treason.¹⁶

II

There were many reasons which forced the Indian government to intervene in the affairs of the Portuguese territories.

- A. Firstly during World War II, the strategic importance of Mormagao 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.¹⁷
- B. Secondly, the Indian action did not come as a surprise because many governments 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, India sought diplomatic negotiations for the liberation of Portuguese settlements, but Portugal refused even to 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 non-violent 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 ultimately this

might lead to a clash between the two countries.¹⁸

- C. Thirdly, the revolts in Portugal itself had proved the unpopularity of Dr. Salazar's regime. Not only the Goans, but even the people of Portugal itself had started expressing their strong desire for liberty and a democratic form of government.¹⁹
- D. Fourthly, later, on 20 November 1961 CE, 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 Indian officer standing on the bridge was shot at by a Portuguese sentry from the Anjadiv island. Luckily he was not directly hit, but a splintered wood of the bridge that was hit went through his eye and he was almost blinded. But Portugal completely denied the firing.²⁰
- E. Finally, the growing demand for freedom by Goan freedom fighters like Sri Purushottam Kakodkar, Shri Evagrio George, Dr. Lohia and Satyagrahas throughout the Portuguese enclaves forced Mr. Nehru to liberate them as soon as possible from the Portuguese clutches. Thus, these factors gave greater urgency to the question of liberating the enclaves.²¹

Thus, India tried its best to stick to the non-violent policy but the violence and cruel methods used by the Portuguese Government on the nationalists and other freedom fighters but 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.²²

In short, the above mentioned factors gave greater urgency to the question of liberating the Portuguese enclaves in India and the Indian government under the leadership of then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru ended up in liberating them under the code name operation Vijay on 19 December, 1961.

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POLITICS OF (UN) MIXED DINING: REVISITING COLONIAL MALABAR

G. Deepa

The late 19th century in India is seen as the period of the emergence of nationalism and the imagining of a national community. In Benedict Anderson's formulaic modular account, there is an element in the argument that is generally ignored by readers: the imagining of the nation is the result of a need to create a new kind of believing community following the erosion of religious certainty consequent to modernity¹

Jordons observes that it was among the English educated intelligentsia that several ideas of reform first arose. They were primarily trying to deal with a personal problem that affected their own lives very deeply constant contact with British and European ideas made them look upon some social and religious characteristics of their own society with horror and disgust.² Social reform in this first stage was mostly prompted by the desire of these people to cope with the difficulties which they experienced themselves. There was not as yet any concern for the mass of the people, or any desire to transform the structure of society at large. What they wanted was to reshape their lives according to the new standards and values they were discovering. They sought to clarify their own ideas, and propagate them among their kindred intelligentsia.

The socio-religious, cultural and political awakening of the 19th and early 20th centuries had its impact on the Malabar society also. The transformation of the public sphere in colonial India shows the increasing importance of religious movements and of the political use of religious images in new communication technologies.³ The critique of the caste system and untouchability which obstructed the progress of the society coupled with the challenges of colonialism provoked the elite class to take up issues relating to social justice along with political agitations.⁴ One of the specific features of a colonial modernity that one could address is the use of religion as a mode of self-fashioning, social understanding and public criticisms by Indian intellectuals. This paper is an attempt to analysis the various discourses of socio –religious movements in Malabar. This paper explore the politics of social reform movements in general and inter dining movement in particular.

By the closing decade of 19th century the social and structural changes took place among the society of India and also in Malabar. During the British rule several religious organizations were founded in different parts of the country to liberate Hindus from many evil customs and

superstitious beliefs and to promote education. M.N. Srinivas coined this as a part of Westernization among the upper caste people of south India.⁵ He argued that as a result of two centuries of contact with west the activities vein in Hinduism receiving great emphasis.⁶ Hindu community also was undergoing significant changes in the times especially higher caste people lived in urban areas. Parallel to these activities the non- Brahminical caste adopted the Brahminical rituals and ideologies in their daily life. M.N. Srinivas define the 'Sanskritisation' means low caste tries to obtain higher position by the adoption of 'Vegetarianism' and teetotalism and sanskritised their rituals and pantheon.⁷ Sanskritisation of caste would probably mean the introduction of major cultural and structural changes in the Hindu society as a whole. According to the social comparison theory, human always try to evaluate their attitudes, opinions and abilities because people desire social approval, they most likely to perform behaviours similar to social expectations and one's own self approval. or example the activities of social and religious organizations that emerged during this period was try to elevate the standardization of their social status similar to the western ideas and thoughts. The prominent members of these organizations were western educated Indians from upper caste families. These socio-religious reform movements spread egalitarian and progressive ideals.

Among the socio-religious reform movements, the theosophical society was entered first in Malabar. In 1882 the first branch of theosophical society was established in Calicut. In 1884 second branch of the organization started at Tirur. The activities of the theosophical society for the eradication of social evils among Hindu society were very admirable. They started many programmes for the eradication of un-touchablity and caste system among the Hindus. The society organized *Mishrabhojanam* at Calicut. In Calicut, under the auspices of the Theosophical Society inter - dining had become a common affairs. In 1914 Manjeri Rama Iyer and two students belonging to the Theosophical Society incurred temporary excommunication for participating in a marriage feast of a Thiyya youth.⁸ The Brahmin Volunteers with their family also participated in the function. They were expelled from the community for

violating caste rules. Brahamo Samjam also organized inter-dining programs at Malabar. The views and ideas of Sree Naranayana Guru in fight against untouchability and evil social customs among the Hindu society, was great emphasis. Sahodaran Ayyappan inspired by Narayana Gurus principles of casteless and creedless society, he started what is called Panthibhojanam or common feast for participating people belonging to various caste and communities.⁹ In 1917 inter- dining conducted by Sahodran Ayyappan at Cherayi was an important epoch in the history of fight against untouchability. At Cherayi he gathered a group of young men on the same wave length. The group comprising of 12 persons - K.A. Achuthan, P.N. Achuthan, K.C. Kesavan, K. Kumaran, A.C. Karthikeyan, A.T. Aandy, K.A. Krishnan, A. Raman Pillai, T.K. Kittan, Kooni Raghavan Master, Krishna Seeri Vaidyar and Sahodharan Ayyappan - issued a notice inviting the people to participate in a meeting on at Cherayi Thundara Parambil for discussing a serious issue on the destruction of caste system.¹⁰ The people who attended the meeting took the oath and signed an undertaking. At the end of the meeting, Sahodharan Ayyappan informed the gathering, 'some among us are prepared to take food with a Pulaya, if anybody likes inter dining and he can join us'.¹¹ Korui a boy of 14 years joined the inter-dining as a protest against the casteism.¹² Inter-dining becomes a powerful tool in the struggles against the untouchability. Inter-dining was powerful tool in the social reform movements, but at the same time the politics of inter dining was a critique one. As mentioned earlier the inter dining organized by the theosophical society and other organizations, the participants mainly came from the elite class peoples. For instance, the inter dining organized by Bombay Malayalee Samjam at in 1930 at Bombay. The Mathrubhumi Weekly published this event with photograph and detailed report that illustrated how the breakdown of traditional caste barriers among the Malayalees.¹³ In this photo a number of elite class people from different caste sitting together and ate their food in one place. The description of this photograph says that the 16 women's are participated in this function. These point out that the entry of woman in the public sphere of the society, and also pointed debate on between tradition and modernity. The members comprise

of T.C. Mayan, the president of Kerala Samajam. K.S. RamachandraAyyer the president of South Indian Association, Khan Bhadu Haji BachuAli J. P, Hassani Ibrahim Hajji, the president of Hajj Committee and Jhon Mattai and many other elite group members. These members were belonging to upper caste strata of the society.¹⁴ They organized this meeting to revolt against casteism, but division of class is keep in this meeting, so they organized a separate feast for the people who belongs to the lower class strata. The nationalists from Malabar also were the victims of the evil effects of caste.

The congress party in Malabar also propagated inter- dining movement among the people. They organized a cosmopolitan dinner associated with the historical conference held at Palakkad in 1923. The report of this conference described as that Malabar, especially Palakkad was a stronghold of orthodoxy and Brahmin supremacy.¹⁵ After the conference there a big cosmopolitan dinner was organized in which all castes and creeds of the people including Brahmins and Nayadis participated. KPCC conducted anti untouchability movement on behalf of Ganadhian polices, in all that meeting they usually conducted feast participating all members of different communities.¹⁶ There was a grand inter dining conducted at Calicut on 26th January 1930 in the honour of the first Independence Day celebration. Another important inter-dining function organized with the association of All Kerala Hindu Mahasammelan held at Tirunavaya in South Malabar in 1931. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as the president and Dr.B.SMoonjee as principle speaker, thousands were present in this meeting.

The meetings passed a resolution favoured to anti-untouchability, and temple entry movements and stoppage of animal sacrifice in temple.¹⁷ Mathrubhumi reported an inter dining conducted at Azhiyur Koroth Hindu School in Mayyazhi to support Gandhi's programme of eradication of untouchability in India. A Pulaya boy named Gopalan, was denied to attend the programme. This incident questioned the credibility of such type of movements. Some of them participated and conducted these movements as part of self-fashioning themselves.

Undoubtedly it can be says that activities these movements helped to eliminate caste feelings among the society, in the early twentieth century, associations like the Samudaya Bahishkarana Sangham set up by K. P. Gopalan, a Thiyya Congressman, tried to weaken caste feelings by boycotting those who held caste prejudices and to encouraged inter dining among members of different castes.¹⁸ There were some upper caste social activists as well who were involved in such movements.¹⁹ A Gauda Saraswat Brahmin, Lakshmana Surendranatha Prabhu, a public prosecutor in North Malabar, as well as a freedom fighter, who had once led a hunger strike at the Tellicherry Saraswat temple demanding equality in worship, organized inter-dining at home.²⁰ Apart from the social reform movement, food used as powerful weapon in the political struggles against colonialism. Hunger strikes were one of the weapons used by Gandhi in his struggles against British colonial powers. The gastro political tools like interdining and hunger strike was effectively used by the social leaders in their struggles against the power hierarchies.

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PROVINCIAL POLITY (PADAI KAVAL)

Dr. G. Devaraj

The term arasu denoted the local judicial and administrative chiefs on the Tamil Country under Vijayanagar rule. These local chiefs interfered in some of the administrative and judicial works in their locality. They were big landholders and law administrators. They had some powers over the local institutions like the ur, sabha and the Nadu. Few inscriptions refers to large extent of land and judicial power enjoyed by a local chief as arasukurur i.e. share due to the position of arasu. ¹This term arasu-kuru may be compared to the term arasusuvandiram.

Nearly thirty inscriptions mention the activities of arasu. Of them, seven inscriptions describe the relations between the arasu and the Nadu, five deal about the arasu, ur and the remaining inscriptions mention the independent judicial activities of six arasus. These inscriptions reveal the existence of six arasus.

They are,

1. The arasu of Perambur (1391-1421)
2. The arasu of Suraikudi (1415-1522)
3. The arasu of Arantangi (1453-1521)
4. The arasu of Koliyur (also known as Perungoliyur(1462-75)
5. The arasu of Sendavanmangalm (1366-1510)
6. The arasu of Valundur (1510)

A study of the inscriptions shows that there are some differences in the site of the different arasus. Of the above mentioned arasu the Perambur, Suraikudi and Arantangiarasu, were big in size and the Sedavamangalam, Koliyur and Valundurarasus were small in size.

Each of these arasu chiefs had district hereditary family titles. The Sendavamangalmarasu had the title dhanmarayar, the Aratangiarasu had the title of tondaimanar. The title Visaiyalayadeva had been suffixed to the names of the Suraikudiarasu. The title Pallavarayar had been suffixed to the names of Koliyurarasu.

When the arasutranscated the lands, the phrases 'Our ur'² (nammudaiyaurana) 'Our sirmai'³ (nammudaiyasirmaiyana), 'Our kani'⁴ (nammudaiyakaniyana) and 'Our farm'⁵ (nammudaiyapannaiparrana) are used in the inscriptions. This shows that the arasu transacted their own lands.

Tvilitturangumperumal Pallavarayar of Perungoliyurarasu made a gift to the temple as tax free kudiningadevedanam.⁶ An epigraph dated 1522 at Adanur refers to the gift of five ma of land to a temple as tirunamattukani by the arasu of Suraikudi.⁷ Another inscription of 1514 from Thiruvarangulam mentions that ponnambalanatha Tondaimanar of Suraikudiarasu granted some land in his own sirmai to a temple as tirunamattukani.⁸

The lands owned by the arasus were inheritable. The father used to pass on some share of his property even in his life time. One pillai Tiruvenkatamudaiyardhanmarayar of Sendavamangalamarasu gave his lands to his three sons (pillaikal) Irungulamittaperumal, Avudaiyanainar and Pandiperumal.⁹ Another inscription from Thanjavur dated 1366 registers that MudaliyarDhanmarayar of the same arasu gave in presence of Parakrama Pandya dhanmarayar and Yadavarayar, one village to his own son.¹⁰

An epigraph dated in 1453 registers that AlagiyamanavaleperumalTondaimanar of Arantangiarasu gave two villages in Palaiyurnadu as Kaniyatchi to his son Ilakkan Tondaimanar.¹¹

Almost all the inscriptions referred to just now, the sons who were given the kani right are permitted to enjoy all the judicial power and the right of taxation.

Arasu granted some lands to his soldiers. An epigraph from Kandisvaramudaiyarkoyil mentions that one Nadumadittavisaiyalayadeva of Suraikudiarasu made a gift of lands to some military commanders as Karanmai, i.e. right to cultivate the lands and enjoy benefits.¹² This shows that arasus at least the bigger of them, had their own military people.

One Nadumadittavisaiyalayadeva of Suraikudiarasu granted his own lands to the temple as tax free tirumnamattukani. He remitted the taxes vetti, mutti, verkari, sulavari, idaivari, narcour, viniyogam, kilakkai, paravukaikkai, etc. from the lands donated.¹³ Another epigraph dated 1403 registers that one Narasingadeva of peramburarasu made a gift of his kani lands to the temple as devadanam. Besides this, he remitted some taxes, viz. *kadamai*, *kudimai*, *narcoru*, *viniyogam*, *vettimuttaval*, *pattadai*, *sirrayam*, *arikadamai* from the said lands, himself taking responsibility for the taxes to be rendered to the government.¹⁴ An inscription of 1453 found at Palankarai refers to the remission of the taxes, *kadamai* and *viniyogam* when perumal Tondaimanar of Suraikudiarasu gave away his own lands to his son Tennayakka Tondaimanar.¹⁵

An epigraph of 1510 from Kudimianmalai mentions that one Viranarasinga Nayakka Pallavar of Valundurarasu sold the kani lands free of taxes to the temple in the local village.¹⁶ It is said that the lands were sold by the arasu to payoff tax arrears to the government. One Kulasekhara Tondaiman of Arantangiarasu determined the rates of taxes both in kind and cash and fines to be paid by the nattar of palaiyurnadu. The chief remitted the tax pillaivari on the karanams (accountants) and also the arasu suvandiram.¹⁷

The sale of makkalasuvandiram by the urs of Kilattaniyam, Melattaniyam Ollaiyurmangalm, Kilikudi, Karkudi, memananallur and

Kilmananallur to a son of Narasingadeva of Peramburarasu. These urars allowed the purchaser (arasu) to collect 1 *kalam* of paddy on every ma of land in their Villages.¹⁸ The nattar of Kananadu sold the makkalasuvandiram for five thousand *panams* to one Visaiyalayadeva of Suraikudiarasu and allowed the latter to collect 1 *kalam* of paddy from every ma of land within its jurisdiction.¹⁹

Arasus and Judicial Powers

They enjoyed the right to collect fines within their jurisdiction.²⁰ Sometimes, they voluntarily made pacts of peace with erstwhile enemies. Inscription dated 1419 mentions that three had prevailed enmity between the peramburarasu and the ur of Killaikurichi for a very long time. Narasingadevar of Peramburarasu voluntarily called the ur of Killaikurichi for entering into friendship treaty with the latter.²¹ Independent local administrative and Judicial authority, occasionally submitting to a higher authority, say the Empire. Some areas, they had under their direct control, but they also dominated the neighbouring countryside through the right of ArasuSuvandiram, which they enjoyed in return for providing security and protection to the concerned area. On occasions they also suffered from want of resources to pay the taxes demanded by the Empire.

The arasu institution is found only in the Pudukottai region as far as the available inscriptions indicate. From the Chola times, the arasus had been prominent in the local administrative and judicial affairs.²²

Punishment to the Brahmins

The Village assemblies had the responsibility of tracking crime. They had their own village officers whose special duty it was; when criminals were traced, they were brought before the assembly for punishment. The guilt was brought home to the culprit before the assembly, and the punishment was accorded according to law by the special body of Judges, who had knowledge of it, or by royal officers when once the guilt was proved to the satisfaction of the assembly. These assemblies went about administering Justice generally tempered with mercy.

Government assistance was invoked and was readily provided. A certain number of

Brahmans and others set up as dacoits, and earned on their depredations in defiance of the village authorities. The Village appealed to the local governor, who provided a section of the guards to arrest the criminals. They arrested the culprits once, who even went so far as to overpower the guards and escaped.

A second successful arrest was made, and among those arrested happened to be a couple

of Brahmans, who were ring-leaders. Then a question arose whether as Brahmans, they could be punished as robbers. A reference was made to headquarters and the ruling was obtained, that since they set up as robbers, they were guilty of an act unworthy of a Brahman and ceased to be such. They were liable to be punished according to the law like other robbers. The punishment was accordingly carried.²³

Food Notes

1. ARE. 1912, No. 500 Uttatur (Tiruchirappalli Dt).
2. IPS, No. 794.
3. IPS, No. 726.
4. IPS, Nos. 823 and 830.
5. IPS, No. 832.
6. IPS, No. 714.
7. IPS, No. 736.
8. IPS, No. 724.
9. IPS, No. 822.
10. IPS, No. 456.
11. IPS, No. 794.
12. IPS, No. 732.
13. IPS, No. 730.
14. IPS, No. 695.
15. IPS, No. 794.
16. IPS, No. 726.
17. IPS, No. 784.
18. IPS, No. 700.
19. IPS, No. 685.
20. IPS, No. 784.
21. IPS, No. 698.
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MADRAS AND SECOND WORLD WAR

Dr. K. Devendran

The Government of Madras immediately after the outbreak of Second World War, in order to create public opinion in support of its war efforts, started to interchange propaganda and publicity. As the Indian National Congress resorted to stage protests against dragging India into the war, it was imminent to the government to catch the public support. This situation created a mixed feeling of apathy and sympathy towards war-efforts. The Government triggered its administration to make a view among the public that the war was being waged by the Great Britain to defeat the axis powers in order to bring a world scenario, which was capable of rejuvenating democratic order in the world. The present chapter discusses the precepts and practices of the Madras Presidency Government, during the Second World War.

Recruitment

Recruitment for war service was encouraged by Madras Government assuring to give preference for civil employment for those

who served in the army during the war.¹ Besides direct recruitment, civilian government servants were given military training.² Sir Arther Hope, the Governor of Madras, inspired the recruits as well as the common public through his series of speeches at All India Radio, Madras and Thirachirappalli. In one of his speeches, through All India Radio, Madras, he explained the need for protecting the humanity from the Second World War peril.³

In Madras, a Provincial War Recruitment Committee headed by Governor of Madras was constituted on 1 June, 1940. In addition to this, district level recruitment committees were formed. The Provincial Committee which met on 1 June, passed a resolution that a full division of all arms should be recruited in South India and the training should start immediately. In addition, it was also resolved to revive carnatic regiment, to revive internal security and to constitute University Training Centres at Annamalai and Andhra University. The Chairman of the

provincial committee was K.V.Reddi and the members were, A.J, Happell, Lt. Col. D.M. Reid and M.C. Raja. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker was a special invitee of the occasion.⁴

The Government organized a separate branch of propaganda for recruiting purpose. This was first known as "Propaganda Branch". This wing dealt with news paper advertisements, printing of posters and leaflets in order to motivate youths to join the British army. The provincial war committee effectively controlled the functioning. Attached to the committee was one mobile cinema unit with a projector generating its own power and exhibiting films bearing on recruitment of war service. Funds were allotted by the General Head Quarters, Delhi.⁵

The youth intending was to appear before the Extra Assistant Recruiting Officer. After medical examination, he was declared either fit or unfit for the category of post for which he had applied. After recording physical measurement, educational and general qualifications enrolment of the candidate was made. Along with the documents, he escorted by the Assistant Recruitment Officers. The candidate after being subjected to a second medical examination by the District Medical Officers (D.M.O.) was marked as "Graded Recruit". Thereafter the candidate had to live in the barracks and attend parades. He was placed on the "Station Strength Register" until the opportunity arose for active service.⁶

When called for, the Assistant Officer chose the men from various grades, checked their documents and sent them for a third medical examination. Then the candidate was handed over to the commandant, Regional Recruitment Camp when the final selection was made. The recruit was dispatched to the respective units of the army allotted. This was the procedures adopted normally at lower levels. But there was several branches and the procedure adopted in respect of recruitment to each branch, necessarily differed.⁷

On September 14, 1940, the Government of India constituted a Tribunal at Madras, for the purpose of recruiting technical personnel to the war-industries. V.Ramakrishnan, I.C.S., then Commissioner of Labour was appointed as Chairman and subsequently he was made a full-time officer in January 1942. In May 1943, the

Government appointed a District Magistrate as the Chairman. The object was to secure greater publicity for the scheme and the decentralization of the selection of candidates and also to assist in the selection of candidates.⁸

The training of war-technicians was undertaken by Government institution.⁹ By the end of December 1942, there were eighty-two training centres and 520 men were under training in the province. Madras was the fourth in the order of importance from the point of view of the Engineering Industry and held the first place in the Government of India's Technical Training Schemes. The total number of technicians trained up to the end of September, 1945, was 24, 610 of whom 21, 609, were sent to the Defence Services. A batch of fifteen was sent to the United Kingdom for training. Among them six were from Tamil region in 1943.¹⁰

The Government of India sanctioned the formation of an Indian Army Medical Corps with effect from 3 April, 1945. It offered an improved status in the emoluments to licentiates, who were now recruited as Emergency Commissioned Officers. A serving officer of the Indian Army Medical Corps was also deputed to tour the presidency to give further impetus to recruitment. Up to the end of 1943, 176 applications were received for appointment in the Indian Medical Services and 150 were appointed.¹¹

Since April 1943 civil employment vacancies were filled by the men in war services.¹² During the Second-World War, over 50,000 men from the Madras Presidency rendered military services both in India and abroad.¹³ As a result of the cessation of hostilities, recruitment to the Indian Army was ordered to be suspended in August 1945. But from October 1945, recruitment to these services was re-opened on a limited scale. Consequently the Government of India decided to close down all provincial selection Boards. The District authorities were relieved to a considerable extent and primarily it became the duty of the Military Authorities. Due to the policy and practices the Madras Presidency government tackled the war situation positively.¹⁴

Fund Raising

The Governor of the Madras Presidency quickly realised the importance of raising funds. On September 1939, "Governor's War-Charities

Appeal Fund" was instituted.¹⁵ To begin with, contributions were subscribed to this Fund. With effect from 10 July 1940, the 'Charities Appeal Fund' was closed. Thereafter, all donations were received to the credit of the "Governor's War Fund" and the balance standing in the credit of the charities was transferred to the 'Madras Governor's War Fund'. The Governor issued a message on 26 June 1940 to the people of the Madras presidency outlining the scope and object of the 'Madras Governor's War Fund'. His Excellency solicited the co-operation of the people of the presidency and exhorted them to deposit money and donate materials not only for conducting the War, but also for the defence of India and Great Britain.¹⁶

The Government permitted all gazetted officers and all Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars to collect subscriptions to the Governor's War Fund. Permission was granted to all Government officers in all possible ways for making collection.¹⁷ But after receiving complaints of forcible contributions, the Government ordered that no police officer of whatever rank should take part in any form of collections towards war fund. The Governor requested all Government servants to contribute a day's pay every month to His War Fund and this was voluntary and left to the option of the employee.¹⁸ Non-gazetted officers drawing a pay of Rs. 100 and more per month, also subscribed for the fund.¹⁹

Pensioner's Association of the Madras Presidency passed a resolution to sacrifice a day's pension each month for a period of six months. This meeting of the pensioners was held at Theagaraya Nagar, Madras on Wednesday, July 26 1940. Rao Sahib P.Ranganayakalu Naidu was on the chair and he requested all pensioners for their contribution.²⁰

Rich industrialists, landlords and workers also contributed to the fund. At the insistence of the Secretary of a Match Factory Company, Thiruvotriyur, the workers contributed half-a-days' wage to the fund.²¹ As already stated, Simpson Company, Madras, presented a motor van equipped with cinematograph projector and sound recording apparatus. The Raja of Venkatagiri presented to the Governor Rs.10,000 personally. Besides, large amount was received by such entertainments enacted by reputed musicians. The Government granted exemption from liability to entertainment tax to

the entertainments intended for the benefit of the Madras Governor's War-Fund.²²

Fund also was raised by the sale of Defence-Bonds and the War-Saving Certificates. The Governor suggested that in each Department or Office, savings groups must be started. Officers and members of the savings groups must contribute Rs.100 for Defence Bonds and Rs.10 for Defence-savings certificates and those who were unable to invest so much, must join in Inter-installment savings groups.²³

In order to popularize defence savings certificates, "savings cards" were printed in all the South Indian languages and special arrangements were made by the postal authorities to safeguard post-office records in an emergency. District War-Committees were required to give due publicity of these arrangements. Defence savings-stamps were distributed as a permanent advance to Government Touring Officers. In January 1942, a conference was held at Madras to popularize the Defence Saving Certificates among employees. The certificates were available at the Reserve Bank of India, Madras and at all branches of the Imperial Bank of India in the presidency.²⁴

About the middle of the year 1942, the Government of India decided that an extra savings of Rs.100 crores in India before the end of the financial year, was needed. It allotted a quota of Rs.14 crores to the Presidency of Madras. The government of Madras fixed a target figure for each district and issued instructions regarding the appointment of honorary canvassers.²⁵

The Government introduced a scheme for collective subscription from villages. The subscription amount so raised was deposited at the interest with the Government of India till the end of the war, and spent on social-welfare such as, constructions of hospitals, digging of wells, establishment of schools and laying roads.²⁶

A Defence-Loan-Commissioner was appointed by the Government in June, 1943, to co-ordinate the savings drive in the districts.²⁷ The Madras Savings Canvassers campaign was continued during the first quarter of 1944, and Rs.12.03 crores were collected against the target figures of 14 crores.²⁸ By the end of March, a sum of Rs. 23.2 crores had been invested in

national savings in the presidency as compared with the target figures of 14 crores for the period of July 1943, to March 1944. There was some relaxation of effort during the second quarter of the year 1944, but primarily arrangements were made for the introduction of a new small savings scheme. The main feature of the scheme was the sale of National Savings Certificates through a large number of authorized agents who were allowed a commission of 20% on sale effect by them. The savings campaign was intensified in the third quarter and a target figure of 20 crores was fixed for the financial year 1944-45. A total of Rs. 12.14 crores was collected towards the target of 20 crores by the end of 1945.²⁹ The Government War-Fund was utilized for the British war purposes, Indian defence purposes, Royal Indian Navy, charity for deceased soldiers, providing amenities to healthy overseas troupes, Red Cross work, monetary help for blinded soldiers, ambulances, fighters, bombers, tanks, guns, bombs and others.³⁰

Provincial and Regional Propaganda Institutions

Before 1940, the Central Board of Information of the Government of India consisted of the Director General of Information, the Principal Information Officer, the Controller of Broadcast, the Chief Press-censor and Adviser, Defence Member drawn from the Military-Intelligence Branch, the Heads of all the various organizations, which were concerned with official publicity in any form. The Board was strengthened by the addition of the Director of Public Relations and the Economic Advisor of the Government.³¹ For purpose of War-publicity, their works were co-ordinated and controlled by the Director of General Information. The Director General of Information was responsible for control and censorship of the press, collection and issue of news relating to the war.³²

At the provincial level, the Madras Presidency had Publicity Department. The Department kept the public informed of what the Provincial Government was doing. With the Commencement of the war, a Special Adviser for Publicity Department was appointed for the Madras City on 13 Sep' 1939. He was also acting as the Information Officer and attended the work connected with the publicity of the activities of the various Departments of the Government.³³

The Provincial Propaganda Committee was constituted in 1940 with the Governor of Madras as the President and G.A.Natesan as the Chairman.³⁴ Early in 1941, a General Information Bureau was opened.³⁵ In June 1941, the post of Director of War-Publicity was created to co-ordinate and direct war-publicity activities of all kinds throughout the Presidency. In September 1941, at Madras "Victory House", a Central Publicity Head-quarter was opened with a Director of War Publicity to Head the House. He was to be assisted by a Deputy Director, Personal Assistant and a few subordinate staff.

The work of the Assistant Director consisted of maintenance of propaganda-vans and their equipment, to look into War-fund complaints, processing of the requirements of the Provincial War-Committee, District War Committee and their sub-Committee which required sanction of the Government of India regarding publicity and propaganda and preparation and supply of films, slides, gramophone record and weekly reports on radio-talks.³⁶

The Advertisement Section was an important appendage.³⁷ Its functions were: publishing of monthly review, preparation of pamphlets and distribution of posters. The District War Committees were constituted under the district Collectors in almost all the twenty four districts in the Madras Presidency of the total fourteen were functioning in the Tamil speaking areas. Each contained three sub-Committees namely finance, recruitment and propaganda.³⁸ The committees were working in Conjunction with the Provincial War Committee. The Most important function of the Committee was to give wide spread publicity with regard to the cause of the war, its progress and its objects.³⁹ Each District had a District Organizer, Honorary Divisional Organiser, a District Lecturer, Propagandists Inspectors, Ballad Masters and Village Guards.⁴⁰

Field-Publicity Organization

The Field Publicity Organization consisted of Districts Mobile Publicity Units, Regional Publicity Units and The Provincial Publicity Units. The District Unit consisted of whole time paid organizer, a singer and a propaganda-van equipped with a talkie film projector and a loud-speaker. Other Departments of Government

dealing with subjects such as co-operative credit, agriculture, health, education, etc., also joined the units to educate and advise the people on these matters. The Regional-Units were essentially for supervisory work. The unit consisted of a Regional Organiser with necessary staff.⁴¹ The Provincial Publicity Units were the agencies, which controlled and guided the Regional and District units. The control organization at Delhi gave suitable direction and supplied literature to the provincial publicity unit. The units were disbanded by the end of 1944.⁴²

Films

Films had a direct bearing on the masses and instructed them on war consequences in the province including the Tamil region. In the rural areas, particularly the villagers had no idea of the countries engaged in the global-war or the purpose for which the Government of India involved itself in the war. They had no idea of the methods of war-fare or the weapons of war. The Government was quick to realise the need for producing war-films.⁴³

Since the end of April 1941, thirty-seven war-films had been circulated with great success.⁴⁴ Some of the most popular films which had a thematic approach were "London Can Take It", "Drums in the Desert", "A Day with the India Army"⁴⁵, "The Air-Raid Precaution" and "Madras must not Burn", etc. They mostly covered the efforts and gave a good idea of what was being done by the Great Britain to defeat opponents. The Government authorized the production of a maximum of five films on general subjects and four films per year on military subjects.⁴⁶ Three films under the first category and one film under the second were produced during the year 1942. They were released in the Madras – city as well as in different parts of the Madras Province. These films carried running commentaries in Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.⁴⁷

During the year 1943, owing to shortage films could not be produced as per schedule in the Madras Presidency.⁴⁸ The Director of Information, Bombay, supplied films. 16 mm films were received at the rate of six per month and were distributed to various institutions.⁴⁹ To facilitate the production and distribution of documentary films, a Films Advisor of Board was constituted with Head-Quarters at Bombay. It also had its branch at Madras with members of

leading producers and distributors in India. The films publicity attracted a large number of people of the presidency and this was a powerful weapon of propaganda about the war efforts of the Great Britain.⁵⁰

Performing Arts

The Government of Madras, took measures to attract the people through performing arts which was imbibed in the hearts of the Tamil society. The art-variety ranged from "therukkuthu" (street act) to highly sophisticated classical dance, drama and music which were part of performing items. Generally an artist troupe was consisting of singers, ballad masters, musicians and actors along with gramophone records and other accessories. Each troupe was provided with a van for transportation. People in the habit of listening and enjoying the fine arts largely attended the performances and this media contributed a great deal toward augmenting people's support to war-efforts by means of contributing men and money to the Government. The Government encouraged participation of the common folks in the endeavour, by conducting competitions periodically.⁵¹

The Ballad-masters who attended propaganda meetings sang and encouraged others to learn the songs. They were appointed at the rate of one per each district. In April 1943, the Government of India instituted a Song-Publicity Department with an officer for each language area in the presidency. The Madras Song Publicity Section composed several songs, which were broadcast over the All-India-Radio and many gramophone records were produced.⁵²

Special songs on subjects such as national war front, war recruitment, red cross, national savings and anti-hoarding were composed. Song books were published and distributed in the appropriate Tamil areas. The entire programme regarding choice of centres, days of composing, remuneration and perks were controlled by the Director of Song Publicity at the centre and the Song Publicity Officer in the province of Madras.⁵³ A special drive was taken to organize *Bhajan kuzhu* (devotional singers troupe) and *Kathaa Kaalatshepam* (oral discourse) to influence the rural communities in Tamil Nadu as

well as in the rest of the province who were known for their religious sentiments.⁵⁴

Village Guards

A scheme of village security was introduced in order to foster and improve the co-operation between the villages and the troupes and to provide better communication of vital importance. The scheme was also meant to inculcate responsibility and confidence in villages and also the spirit of compliances with civil and military regulations. Ultimately the scheme aimed at creating mutual understanding and co-operation in war efforts. The scheme was introduced in the coastal districts of Chinglepet, South Arcot, Tanjore, Ramnad and Tirunelveli and in the inland districts of Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli.⁵⁵

Units of Mobile Publicity

The mobile vans rendered yeoman service by carrying on publicity in remote villages. The Simpson company, Madras, made a gift of a van fully equipped.⁵⁶ The van was used to exhibit sound-film, to exhibit silent films, to play gramophone records, to amplify speeches made from the van and to re-broadcast programme from any Indian Broad-casting station. The van denoted made successful tours and proved its potency. The Government decided to buy more vans on the Simpson- Model and equip them further by adding magic lantern slides, and screen.⁵⁷ Seven out of the eight propaganda vans purchased, worked efficiently and carried on propaganda and publicity work in the Districts.⁵⁸ Provision was made to supply at least one van to each District. In each van, there was a qualified operator and a driver.⁵⁹

Fifteen more vans were acquired during the year 1943.⁶⁰ They visited 2,188 villages and organized 2,107 shows. District Lecturers at scheduled places gave lectures about the war. The mobile units targeted pilgrims so as temples were the camp-sites of these vans. During the "Deepam" festival at Tiruvannamalai as well as "Sathaya vizha" at Tanjore, the vans camped five and seven days respectively. The vans were also used in special campaigns such as "Grow More Food" and "Savings". In 1944, almost all the Districts had a propaganda van, well equipped. One van was set apart exclusively for the entertainment of troupes in camps. The van allotted for the entertainment of troops in the city

of Madras was very useful on entertaining not only units stationed at Madras but also soldiers on leave. The Secretary of the Madras Provincial War Committee was responsible for the maintenance and use of the vans. He kept accounts of the cost of maintenance and submitted estimates to the Government for necessary sanction in advance.⁶¹

Press

Press is considered as the fourth estate of democracy. During the Second World War, the press played a vital role in shaping the public opinion in favour of the British. The Ministry of Information, London, sent many magazines to the Central Board of Information, New Delhi.⁶² These were intended mainly to refute the misleading Broadcast of the enemy countries particularly Berlin and Tokyo. Copies were distributed to the persons engaged in war propaganda work in the districts. Some districts produced their own local journals.⁶³ The monthly magazine, "War of Pictures" published in English, Tamil and Telugu attracted the villagers as they conveyed the message in simple caricatures.⁶⁴

Other newspapers "The Victory" and "The Madras News Letter" were sent to the Government Head Quarters, New Delhi, to broadcast to prisoners of war.⁶⁵ "Madras Calling" was intended for serving Madras soldiers who were serving outside the presidency. The "Madras War Service" was another noteworthy English weekly published by the Government of Madras. "Yuddha Sanchikai" in Tamil, Malayalam, Urdu and Kannada, was yet another popular weekly. Such publications provided full time employment for many journalists and encouraged budding journalists. The "Pudhukkottai Samasthana Yuddha Arivippu Nilayam", published the war-news in Tamil. A number of maps and souvenirs to mark special occasions were also published.⁶⁶

Regional Radio Broadcast

The All India Radio, Madras arranged for Broad-casting speeches and short plays.⁶⁷ In 1942, there were 1937 talks on war-subjects over this radio.⁶⁸ It also introduced a daily half-an hour programme of news and entertainment for Indian troops overseas. Short plays in Tamil broadcast in 1943 were including "Kaalathirku Yetra Pechchu", "Irattai Nakku", "Yuddha Kalam"

and "Amaithiyilum Vetri". The programme during peak-hours reached an audience of over half a million and thus the Radio proved a powerful medium of mass-communications.⁶⁹

National War Front Organization

The National War Front was inaugurated in the presidency on 23 May 1942.⁷⁰ The objectives of the organization were, to strengthen the force against War-activities among the people and to eradicate spurious writings and rumours to give confidence and strength to the people to fight the forces of evil i.e. nazism and fascism, to protect women and children. This was not a political organization. Members could hold their own views about politics or Government functioning.⁷¹ It was declared that "any who wanted to save the honour of India" might join the organization.

Madras Fire Services

In June 1942, the post of Deputy Commissioner, Madras Fire Services was abolished and the Director of Fire Services created. The Moffussil Fire-Services were also placed under his direction. The first batch of National Fire-Service Officers from England arrived in August, 1942 and they were placed in charge of the various fire stations in the city of Madras. The executive command of the Madras city section of the Madras Fire-Services was given to the Chief Fire-Officer, Madras. Firemen were recruited and enrolled early in 1943 in I and II class towns and in those III Class towns where municipal water-lorries were available.⁷² Early in April 1942, the Madras Harbour area which until then had been under the responsibility of the Port-Trust, was taken over by the City Fire-Services to ensure unified control of the Fire-Services throughout the city.⁷³

Lighting Restrictions

When War was declared, the Fortress commander forwarded to the Government a draft order which he wished to issue to impose drastic lighting restrictions within the Madras fortress area. Street lighting on the Marina was prohibited and else-where all street-lights were ordered to be screened. The question of allowing the light in the Light-House was considered and eventually it was decided that the Light could be put out in thirty seconds nothing further need be done. A little later "Black-out" in the Marina area was relaxed and accordingly alternative lighting arrangements were made and shaded.⁷⁴

The question of removing some of the shades in side-streets was taken up a little later. As a result, the Commissioner of the Corporation was authorized to remove shades in the side-street, where people had complained of inadequate lighting.⁷⁵ He was required to obtain the concurrence of the Fortress Commander and the Commissioner of Police. Under their authorization, he ordered to remove the shade of four hundred and ninety six street Electric Lamps in two installments.⁷⁶

The question of further relaxation of the lighting restrictions came up in March, 1940. The Mayer of Madras drew the attention of the Government that in Bombay, Calcutta, Cochin and Ernakulam, the lighting restrictions were not so severe as in Madras. But in view of the continuing hostility it was decided that the Lighting-Restrictions should not be further relaxed.⁷⁷

The Fortress Commander was enforcing the restrictions as the Commissioner of Police carried at the order. These restrictions even involved danger to the civil-liberty of the citizens. But realizing the danger, the population of the presidency admirably co-operated with the authorities and observed orders of the latter.⁷⁸

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THE URDU PRESS ABOUT THE PRO-TURKISH SENTIMENTS OF
MUHAMMADANS OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY DURING FIRST WORLD WAR
1914-1918

M.S. Fathima Begum

INTRODUCTION:

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 was not without its impact on the press as it mirrored the turns and twists in the Country's political life. India was being asked to give her support to a war to defend the principle of self-determination; Muslims and Hindus took part in them, the former being particularly "out of humour" with the British on account of their attitude towards Turkey, whose Sultan was **Khalifa** to the Islamic world. The Congress and Muslim League (1906) supported the war in resolutions of loyalty, but the country's temper was different.¹

The First World War brought crucial changes in the politics of India. The Congress extended full support to the British in their war efforts and in return they expected concessions from Britain after War.² The change of the attitude of the Islamic press towards the British became evident when the partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 and the Caliph of Turkey was humbled during the Great war. During the Great war, the Presidency underwent political changes, for the Home Rule League and the non-Brahmin movement were organized in 1916.³ The *Aftabi Dakhan* of November 12, 1914 from Madras which was received on 23rd December had the following article. The writer of the article was a military officer. He wrote that Germany would be defeated by France and the French, Russian armies would advance on Berlin and place Berlin in a dangerous position. The writer explained that how Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empires and their possession would be dismembered and to what extent the two Governments would be reduced.⁴

URDU PRESS ABOUT PRO-TURKISH FEELINGS DURING FIRST WORLD WAR:

On November 1, 1914, Turkey joined war against Allied powers. It was the beginning of hard and tender time to examine the patience and fortitude of the Indian Muslims owing to Turkey alignment with Germany. The Indian Muslims wanted a great Turkey but at the same time they were also devoted to the British Government. Hence, they did not know what to

do as they could not give up their loyalty towards the British and the only thing to do was to feel in low spirits. At that time there were two well established political parties in India formed by the major communities Hindus and Muslims, the All Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League respectively.⁵

Shams-ul-Akhbar wrote about the Naval defeat of Germany. She arranged for herself small fleet in a way as to destroy English trade and provisions. The following article was published by *Quami Report* Jamal pasha had sent a telegram to the American ambassador from Smyrna which contained the threat to England and France. He informed that if the British and French squadrons bombard the undefended parts of Syria he would kill three French and British subjects for each Turk killed by them. It was officially announced in Rome that the Porte had informed Italy that Turks would not interfere in the sailing of ships in the Suez Canal.⁶ *Jarida-i-Rozgar* received the telegram and it was published. The Germans with a view to increase the influence on Turks the Germans assured that they were celebrating Islamism.⁷

The organization of Turkish army was described in detail by *Liva-ul-Islam* of Madras. In the battle between the Turks and the Russians on the border of Persia. The former won a number of victories, took thousands of Russians as prisoners and that they were advancing upon Badoum. Further it published an extract from the Turkish official report received at Amsterdam, which stated that the Turks came out victorious in every engagement with the Russians. Germany made mighty preparations to conquer England. Kaiser was determined to take that guns to Calais at any cost and bombard England there from. The German plan was to capture Calais then to sweep the English channel of the mines placed there in by the British, for which purpose they built special motor boats, and then they made an attack on England in which aero planes, several submarines and German men of war took part. She decided to transport an army of 2,50,000 men into England in this manner

and she thought that such an army would be sufficient to carry on the war in England.⁸

Germany was busy in building numerous submarines and all of them were expected to be ready within three months.⁹ An Urdu notice entitled *Ilani-i-Jang* (Declaration of war) published by Ghadr party blamed the British for having put the Indians in great difficulties and suffering. The author stated that, "Feringhees took possession of our beloved country of India. They ruined the civilization and morals of India. Three crores of persons died from famine, plague and daily disgrace. As a result, Indians begin to emigrate to other foreign lands" Another Urdu leaflet entitled '*Indian Insurrection*' said that, "No European should be left alive in the world. Kill them secretly, kill them openly". Laying stress on self sacrifice, the author stated that, "Let the spirit of self sacrifice animate every vein and hair of your badness"... The pamphlet which concluded with the observation "Rise! Rise united Rise at once!... Do not hesitate now! Do it to-day", called upon both Muslims and the Hindu to join together and hoist the national flag which symbolized Independence.¹⁰ An Urdu leaflet entitled *Zamena Bagwat Hindustan* dated 8th January 1915 adopted the extreme stand and extended its support to Germany, Italy and Turkey. The author of the leaflet exhorted the young men of India who aspired for self-government to arise from their slumber and eliminate the British. He also referred to the misdeeds of the Government. The temples and mosques were destroyed and the British education in India left many illiterates. Further the author of the leaflet draw the attention of the youth to unfair treatment meted out to the natives by the British.¹¹

The Islamic press entitled *Shams-ul-Akhbar* stated that the Italian papers wrote that the Italian Government was anxious to the procedure of Sulaiman Pasha a partisan of Anwar Pasha, Italy was a party in the Triple Alliance. As Germany had advanced towards France and she centered the French frontiers and France had to face boundless difficulties and hard ships and Germany would covered the whole of France in a moment of true. At the outset the German forces pasted over France with such vehemence that the Paris would come within a range and the Government of France had to transfer its seats to Bordeaux. Germany

sent a small Cruiser the Emden to the Indian ocean and that ship found an opportunity first in the Bay of Bengal then off the Madras coast and then off the Maldives Island etc to commit raids. In all the ocean of the world the fear of the Emden was created and every ship was fearful. Russia the member of Triple Entente concentrated her forces on the Austrian frontiers and in two three attacks made Austria her case. When the forces of 'Triple Entente' advanced towards Germany. Austria was her ally, the aid she expected from her could not obtained. Three months before to the declaration of the war the Ottoman Government had been from giving assurances of neutrality. Turkey was ready to wage war against the 'Triple Entente'. There was Turkish skirmishes in the Caucasus against the Russians and in Basra and in the Persian Gulf against the English.¹²

The *Mushir-i-Dakhan* wrote that the Muslims of the world and the well wisher of Turkey were desirous that Turkey should not take part in the war. The Muslims of India and of other places sent telegrams and advised her with sympathy to hold herself aloof from to war but among Turkish party. The Germans created fervor by deceit; owing to that they never allow Turkey to paid attention to the Muslim world. The Muslims of India and other places declared their astonishment and wonder at the Turkish conduct and kept quiet. She faced Italy in Tripoli and Balkan states in Europe. Japan had no reason to become a party to the war with the hope of gaining benefits in future proclaimed war on Germany and enter into Triple Entente following Japan, Portugal joined with Triple Entente against Germany. The Triple Entente was acted with great foresight in that it assumed the Muslims under it that their sacred places would remain safe. The lawyer of New York stated that the war would terminate is April.¹³

Germany sent the following message to South Africa, "Belgium is our possession. The greater part of France is also in our hands. The Russians were driven back as far as Warsaw. We have taken six lakhs of them prisoners. Our ships visited the English coast twice. Eight cruisers and several other ships belonging to the British have been sunk by our submarines. The English ships have not attacked us. One of our ships was sunk by the English near Falkland. The Turks have proclaimed a religious war against our foes. They

are successful in the region of Caucasia and are advancing on the borders of Egypt."¹⁴ *Sajphul Islam* of Vellore reported the Bagdad correspondent to have written to a Parsee paper that on account of Turkey's precautions, the British was not able to advance even an inch to the interior of Bess rah and that as the English was not given Egypt back to Turkey not finding any other opportunity for recovering it, had to take part in that war.¹⁵ *Liva-ul-Islam* wrote that four Turkish submarines were patrolling the mouth of the Bosporns. A large quantity of war materials and food stuffs was sent to Adrianople. The old forts in Turkey were repaired. The new forts were constructed. A Turkish battalion left from Damascus. Forty thousand troops were expected to reach Iskenderun. No one can deny the strength of the German guns.

A news was published in the paper which was received from America by a Japanese paper. The Turks were reached the Suez Canal. A battle was fought and some British soldiers were taken as prisoners. In a battle which took place in 18 miles east of the Suez Canal, the British retreated. The Turks were advancing towards Batouns. They captured Al mang in the south. In Shattel-Arab the losses of the British amounted to 750 killed and more than 1000 wounded.¹⁶ In 1918 the allies were riding on the wave of victory. Germany surrendered on November 11 and Turkey had capitulated on October 31. The Ottoman empire lay shattered. The Arabs incited by the British revolted against their sovereign and Caliph. The Greeks encouraged by Lloyd George claimed the coastal Strip including Smyrna.¹⁷

In December 1918 both the Muslim league and the Congress had met in Delhi. The chairman of the Reception Committee was Dr. Ansari. He denounced Sharif Husain of Mecca

who raised the standard of rebellion against his acknowledged sovereign. He demanded under the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Muslim States and the restoration of Jazirat-ul-Arab(the Arab region) containing the holy places of Islam to the Caliph.¹⁸ The Urdu leaflet entitled *Zamena Bagwat Hindustan* dated 8th January 1915 adopted the extreme stand and extended its support to Germany Italy and Turkey.¹⁹ The author described the tyranny of the British as follows, "There is no country as prosperous as India so far as produce is concerned. But it is a matter for regret that lakhs of our brethren have died of Lunges crores are living on half meals. Lakhs of our brethren have died of hungry crores are living on half meals. Lakhs are becoming victims to poverty... the tyranny has reached its limits. Arise! Brethren Arise! Gods help is with you. Wreak vengeance on the tyrants for wrong done to the oppressed. Remove the tyrannical English from our country".²⁰

CONCLUSION:

The war was not started to decide the fate of Constantinople or to wipe, out the name of Turks, getting France and Britain apart, even Russia entertained no idea. The war was the direct result of German ambition cherished for forty years. Hence the allies were engaged in the destruction of German ascendancy and the dispelling of her vanitation. There was an undercurrent of pro-Turkish feeling amongst the Muslims in Madras and the news of the sinking of the Allies ships in the Dardanelles received with some satisfaction as an indication of the failure of the operation against Constantinople; but in the district the attitude of Muslims reported to be satisfactory.²¹

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INFLUENCE OF CASTE WITHIN THE CHRISTIANITY

K. Gangaiah

This paper is an attempt at the existence and the extent of the practice of caste discrimination within Christian Church with special reference to the Roman Catholic Church in South India. The Hindu Society is one of the most complexes of societies. Peculiar only to it is the caste-system. It was on the axis of caste-system that the institutions revolved and social relations were based. Caste system has been inextricably interwoven in the Hindu Society. Many stories have been woven round the emergence and the growth of the Hindu Caste-System. Downtrodden class in India has always been victim of unequal treatment, casteism and social exploitation. In order to seek solace and relief from their pathetic condition they are still coming under the aegis of church for the last 3 or 4 centuries. But, here, too, they have been exploited in the name of caste and race. The hope with which they had come in the Christianity seems to have forfeited. On the contrary, they are now entangled in even deeper quagmire of inequality. Dalit Christians are the backbone of Catholic Church in India but their participation in the structure of Catholic Church is zero. Bishop, Father and Cardinal from this class are rare to find and those who somehow managed after hard fought struggle are standing marginalized in the society. They are being treated differently by their upper-class brothers (Bishops and Fathers).¹ The Christianity in India is a hinduised idea which has incorporated all socio-cultural caste rites and rules of the Hindu community into the practices of Indian Christianity.² Dr. Ambedkar in his unpublished essay "Christianizing the Untouchables and Condition of Converts" describes how caste system had invaded the Christian religion in India.³

No aspect of Dalit Christian life has received more scholarly attention than has the role which caste play within the Christian

community and churches. In South India, where several castes of different status, converted into Christianity in a large numbers, thus in the South India there are some villages where both the Dalits and the dominant castes are Christians, where as in the cities, caste can provide a basis for potential alliances in church politics. But, this is not cause in the North India, where the local Christian Population is overwhelmingly Dalit background. Even in the cities there are not enough Christians from one dominant caste to make caste the basis for political alliances

Theoretically, there is no place for non-equality and racism in the Christianity and when it is attached with identity of Catholic Church; the concept of caste automatically vanishes like camphor as the word 'Catholic- means- Universal'. There is only one head of this universal community of people and that is none other than representative of Vicar of Christ which is responsible for recruitment of Bishops in order to guide their disciples. In that way Holy Father/Pope are responsible for maintaining 'Kingdom of heaven' on the earth.

Caste has not affected Christian prayers or Christian rite as such. It has affected the place Dalit and non-Dalit Christians occupy and the roles they play in regular Sunday prayers and in special Christian rite. In Kerala Dalit Christians were given separate place of worship in the roman Catholic, Mar Thoma and Church of South India Dioceses, at least until late 1960s.⁴ In the South India caste has played a little role in Protestant Church than in Catholic churches, where separate seating for upper caste and Dalit Catholics still continues. There are also separate burial places in Catholic cemeteries as well. Dalits communities have been assigned inferior roles in the Catholic mass, in Catholic funerals, and in the celebration of Christian festivals.⁵ Congregations are made up of People from

different castes, including Dalit communities, but similar classes. Caste Christians avoid marriage alliances with Christians known to be Dalit communities, but not necessarily with those of the same classes who are "casteless" are whose castes are unknown.⁶

Catholic Church has completely failed in its duty to provide equality and justice to that majority of converted people under the structure controlled by the Pope. The resources have been captured by upper-class Christians. After independence of India Catholic Church has immensely progressed which is reflected from heavy increase in the number of schools, colleges, social institutions, new diocese, Fathers, Bishops, nuns and their followers however, despite this entire progress one thing that has not changed is the status of Dalit Christians.⁷ Thousands of organizations related to education, health and non-governmental organizations are being run by church and right to run these institutions has been conferred by Indian constitution. The structure of church being run under Vatican has failed to do justice to the Dalit Christians. Understanding the gravity of the situation Pope John Paul-II had severely criticized the attitude of unequal treatment and discriminatory approach in the church. In 2003, he had said that Bishops were appointed to look after lambs and it is their duty to abolish any kind of discrimination prevalent in the Catholic Church.⁸

One of the studies of Catholic villages in the Ramnad district of Tamilnadu that for Christians as for Hindus "the cultural definition of pollution in inter-caste relation includes notions of service and subordination."⁹ These may be Exceptions rather than the rule, but they do indicate that caste still functions in times and places Christians consider sacred

The castes backgrounds of the clergy than that the lay leadership of the churches. Indeed, not surprisingly, Dalit inclusion in the Christian clergy follows the pattern of Dalit place and role in Christian worship. In Kerala there were no Dalit priests in the Mar Thoma or Jacobite churches of Kerala by 1968, where as there were 13 "Backward Class" clergy in just the Madhya Kerala diocese of the Church of South India by that time.¹⁰ A study of the Roman Catholic clergy in Tamilnadu in the late 1980s showed that a mere 3.09% were Dalits; in 1990 the percentage

in Pondicherry was 12.8%, and perhaps somewhat higher in Andhra Pradesh.¹¹ Almost all the clergy in the Protestant Church in Andhra Pradesh are from Dalit communities. Dalits have made more progress in the Protestant churches. At present many of the bishops and church of South Indian have been Dalits. Most recent development in church of south India in Andhra Pradesh the women Bishop has been appointed, this appointment is the first in India a women has being a Bishop named Rev. Pushpa Latha. She also hails from downtrodden communities. Rev. will head Nandyal Diocese spread over districts in Rayalaseema and part of Prakasam district with a membership of 90,000 people. In the world she stood second women Bishop where as the first is Rev. Patricia from the church of Ireland.¹² While statistics on the Protestant clergy are not available, but where ever we go in South India the Protestant clergy are from Dalit background, a survey of theological students and faculty in the mid-1980s. Indicated that just over half the students but only 13% of the faculty were Dalits.¹³

It is the urban elites and middle classes, both classes, both clergy and laity, who have controlled the structures, institutions, and projects of the churches in both the North and the South India. Caste has certainly played its role in their struggles for power within the churches, at least in the South. Where caste provides the basis for informal political alliances from the congregational level on up, the basic division has been between Dalits and non-Dalits, except among Andhra Pradesh Protestants, where the rivalry between Madigas and Malas has been even more serious because by using the caste the leaders try to capture the administrative positions in the administration of the Churches. The politics of caste affects not only elections to positions of leadership and power, but also appointments and promotions in Christian institutions.¹⁴

Since it is the urban and middle classes, whether Dalit or non-Dalit, who dominate the decision-making bodies of the churches, their priorities in ministry and mission, rather than those of rural, uneducated or poor Christians, whether Dalit or non-Dalit, have been the churches' priorities. Thus, while considerations of caste or caste hierarchy have not been involved in determining the churches' priorities, those

priorities which have been set have benefitted those categories of Christians in which Dalits are fewest at the expense of those in which Dalits form the vast majority. Moreover, as with the government so also in the churches, it has been less in establishing than in implementing policy and program that Dalit interests have suffered most. Only in the mid-1970s did the churches begin to take note of specifically Dalit grievances within the Christian community and begin to address them. However, even after that, in local caste conflicts the church authorities stood behind the dominant caste Christians rather than the Dalit Christians.¹⁵

According to official estimates of government, there are 30 million Christians in the country and 70 percent of this population has directly come from socially and economically downtrodden community popularly known as 'Dalits'. However, as per unofficial figures the population of minority Christians is not less than 60-70 million. Irony is that; these people have been constantly suppressed and exploited even under the structure of Catholic Church. They are ridiculed for their sacrifices made hundreds of years ago for the church. They don't command equal status in the existing structure of church and this has made the sacrifices futile. According to Christianity scriptures that God has created people with his own image and this has become founding stone of equality of human values in Christian society. But, they are continuously meted out differential treatment in the name of caste and birth.¹⁶

Dalit Christians have protested against this bias in the church in a variety of ways. In 1964 a group of "Backward Class Christians" under the leadership of the Rev.V.J.Stephen left the Madhya Kerala Diocese of the Church of South India of form the Travancore Cochin Anglican (C.M.S.) Church. This was one of the more recent revolts in a long series which had resulted in Dalit Christians leaving one church to either join or form another in protest against caste discrimination. A Church of South India commission investigating the grievances of Dalit Christians, whether they split off or remained with the Church of South India, First and foremost is the feeling that they are despised, not taken seriously, overlooked, humiliated or simply forgotten. They feel that again and again affairs in the diocese are arranged as if they did not

exist. Caste appellations are still occasionally used in Church when they have been abandoned even by Hindus. Backward class desires and claims seem again and again to be put on the waiting list, while projects which they feel aim chiefly at the benefit of the Syrian community seem to get preferential consideration. In appointments, in distribution of charity, in pastoral care and in the attitude shown to them, in disputes with the authorities, the treatment they receive, when compared with that received by their Syrian brothers, suggests a lack of sympathy, courtesy and respect.¹⁷

The second and third reasons given were "a very serious failure in the pastoral care of these people" and their obvious under-representation in the diocesan council and its boards.¹⁸ A Dalit was elected assistant bishop as the Commission had recommended and in 1974 became bishop of the diocese for six years. A Dalit was appointed diocesan development officer only in 1972. However, the procedures for Council elections, which heavily favored the Syrian minority over the Dalit minority, were not changed. Thus, when a Syrian became bishop in 1980, the situation reverted to what it had been in the 1960 except that the new bishop faced a highly politicized and well-organized Dalit Christian movement which had developed during his predecessor's time. In 1982 they demanded not only changes in the election procedures but also, quite significantly, that half of "all Diocesan job opportunities and key positions like Diocesan Secretary, Treasurer and other [be reserved] for the Backward community."¹⁹ These demands were backed up by large and persistent demonstrations, picketing and fast through 1986.²⁰

A more serious form of revolt has been conversion to other religions. There were Dalit Christians in villages near Meenakshipuram who converted to Islam along with other Dalits in 1981. In investigating these conversions in tow Protestant villages Andrew Wingate noted that in one Dalits suffered from almost total pastoral neglect, whereas in the other pastoral visits were regular but perfunctory. "They come, they preach, they eat in the teachers' houses, and they go" the way how the people described them.²¹ During roughly the same period (July 1980 – February 1983) another study reported that 2564 Dalit Catholics in Tamilnadu reverted to Hinduism

because of caste discrimination in the church²² while large number in Andhra Pradesh were won back to Hinduism.²³ If the petitions of the large conference of Dalit Christmas from Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka held in Vellore on January 14,1982 is indicative of wider Dalit Christians sentiment, then the dominance of higher caste Christians in church bodies and their use of this power to give their own people access to educational opportunities and jobs at the expense of Dalit Christians is the form of caste discrimination most resented.²⁴

The National Christian Council of India, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India, and the Catholic Union of India jointly sponsored a National Convention on the Plight of Christians of Dalit Origin at Bangalore in June 1978, because this did so much to publicize severity of the problem at least within the Christian churches.

The convention was a large gathering of over 200 people which included some of the top leadership of the churches. Dalit Christians were present, and presented papers, and shared in the leadership of the conference. The emphasis of the programme was on sharing information and organizing for appropriate action. There was a background paper summarizing the churches' efforts since Independence "in the cause of Christians of Dalit origin."²⁵ Presentations were made on the legal aspects of the problem, on the harsh realities Dalit Christians faced, and on casteism in the churches. The Convention both made social justice its priority concern and focused attention primarily upon the Christian community. In its recommendations and closing message, it stated that the churches had to clean house by ending discrimination and injustice within the Churches and in the Christian community, they had to be educated about the plight of Dalit Christians and to align themselves with the poor and oppressed, they had to take steps to end discrimination against Dalit Christians by the government and society at large.²⁶ The delegation of Dalit Christian Liberation Movement (DCLM) had a petition to Pope John Paul- II Regarding the problem of about 20 million Dalit Christians who form a great majority within the church and of about 200 million Dalits in the whole of India. Their request for an appointment for a delegation of Dalit Christian Liberation Movement (DCLM)

during His Holiness Pope John Paul II India's visit in November 1999, to meet him and make representation on the problems of Dalit Christians in the Catholic Church in India.²⁷

Except in the matter of religious belief there is absolutely no differentiation between the converts and their Hindu brethren. In a Caste ridden society as we have in India, Caste practices and prejudices die hard. Hence Christians of Dalit origin suffer from disabilities of the practice of untouchability.²⁸

There is caste in the churches. However, it is not the same in all the churches. In the North caste has been largely replaced by class within the Christian community, but a sacral view of caste continues to define Dalit Christian relations with dominant castes of other religions, especially in the villages. In the South the associational view of caste predominates within the Christian community, largely because of the existence of large bodies of Christians belonging to Castes of different status: Kammas and Reddys vs. Malas and Madigas in Andhra Pradesh; Vellalas and Nadars vs. Adi Dravidas in Tamilnadu; Syrians vs. Pulayas and Parayas in Kerala. However a sacral view of caste has not yet died out in the churches, especially in Kerala, and outside Kerala especially in villages and among Roman Catholics. Caste plays too strong a role in south Indian church politics to say that it has been replaced by class, even in the cities. Second, while the church in its role as educator and employer has played in significant role in the creation of Dalit Christian middle class, it is finding it increasingly difficult to continue to do that. Competition for education and for jobs has become so acute that the churches cannot satisfy all applicants. In the competition the elites, among whom Dalits are few, have a great advantage because of their superior social networks and access to people with the power to decide. Thus the vast majority of Dalit Christmas is in double bind of increasing intensity: no room in Christian places of employment and no places outside because they are not included in scheduled Caste quotas. For this reason economic issues have come to play a key role in Dalit Christian politics.

In fact, the caste system has been a unique phenomenon in India alone. Elsewhere in the world, there were Christian denominational divisions as in Europe, tribal divisions in Africa,

sectarian differences in the Muslim world. Sometimes as in Africa and the Muslim world, these artificial divisions result in sanguinary fights, and sooner they end in some settlement. They do not split the entire society so brazenly as the caste-system in India. In fact, every lane and by lane in India stand divided on caste-lines.

We are happy that the Church itself has now come forward to take up this cause. But the question still remains that before it tells the govt. to give reservations to Dalit Christians, it must reserve 80% of the positions and privileges to Dalit Christians inside the Church.²⁹

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MORAL OUTRAGES AND RELIGIOUS SPACE: A STUDY ON THE PEASANT MOBILIZATION DURING 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY OF SOUTH MALABAR

Hamza Thodengal

In south Malabar during 19th and 20th century faced many uprisings against their colonial masters and land lords. The rioters of them were mostly from the community of Muslims. The Muslims in Malabar area were called Mappilas. They were the majority of this area. The causes of the Mappila outbreaks have been a subject of controversy among scholars and administrators. Some attribute resentment against British rule and agrarian grievances against Hindu landlords. The other group argued that extreme indigence as the root causes of these civil disturbances, while some others impute a compound of ignorance, superstition, lack of education, poverty, religious fanaticism and malformation of character of this community.

The Muslims of Malabar generally known as *Mappilas*, are either descendants of Arab traders or of 'Hindu' converts to Islam. Malabar was the chief center of Arab trading activities right from 4th century AD and by about 7th century AD and several Arabs had taken permanent residence in some port cities of Malabar.¹ Hence it is probable that Islam came to Kerala almost immediately after it was founded in 7th century AD. Several foreign accounts have mentioned about the existence of considerable Muslim population in coastal towns of Malabar between 9th and 16th century AD. Duarte Barbosa, who lived in Malabar during the first decade of 16th century, observed that 'the Muslims were so rooted in the soil throughout Malabar that it seems that they are a fifth part of its people, spread over all its kingdom and provinces.'² Shaik Zainuddin in his *Tuhfathul Mujahedeen*, written in 16th century, placed *Mappilas* at 10% of the total population. Up to 16th century, as noticed by the contemporary observers, these *Mappilas* settled mainly along the coastal tracts. However between 16th and 19th centuries, the *Mappilas* had shifted to the interior parts of Malabar and so far no plausible explanation has been given to this shift. K.N. Panikkar is of the view that it was due to the increase in conversion and European intervention in Malabar that began in 16th century, which forced *Mappilas* to settle in the interior taluks of Malabar.³

When we analyze these various components, it will be found that most of them were common causes of resentment among both Hindus and Muslims alike in Malabar. Only in the case of two, namely, antagonism against the British, and religious extremism, Muslims were different from the Hindus. Through this paper I am try to analyze the root causes of Mappila outrages in south Malabar and the social ecology in south Malabar during the time of colonialism.

With the coming of Europeans, the *Mappilas* who had been participants and collaborators of Arab trade were looked upon as enemies and as a consequence, a good number of *Mappilas* employed in ports might have been forced to migrate to the interior in search of alternate employment. What is relevant in this context is the fact that by about 20th century the Mappila population became predominantly rural. Unlike the coastal *Mappilas* who engaged in trade, the interior *Mappilas* were cultivating tenants, landless peasants and petty traders.

The British census data tell us about the steady growth of the community in Malabar. From 1, 70,113 in 1807, the strength of the community rose to 10, 04,321 in 1921⁴. The census tables show that the growth rate of Mappila population was much higher than that of other communities. Another notable aspect of demography of *Mappilas* was that 60% of them were concentrated in three southern Taluks of Malabar - Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani. By the census of 1961, the *Mappilas* constituted 31.43% of the total population of Malabar area, which comes around 67% of the total Muslim population of Kerala. As Gleason stated, 'Looking at a map there is no area so extensive with so concentrated a Muslim population in all of peninsular India as in Malabar.'⁵

Encounter with the Portuguese

The Portuguese arrival to Kerala during 15th and the 16th century in which affected the political balance of the Malabar Coast. As the main motivation for the Portuguese expedition was to establish a direct trade route with India, the conflict between the Muslim population and the Portuguese was predictable from the

beginning. The main reason that the Portuguese established their earliest trade center in the city of Cochin, not on the port of Calicut where Vasco Da Gama first anchored his fleet, was the conflict between the Muslims of Calicut and Da Gama's fleet. Traditionally, the Muslims played a major role in Calicut society as the military leaders, foreign ambassadors, or merchants in the overseas trade. Therefore, when Vasco Da Gama, who mistook the Zamorin as a Christian king, asked the Zamorin of Calicut to exclude the Arab merchants in favor of the Portuguese, the Zamorin refused. This became the seed of long-lasting enmity between the Portuguese and the Zamora's Calicut. Sixteenth-century Portuguese historian Gaspar Correa records this incident as blaming the "Malabar Moors" that "they all agreed that with all the power of themselves and their property, they should get the Portuguese turned out of the country, which they would also do in all the other parts, in such manner as that they should not be able to trade nor profit, nor establish men at arms, whom the Portuguese would be unable to maintain because they were from a very distant country; and in navigating to India the sea would swallow up so many that a sufficient number of them never could come up to India to make themselves masters of it, and take possession of countries, and deprive them of the great footing and powers which they held in India". Although Correa's account is certainly biased against the Malabar Muslims, it is indicated in this passage that the Muslims in Malabar Coast and the Portuguese had clashing commercial interests. In this conflict, the response of Muslim population was as negative as that of the Portuguese; fearing that they would lose the privileges they enjoyed, the Muslim merchants of Calicut acted against the Portuguese. Because of the conflicting economic interests, the Portuguese sank ships of Muslim merchants, massacred many Muslims, and demolished mosques

The conflict between the Muslims and the Portuguese had another reason other than economic interest; the religion. The Portuguese were ardent Roman Catholics, and the hostility between the Muslims and the Christians in the Iberian Peninsula made the Portuguese consider the Malabar Muslims as their enemy from the beginning. On 3 January 1510 the Portuguese burned down the chief mosque in Calicut. There was also an incident in which a Portuguese boy

was taken to Mecca and converted to Islam; the Portuguese retaliated by attacking the ships going to the pilgrimage to Mecca, massacring the adult passengers, and converting the captured Muslim boys to Christianity. Also, after the establishment of the Goa Inquisition and arrival of the Jesuits, Muslims were persecuted and sometimes forced to convert to Christianity. This indicates while the religious hostility also played a role in the cultural conflict between the Muslims of Malabar and the Portuguese, the primary reason of their clash originated from the conflict of interest.

Encounter with the British

Under the British rule which lasted from 1795 to 1947, there were many conflicts between the British and the Malabar Muslims, and also between the Hindus and the Muslims. The main reason for such conflict were religious tensions which increased through the series of Mysore invasions, the will for freedom, and most importantly, some British policies which intentionally or accidentally proved to be more harmful to the Muslims than to other groups of indigenous population. The Background of the riots shows the misunderstanding of the local culture by the British. Traditionally the land tenure system in Malabar region included the Jenmi, Hindu landowners belonging to Brahmin caste who were forbidden to cultivate their own lands. The Nairs, were responsible for the security and supervision of the land and distribution of respective shares of produce, and the Thiyya (Hindu) and Mappila (Muslim) classes were the actual cultivators of the land. In this system all three classes harmoniously coexisted. The Jenmi was not allowed to evict the tenants under him unless for non-payment of rent, and the rights of the actual cultivators of the land were also respected as well as the rights of the Hindu landowners. However, lacking this knowledge, the British superimposed their own juridical concepts, most importantly the concept of absolute property rights, upon the existing legal system and customs of Malabar. As a result, all of the lands suddenly became the private property of the Hindu landowners and they were also granted the rights to freely evict the tenants and raise the rent. As a result, great hostility grew among the Mappilas against the Hindu landowners and the British colonial power.

British control of Malabar was established in 1792 following a costly war with Mysore. The immediate problem for the state was establishing a social base for their authority and recovering the war costs via tax collections. Land taxation requires identifiable property rights; in recognizing the Nair and Namboodiri claimants as "lords of the soil," the British effectively restored "the landed aristocracy of Namboodiri *Jenmies* and Nairs"⁷. Land taxes were over the course of the century recognized by subordinate colonial officials as excessive. Not only was the tax burden heavy, but its incidence was unequal; less well-connected villagers were over-assessed, the well-connected lightly assessed⁸

Malabar under colonial rule became in many ways the archetypal disintegrating agrarian system. With the introduction of colonial law, particularly the imposition of a legal system based on the absolute notion of land as private property, traditional overlords were able to evict tenants and raise rents according to the familiar rule of "what the market would bear," enforced by the police powers of a colonial state. Clearly the great transformation from above was one in which property claims were disentangled from their broader social moorings, and thus functions. As courts and administrative law protected the property claims of landlords, the necessity of good patron-client relations diminished; control of economic assets was guaranteed by higher authority. Within the landlord-tenant dyad, land revenue ultimately became the tenant's burden, concentrating the social pain of taxation both on weaker owners and on tenants in particular. As a consequence of the settlement, holdings in Malabar were far more concentrated than in the rest of Madras Presidency and the extent of landlessness much greater⁹

Resulting agrarian violence was expressed in the idiom of Islamic community and identity; the "Mappila outrages" which broke out during the nineteenth century were couched in oppositional terms of a Muslim community against a European state and Hindu landlords.¹⁰ uprisings began in 1836 and continued sporadically until the final dramatic outburst in 1921.

The original colonial diagnosis of the uprisings was "religious fanaticism" because of

the modes of organization, symbolism and ethnicity of participants and victims. Mappilas believed that to kill a landlord was not only no sin, but a source of religious merit. To die fighting the colonial state in *jihad* ensured the benefits of martyrdom. Conrad Wood (1978:133) goes so far as to argue that "the defining characteristic of the Mappilas, who had been peacefully in possession of the lands since the time of Hyder Ali's conquest, felt it no doubt as a bitter grievance that the Jenmies should have obtained the power to evict them, a power which did not intrinsically belong to them, and the influential men among them, looking about for means to protect themselves, set fanaticism in motion..."¹¹

The Mappila risings illustrate two points about the origins of mobilization of agrarian under classes for redress. First, in line with social theory on the causes of agrarian protest, an agrarian structure characterized by high levels of insecure tenancy, extreme inequalities in land ownership, and the resulting miserable terms of exchange between landed and landless generated the structural potential for agrarian radicalism. Secondly, "defensive reactions" of elements of society to dislocations engendered by market acting on new property rights drove extreme responses aimed at re-establishing traditional security.

The Moplah Rebellion illuminated and attacked the structural unity of landlordism and colonial rule. The colonial government was quite explicit in its recognition of dependence on the landed elite for continued hegemony and the landlords reciprocally depended on the colonial state's machinery to quash challenges to their local authority.

There are three major causes arguments by deferent scholars in this respect. The first discussion of land reform was generated within the colonial administration. Second by orientalist focus on "religious fanaticism," associated with the views of T.L. Strange.

There is a third view that the outbreaks had the character of religious colorings or fanaticism from the very beginning. The rebels who went on the war path had always the blessings of a 'thangal'. The rebels were adherents to their faith in the 'millenarian ideology' which Islam offered. In 19th century the 'Sufis' also influenced the Mappilas. The role of Ummer Khasi in the anti

tax campaign against British was well-known to the Mappilas. They were understood that the fight against their enemy was moral duty as Islam taught. In the words of Stephen Dale, "Fanaticism or agrarian discontent alone cannot be considered as the cause of the outbreak. The connection that existed between the two is important. There was real agrarian distress. These took the form of fanatical outbreaks due to the forces of history"¹³

'Religious spaces' and disputes are the other reason for the outbreaks. The Mappila settlements were found within a wider Hindu countryside, dominated by the Nambodiries and Nayars. Like any Muslim settlement in the Islamic world, the Mappila settlements grew around the center of Muslim worship, the Mosque. In the acquisition and construction of mosque lands for the purpose, the question of "religious space" was often contested by the Hindu community from the 19th century. Particularly in south Malabar where the janmitten relations were quite fragile, coincidentally, since the bulk of the tenants in the Eranad and Valluvanad taluks were Mappilas. The contestation of 'religious space' by the wider Hindu society became imminent in the wake of the peasant uprisings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries¹⁴

As Stephan Dale has observed, the sense of economic insecurity and dependence among the Mappila tenants of south Malabar was also reflected in their inability to acquire mosque lands. Therefore, when disputes over mosques arose, they resented their subordination in a corporate sense, as member of a religious community.¹⁵ One of the social consequences of the uprising particularly that of the twentieth century episode was the friction over places of worship, which sometimes took violent forms. The economic rivalry between prosperous Thiyya toddy owners and the Mappilas took religious overtones in the form of building Thiyya temples and mosques. Within the Mappila community there was a contest between

various status groups over 'religious space' in the form of graves and burial grounds.¹⁶ In 1874, a proposal was made by the Mappilas for the introduction of a Bill into the Legislative Council of Madras, for the purpose of enabling them to acquire, by a compulsory process, land upon which mosques could be constructed and burials take place within the district of Malabar. After much hesitation, the Madras government enacted the Malabar Religious Sites Act in the same year to facilitate the acquisition of land for the construction of mosques or other places of worship and for burial grounds in Malabar¹⁷

Fanaticism of this violent type flourishes only upon sterile soil. When the people are poor and discontented, it flourishes apace like other crimes of violence. The grievous insecurity to which the working riots [peasants] are exposed by the existing system of landed tenures is undoubtedly largely to blame for the impoverished and discontented state of the peasantry, and a measure to protect the riot, of whatever class, is the means which seems to commend itself the most for amelioration of their condition. With settled homesteads and an assured income to all who are thrifty and industrious... it is certain that fanaticism would die a natural death."¹⁸

Conclusion

The long experience of peasant mobilization in Malabar depended not only on central facets of agrarian structure, which is historically given and not easily reducible to choice in any endogenous way, but on broader social ecology and political structure as well. Solution to the collective action problem could not rely on selective incentives, but did depend on organic political theory derived from praxis. "Moral outrage" was as important as material interest in motivating powerless people to face a repressive social order in rational expectation of deprivation or worse.

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REPORT OF T. L. STRANGE AND ITS IMPACT UPON THE MAPPILAS OF MALABAR

V. Haridasan

Introduction

Malabar, the northern part of present Kerala state, came under the British rule in 1792. In the third Anglo-Mysore war Tipu Sultan was defeated by the English East India Company with the support of the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. By the treaty of Sreerangapattanam, political control over Malabar was taken over by the Company. Till 1800, Malabar was under the government of Bombay and after that under the Madras Presidency.¹ When the monopoly of trade, for which the European powers had struggled for centuries, came under the British, they undertook measures to enhance its volume. They also wanted to increase their income by collecting maximum revenue from the district. Immediately after the Sreerangapattanam treaty, the Bombay government appointed a Commission under Major Alexander Dow and William Samuel Farmer to administer the territory and report on the condition of the district and suggestions for future administrative plans. Later Jonathan Duncan and Charles Boddam, representatives of the Governor General joined in the Commission.² The second part of the report describes the steps taken by them for the consolidation of the political power of the Company at Malabar.³ The administrative arrangements made by the Commissioners led to many protest movements in the district. These movements were led by the native *rajas* and chiefs, the tribals, and the peasants. The revolt of

Pazhassi Raja (1793-1805), resistance by *Mappila* chiefs like Manjeri Attan Gurukkal, Unni Moosa and Chempan Pocker, and the Kurichiya Revolt (1812) were the important protest movements in the early period of the British rule in Malabar.

After the Kurichiya revolt of 1812, for more than two decades, the peace of Malabar was not seriously disturbed. During these years, the administrators of the English East India Company were engaged in reforming the system of revenue collection in the district. The Cornwallis system followed in the district from 1792 was critically examined and new reforms were introduced on the basis of the recommendations of Thomas Munro. Many regulations introduced in Madras Presidency with the aim of enhancing the collection of revenue. The powers and responsibilities of the village and taluk servants were redefined. Foremost aim behind the reforms was to regulate the revenue and judicial systems. The report of Graeme in 1822 on the revenue administration of Malabar and the subsequent changes introduced by the district administrators increased the hardships of the peasants.⁴ Naturally, the peasants began to protest against the unpopular policies of the British. A series of disturbances of the *Mappila* peasants of Malabar started in the thirties of the nineteenth century and it continued all throughout the century and reached its zenith in 1921.

Plight of the *Mappila* Peasants

Mappilas are those Muslims who are living in the coastal area of south-west India.⁵ The Muslims 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 it adversely affected the job opportunities of the Muslims. 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. 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 revenue reforms introduced by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan completely restructured the old system. They made cultivators as the owners of land and taxes were collected directly from the cultivators. Though the rate of tax fixed by the Mysore rulers was high, the cultivators felt security in their occupancy of cultivating land. The new reform raised the status of the cultivators as the owners of land.

The British occupation of Malabar completely changed the situation. The British triumph negatively affected the interests of the rural *Mappila* population. Because of two reasons they could not put up with the British. Firstly they defeated Tipu Sultan, a Muslim ruler. Secondly, the system of administration introduced by the British was against the interests of the *Mappilas*.⁶ They lost their occupancy rights over the land. Besides, the British reinstated the social and economic dominance of the Hindus in the rural society. The land lords, mostly Hindus, enjoyed the rights of coercion and eviction over their tenants. The regulations and rulings made by the courts and officers of the British robbed the rights of the peasants one after another.

The revenue demand of the Company immediately after its ascendancy in Malabar was very high. The local rajas and chiefs could not collect it and so the government directly took the charge of collecting revenue.⁷ Majority of the cultivators were *Mappilas* and they revolted against the new reforms. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the British monopolized the trade of salt, tobacco, timber and spices. It led to loss of livelihood to many villagers especially the

Mappilas. There was strict vigilance to prevent smuggling. Those who engaged in illegal traffic of these goods were captured by the guards and severely punished. As a result of the monopolization of production and distribution of goods, its prices began to increase. It again increased the hardships of people. The peasants and agricultural labourers were the worst affected group by the monopolization. Many of them were either deprived of their sources of livelihood or their additional income. The unscientific methods of collection of revenue, the one-sided attitudes of the government servants, illegal exactions by the *Janmis* were other important reasons for the plight of the peasants and poor people of Malabar. Protest of the people was expressed through the regular occurrence of revolts, thefts and social banditry.⁸

***Mappila* Outbreaks**

Though the sufferings by the above described issues were affected all sections of the poor people in the villages of Malabar, *Mappilas* alone were able to convert discontent into organized action. The first recorded outbreak was on 26 November 1836 at Pandalur *desam* in Ernad taluk. A *Mappila* named Kallingal Coonjolen stabbed one Kaneeshan Chackoo Panicker who subsequently died of his wounds.⁹ It was followed by a series of outbreaks in different taluks of South Malabar. In the period between 1836 and 1853 about twenty-two outbreaks took place besides numerous unsuccessful risings and conspiracies.¹⁰ The Manjeri outbreak of 1849 was one of the bloodiest among them. The participants of these revolts were generally poor and illiterate *Mappilas*. The *Ulemas* and priests of *Mappila* community preached their illiterate followers that the murder of a landlord or his agent will lead them to heaven. If one dies in an encounter with their enemies, he may go to heaven. It is clear that religion was an element in these revolts. But agrarian discontent and despotic nature of the government were the real reason behind the wrath of the poor peasants against their masters. The continuance occurrence of outbreaks made the government to think in terms of a serious enquiry about the matter. In 1852, Mr. Canolly, the district magistrate of Malabar, in a letter suggested to appoint a commission to report on the question of *Mappila* disturbances generally.¹¹ Canolly, in his letter to the government, regretted

that no measures taken by him till that time had reached the root of the evil and it was growing in place of decaying. The government decided to accept the suggestion of Canolly and appointed Mr. Thomas Lumsden Strange, popularly known as T.L. Strange as Special Commissioner for enquiring into the *Mappila* disturbances, their causes and remedies. He was directed to enter into the free interaction with all classes. He had the duty to ascertain the causes of the outbreaks and submit suggestions to prevent such outbreaks in future.

Report of Strange Commission

T.L. Strange was chauvinistic in preparing his report. His conclusions about the Muslim community of Malabar had far reaching impact in the Malabar politics. He opined that religious fanaticism was the most important reason for most of the outbreaks. In his report he made detailed analysis about all incidents. All persons involved in the 31 cases, only 14 for whom were any personal cause of provocation.¹² In seven cases land was the reason for quarrel. In nine cases the parties were instigated to engage in crime by others. He concluded that 'in no instance can any outbreak or threat of outbreak that had arisen be attributed to the oppression of tenants by landlords'. Strange in his report gave clean chit to the landlords of Malabar. He reported that the general character of the dealings of the Hindu landlords towards their tenants, whether *Mappila* or Hindu is 'mild, equitable and forbearing'.¹³ On the other hand the *Mappila* tenants of the affected areas of South Malabar were very prone to evade their obligations and to resort to false and litigious pleas. In his report Strange made some observations about the *Mappilas* of Malabar. The *Mappilas* of interior Malabar were always lawless, even in the time of Mysore rule. They were steeped in ignorance and susceptible to the teachings of ambitious and fanatical priests. As a result of that the Hindus in those parts of outbreaks were lived in fear. The Hindu landlords were not daring enough to evict the *Mappila* tenants who did not pay their rent.¹⁴ Desire for plunder was an important motive behind these outbreaks. Strange had the opinion that the Hindus of the district were living in a deplorable condition and the prestige of the British government traumatized.

Mr. Strange submitted his report in September 1852. He suggested many reforms to prevent the recurring of *Mappila* outbreaks in Malabar. He observed that the weakness of the existing police system was an important reason for failure in defending the outbreaks. He recommended establishing a trained police force to check the *Mappila* outbreaks and to create confidence among the Hindus and executive officers of the government.¹⁵ The inefficiency of the police force always necessitated the interference of military to suppress outbreaks. Presence of the military will increase the fear of the inhabitants and strengthen protests. So he proposed force of 200 with a monthly expense of rupees 1140. He also proposed to meet the amount from the fines imposed upon *Mappila* communities.¹⁶

Strange gave consent to the measures already in practice in the affected areas. They were escheating the property of those *Mappilas* who were guilty of fanatic outrages, fining the '*Mappila* districts' where such outbreaks occur, deporting the suspected and restrictions on the possession of arms like *peishan cutti* or domestic knife.¹⁷ He proposed three other acts to suffice the existing punitive measures. He asked to stop the unrestricted construction of mosques by the *Mappilas* in the district. Strange had the opinion that fining of the convicted alone is not enough to prevent such crimes. So he proposed to extend punishment to the families of the convicted and chief people of their caste, as they are cognizant of their designs and could check them.¹⁸ Another important recommendation of Strange was to organize a special police force to suppress the *Mappila* uprisings in future. Further, this force should be exclusively composed of Hindus. He was against the use of European force for the suppression of *Mappila* outbreaks.

Many proposals in the report of T.L. Strange were accepted by the government and laws and acts were passed accordingly. Acts XXIII and XXIV were passed in 1854. The first Act was intended to fine the entire *Mappilas* of the localities disturbed. Strange in his report proposed to use the amount collected as fine to meet the expense of the new police force. The new police force was established in 1854. Act XXIV of 1854 was to prevent the possession of war knives by local people. 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.¹⁹ Canolly and his assistants conducted searches for weapons all throughout the district and captured many weapons. The target of the government through this Act was the *Mappilas* of Malabar. The *Kolkars*, the executive assistants of *Adhikaris* were the chief instruments for the searches. They also served as the chief informants.

Conclusion

T. L. Strange, while preparing his report, did not consider the real factors behind the outbreaks. The *Mappila* outrages were directed against social and economic domination of upper castes and the political authority of the British. Strange deliberately ignored this facts and portrayed it as communal uprisings. The report reflected the prejudice of the British towards the Muslims of Malabar. He tried to whitewash the cruelties of the landlords and government servants. T. L. Strange prepared a report that was expected by the government. It was proved by the steps taken by the government after the submission of his report. Almost all his suggestions except Hinduisation of the new police force and restriction for constructing mosques were immediately implemented by the government. The new police force was an instrument of suppression in Malabar. The raids for war-knives, fining of

villages, and deportation of convicts made the condition of Malabar more turbulent.

The *Mappila* Outrages Act of 1854 and its periodic renewal was an outcome of the report of Strange. This Act was used against all suspected *Mappilas*. During the period of the revolt of 1921, the British government attempted to arrest M.P. Narayana Menon, a Hindu Congress leader, under this Act. Strange's report and consequent reforms and approaches of the government towards the *Mappilas* of Malabar widened the gap between Hindus and Muslims of Malabar. Abhorrence of the *Mappilas* towards the colonial government was also increased by the reforms in accordance with the report. The immediate effect of it was the murder of Canolly, the Collector of Malabar. The failure of Mr. Strange and the government to realize the real factors behind the *Mappila* unrests caused for the continuation of such outbreaks all throughout the British period. Mr. Strange could not identify landlord as a chief wrongdoer. Instead he blamed the poor peasants for the entire tragedies. Though religion was a factor in the outbreaks, agrarian discontents dominated that. It was underlined in another report submitted by William Logan, thirty years later. That view was not accepted by the government. So the views of T.L. Strange towards the *Mappila* community of Malabar continued as the official view of the British till the time of independence. The negative attitude of the administrators adversely affected progress of the *Mappila* community in colonial Malabar.

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MUSLIMS AND THE ANTI - HINDI AGITATIONS IN TAMIL NADU

L. Jafarunnisa Begum

The Congress adopted the policy of obtaining a single language for the entire sub-continent and sought, from 1918 onwards to introduce Hindi in south, even though it employed Tamil for propaganda and mobilization. The effort to popularize Hindi among south Indians (the 'Hindi movement' as it was called in Congress circles) was inaugurated by M.K. Gandhi in June 1918, the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha was founded in Madras to spread the knowledge of Hindi in the linguistic region of south India. Through the late 1920s and 1930s, the Congress pursued a self-assured policy of Hindi popularization, C. Rajagopalachari, S.Satyamurti, and K. Santhanam Designating it the lingua franca of the India-to-come, and advising Tamils to adopt it. This propaganda was funded by north Indian sources and attempts were made raise money in the south as well.

The work of the Hindi Prachar Sabha had been effective for more than a decade. In 1931 Kaka Saheb of the Gujarat Vidhyapith, Ahmedabad, declared that the Hindi Prachar movement had done 'splendid work' and that he was highly impressed with the enthusiasm and response for Hindi among south Indians. Further within south India, certain areas were more enthusiastic than others, Andhra seems to make a heroic attempt to learn Hindi. The all-India nationalist movement propagated Hindi as the Language that would bind all Indians. Incidentally placed its hopes in Tamil as the bond that would die together all Tamil speakers, Hindu, Muslim, and Christian. But Tamil opposed it strongly. Resistance to Congress initiatives for the spread of Hindi from the late 1930s to 1960s formed the cornerstone of Dravidian Tamil nationalism. The Dravidian movement for its part voiced its fear that 'Aryan culture' would be imposed in south to the neglect of Tamil.

For Ramasamy, one of the means by which Tamils could recover their self-respect was opposition to Hindi as the Sanskritic imposition of Brahmins. He was consistently opposed to Hindi propaganda in the south even as early as 1924-5. This resentment against Hindi was transformed into a mass agitation when the Congress government in July 1937 made Hindi

a Compulsory subject for the first three classes in 125 identified secondary schools. Ramasamy consciously incorporated Muslims within the Dravidian movement against Hindi by affirming that Muslims were Tamil. Muslims in turn responded through a significant participation in the anti-Hindi agitations. This clearly reflected their aspiration to be part of a Dravidian / Tamil 'community'. Tamil Muslim leaders were central figures in the anti-Hindi agitations and the meetings of the Tamil Nadu Muslims League between 1937 and 1940 provided a forum for protesting against Hindi. In fact, P. Khalifullah, a Muslim Leaguer and member of the Legislative Assembly, enjoys the distinction of being the first Tamil to raise his voice against the imposition of Hindi.

Subsequently when P. Khalifullah became a minister in the Interim Congress Ministry in Madras, he endorsed Urdu in the Hindi-Urdu controversy in north India. In 1937 he maintained that Urdu was a finely developed, majestic, and beautiful language. He argued that the Congress, in promoting Hindi, was trying to give life to a dying language and Urdu should instead be the lingua franca in order to give real significance to Hindu-Muslim unity. Other Tamil Muslims echoed Khalifullah's perspectives. K.M. Hanif of Coimbatore stated, if Hindu becomes compulsory, Muslim culture and civilization would surely be affected. For if Hindi becomes compulsory, then Muslims students would find it difficult to learn Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. Sultan Baghdadi, the editor of the Tamil Muslim journal samarasam, along with C.N Annadurai and Navalur Somasundara Bharathiar, participated in a meeting in Madras on 5 September 1937, to plan the first anti-Hindi agitation. Sharfudeen from Vellore and Mohideen from Tripipur were the other Muslim personalities who accompanied Khalifullah.

Muslim participation in the anti-Hindi agitations took different forms. S.K Mohammed Haneef composed a song asking Muslims to protect Tamil by taking part in the anti-Hindi agitation. Reminding his people that they belonged to the heroic community. Khaja Mian Rowther provided support to Ramasamy in August 1939 at Trichy. More than 2000 Muslims

turned up at a public meeting in Vaniyambadi to protest against Hindi. Moulvi S. Mohideen Baqawi, a Muslim Leaguer joined in the black flag protest at poraiyar in connection with the anti-Hindi agitation. At one anti-Hindi meeting on the Madras Triplicane Beach Muslims turned to face west to offer namaz, and then turned east to listen to the speeches of the meeting, Vellore Sharfudeen of the North Arcot Muslim League had spoken at this meeting in praise of Ramasamy and the agitation.

The dynamic and reciprocal nature of the interaction between Islam and the self-Respect movement was exemplified by the manner in which Ramasamy were invited to speak at the Prophet's Birthday celebrations and Daud Shah and Khalifullah proved to be a unique presence at these conferences. P. Khalifullah proved to be a unique presence at these conferences. He presided over the second north Arcot district self-Respect conferences at Ambur in November 1937 and hoisted the Tamil flag at the Coimbatore district Muslim League conference, and also spoke at the commencement of the anti-Hindi procession which left Trichy for Madras in August 1938. Khalifullah presided over a mammoth meeting of 50,000 Tamils in June 1938 on Madras Beach, and later in October 1938 condemned the arrest of the editor of the Dravidian paper Viduthalai.

The Tamil Nadu Muslim League's opposition to Hindi was both an opportunity for it to follow the central League leadership's policy the Hindi-Urdu issue as well as to maintain a local alliance with the self-Respect movement. Significantly, while Jinnah used the term 'Hindu' elsewhere, in the context of Madras, he likened Congress attempts to introduce Hindi for Muslims children in schools to thrusting a compulsory 'Aryan religion' on them. The self-Respect movement and the Muslim League had valuable allies in each other on the Hindi issue. The Congress argued that the propagation of Hindi/ Hindustani would promote Hindu-Muslim unity. Through such an argument, the congress sought to wean Muslims away from participation in the anti-Hindi agitations. It presented 'Hindi' to Tamil Muslims as 'Hindustani', and suggested that since Hindustani was, in its perception, a language of the 'Indian Muslims', Tamil Muslims could have no objection to it. In the manner,

Congress policy treated Tamil Muslims primarily as an all-India religious community.

Tamil Muslims were not persuaded by congress propaganda and continued their agitation. M.A Rahman, a Muslim Leaguer from Coimbatore, was unambiguous in his criticism of Rajagopalachari's claim that Muslims were in favour of Hindi. Rahman was critical of Muslims who endorsed the positions of Rajagopalachari in favour of Hindi. Congress assumptions regarding Indian religious communities was most visibly demonstrated in the nature of its propaganda material for the Muslim Mass Contact Campaign of 1939. It did not arrange its propaganda material in Tamil for Mass contact in south India. M.K. Kader, Secretary of the Kayalpattinam Town Congress Committee in Tirunelveli, was told by the All-India Congress Committee office in Allahabad that they did not possess this literature in English, but they did have some pamphlets in Urdu. It appeared that the congress took Muslims mass contact rather more seriously in the north than other part of India. M.K. Syed Ahmed, also from Kayalpattinam wrote to the AICC complaining that the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee (henceforth TNCC) was indifferent by informing the central leadership that it was enrolling Muslims briskly.

Another factor played a not insignificant role. If Tamil Muslims rejected the Congress contention that the adoption of Hindi would promote Hindu-Muslim unity, Dakhni Muslims, whose mother tongue was Urdu, accepted it more readily. The Tamil Muslim rejection of Hindi/Hindustani was not just a rejoinder to Congress policy but simultaneously challenged the power of Dakhni Muslims who were part of the Congress party in Tamil Nadu. When the subject of Hindi being introduced in the Madras presidency was debated in the Urdu Press, Nehru as AICC President enquires from Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of Madras, about the facilities available for those preferred to learn Hindustani in the Urdu rather than the Hindi script. In response Rajagopalachari hurried through a public statement, to make the position of his government and that of the Provincial Congress clear on the choice of script.

We have no such intention of forcing either the Devanagari or the Urdu script, but have definitely decided on leaving it as a matter for

option. It will be open to Mussalman children or others who prefer the Urdu script, to use and to be taught through and it would be equally open to those who prefer the Devanagari character to use it for learning the language. Rajagopalachari issued orders to the Madras Education Department to prepare and publish Hindustani books in both Devanagari and Urdu scripts. To approve these manuscripts, he also sought the help of a respected Muslim academic, Mohammed Abdul Haq of the Government Muslim College, Madras. The Education Department voiced Rajagopalachari concern regarding the recruitment of Hindustani teachers capable of handling the subject in the Urdu script. The reality was that many Hindustani teachers did not know the Urdu script. This seemed to justify the fears of Tamil and Dakhni Muslims that learning Hindustani would mean doing so in Devanagari. This was proved by a departmental survey which showed that Muslim students learning Hindustani in the Urdu script were only 325 in number, or one –third of all Muslim students enrolled in the compulsory introduction scheme in the Madras Presidency.

This offer a 'choice' on the question of the script appeared to prove attractive to Dakhni Muslims. However, Tamil Muslims found such a 'choice' over script meaningless when Hindi was

made compulsory. The very idea of Hindi was abhorrent, it was perceived as a mean of Brahmanization. Tamil Muslims rejected the communal harmony argument for promoting Hindi, Khalifullah, Jamal Mohammed, and V. Abdul Hakeem gave expression to this position. Consequently, the attempt of the Congress to make Tamil Muslims adhere to its language policy hardly made any headway. The communal harmony argument or the nationalist ideas regarding Hindu-Muslim unity was not relevant to Tamil Muslims, because through Ramasamy's leadership, community- formation in Tamil Nadu did not proceed along the lines of Hindu or Muslim but was subsumed under Dravidian and lower-caste solidarities.

The self-Respect movement accepted a multiplicity of identities as part of its Dravidian community-formation process, and Muslims were beneficiaries of such a process. The nature of the interaction between Muslims and the Self-Respect movement was dynamic and reciprocal. If the movement provided an occasion for Ramasamy to endorse Islam in Tamil society the anti-Hindu agitations gave Muslims an opportunity to assert their Tamilness. The relationship between the self-Respect movement and the Muslims in Tamil Nadu showed the latter's aspirations to be Dravidian and Tamil.

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THE ROLE OF PRESS AND WOMEN ISSUES IN TAMIL NADU – A STUDY

K.S. Jagadeesan

Introduction

Man from time immemorial has been curious to know about what, why, and how events have occurred. He tried to overcome the lack of information, knowledge, and communication gap in various ways. Finally, by his continuous striving and experimentation, the press came to the forefront.

Press is both an art and a profession, which records events and opinions and seek to interpret and mould them for the benefit of the educated public. The 'press' is the instrument for the growth of women's emancipation.¹ The term 'Press' is used in different senses in different contexts. It may also mean a medium of publication, namely any printed periodical work containing public news or comments on public news. In this sense, it covers newspapers, magazines, news services, etc, in general or the persons who wrote them, journalism or journalists.² In the words of the American Journalist G.F. Mott, 'The press is a full-fledged institution in our modern world and the various media utilized by the press are generally called by and now professionally united under the common name of journalism.'³

The role of the press is to keep the people well informed.⁴ Its functions are to inform, educate and entertain the public. While the primary function of the press is to provide the comprehensive and objective information in all aspects of the country's social, economic, political and cultural life, it has to play an educative and mobilising role.

Printing Press

The Portuguese introduced printing press in India in 1550.⁵ In 1674, the English East India Company started a press in Bombay. James Augustus Hickey, published the first Indian weekly, the *Bengal Gazette* in 1770.⁶ Gangadhar Bhattacharya was the first Indian to start the newspaper in 1816. '*Bengal Gazette*' following this, many newspapers were started and Indian journalism developed from the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century.

Dawn of the Press in Tamil Nadu

The genesis of the press in Tamil Nadu can be traced to the Sixteenth century. Christian Missionaries took the initiative in this direction and introduced printing press in Tamil Nadu. The first book printed in Tamil was '*The Holy Bible*' in 1573.⁷ Richard Johnston, a government servant started *Madras Courier*, the first English paper in the Madras Presidency in 1785.⁸ The *Government Gazette* and *Madras Gazette* were started in 1795.⁹ The '*Diravartamani*', a weekly reached the public in 1856. The Gantz Brothers founded the '*Madras Times*' in 1860.¹⁰ The Anglo Indian Journal '*Madras Mail*' appeared in December 1867 and the '*Madras Standard*' was started in 1877.

In 1878, G. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraragavachariar, P.V. Rangachariar, D. Kesava Rao Pant and N.Subba Rao Pant founded a nationalist weekly, '*The Hindu*'. It was a tri-weekly in 1883 and became a daily from 1st April, 1889.¹¹ During the early part of Nineteenth Century a number of journals in the vernacular languages began to grow. The role of Lord William Bentick the Governor General in developing the vernacular press was marvelous.¹²

The twentieth century witnessed the emergence of many papers in English as well as in the vernacular languages in Tamil Nadu. Certain Tamil papers like *Ananda Bodhini*, a monthly from Madras, *Ananda Vijayan*, a monthly from Coimbatore, *Ananda Vikatan*, monthly from Madras, *Bharata Mitran*, a weekly from Tanjore, *Desabhaktan*, a daily from Madras, Margaret Cousins edited a journal of the Women's Indian Association for many years and the name of the journal was '*Sri-Dharma*'.¹³ She established more than forty branches of the association all over India. *Swadesamitran* was followed by numerous publications in Tamil. In this period there was an increase in the number of Tamil journals. They played a pre-dominant role in the development of women's emancipation.

The first issue of *Desabhaktan* appeared on 7 December 1917. It was started by Subbaraya Kamath. The editor of *Desabhaktan* was Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaranar. Annie Beasant, the first

women president of the Indian National Congress, founded the journal *Desabhakthi* in 1917. *Navasakti* was started by Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaranar in 1920. The weekly *Kudi Arasu* started its publication on 2nd May, 1925. The editor of this journal was E.V. Ramaswami Naicker.¹⁴

Varadarajulu Naidu a freedom fighter started a daily on 14 April 1926, called *Tamil Nadu*. The editor of *Tamil Nadu* was T.S. Chockalingam. After leaving from the journal *Tamil Nadu*, Varadarajulu Naidu became the editor of *Gandhi*. It was started as a bi-weekly on 14 April 1931. The second issue of *Gandhi* was published on 17th April, 1931. On women's issues and concerns the multidimensional and crucial roles played by the print media are well known. The newspapers and magazines have been taking up pivotal issues concerning women.¹⁵

The newspapers and magazines published in the period of 1891 - 1947 were helpful for the growth of the freedom movement to a great extent. The news about women's activities were not given much importance. Only a few journals highlighted the emancipation of women. The contribution of the press and its role in independent movements was unique and memorable. Newspapers published episodes of the histories of the oppressed and suppressed women. The journals gave a deep knowledge to the public about the women's emancipation.

The press played an important role in spreading the importance of the womenfolk. The emergence of women's journal was indeed a glorious tribute to the reform movement.¹⁶ Some worthy achievements by women in different fields appear in daily newspapers from time to time, and almost all Indian language dailies carry a weekly women's section.¹⁷ A content analysis of this section would be needed before any comment be made on the subject matter of the sections and their views on the role and status of women. Press played a vital role to reflect the opinion of the people on various subjects. It was a powerful and popular media, which fought against a number of socio-economic political atrocities throughout the world.¹⁸

"Mathar Marumanam" encouraged the men to marry the widows by publishing proverbs and stories.¹⁹ Journal *Stri- Dharma* work for

women's labour to liberate the womenfolk from social and economic inhibitions.²⁰ The press like *"The Hindu"*, *Madras Times* and some other newspapers also supported the Age of Consent Bill of 1891, and many newspapers were brought out to work for the uplift of the women society. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there had been different interpretations of the origins and dynamics of subordination of women. Family had been viewed as the major site of women's oppression by the feminist writers. The feminist perspective emphasised the ideological dimension of family and its crucial role in women's subordination.²¹

There was large number of extended families in Tamilnadu in the dawn of the twentieth century. Though there were some merits in the system of extended family, the social scientists considered the system as anti-feminist. The Indian Ladies Magazine pointed out that a joint family life was a very fine thing when taken in the right spirit but it was always hard from the point of women liberation.²² A woman is the important member of the family and she acts in various roles as wife, mother and daughter. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the family was the place where women suffered a number of tensions. Women had suffered due to the heterogeneous nature of the society with its structure based on social and economic inequalities. With the result, widows not only suffer with social and economic sanctions but also face many psychological consequences, loneliness and in many cases deprivation causing emotional disturbances and imbalance.²³

There were different categories of widows: the aged, the destitute, the young and even widows of tender age etc., and each category of widows had their own problems. They might be considered by others to be dangerously inauspicious.²⁴ The extended families did a little bit of good to the young widows.²⁵ The *Kudiyarasu* revealed a shocking report that according to the senses of 1921, there were 11,892 child widows in Tamilnadu.

The Kudiyarasu expressed its different view to proclaim the sufferings of the widows to the world that sati was painful for one day whereas widowhood was most painful for the lifetime. E.V.Ramasamy wrote in the Kudiyarasu that Rajaram Mohan Roy should be blamed and

responsible for the tears and moans of widows, unless he worked hard for the enactment of the Abolition of Sati Act, the widows could be immolated with the dead bodies of their husbands. "Madhar Marumanam" was a journal published by Maragathavalli from Karaikudi from 1936. The Tamil heading itself means widow re-marriage. This was the only magazine which worked for the cause of widow re-marriage.

Home Imprisonment

Isolation and imprisonment of widows inside the dwelling was considered the manifest destiny. It was the compulsion of the time for widows not to see the outer world but settle in the murky corners of the house. It suggested that the sastras should be amended, in favour of widows, and as per the amendment, the widows should without much ado be allowed to move liberally in the outer world.²⁶

Wifehood problems

For a girl, her birth place was not considered her enduring living place. It taught them how to be enslaved in their husbands' place. In short, it served as a seminary for the young girls who were liable to be shifted, to another place.²⁷ The parents and relatives imparted the conservative thoughts in the minds of the girls. After marriage, their beliefs on those ideas strengthened due to the new circumstances. The women's slavery was tightened one more time in the name of chastity. It is known 'Karpu' (Chastity) in Tamil. The fundamentalists made it female oriented."

The Parental Attitude

The parental attitude towards their daughters extensively differed from that towards their sons. Particularly in the matter of marriage the parents exposed uneven attitude towards their daughters. They always showed their great interest in arranging marriage for their sons, whereas they felt their daughter's marriage as an unbearable burden. They used to utter the phrase 'blaze in their stomach' regarding their daughter's life.²⁸

It was considered a basic necessity to shatter the conservative family laws.²⁹ The Stri-Dharma supported the initiative of the Government of Bombay in enacting the law to prevent the unequal marriages, like marriages

between a man of 48 and a girl below 18. It requested the Government of Madras to bring in such law to protect women's rights.

Immoral Traffic of Women

Journal, *Stri-Dharma* published articles to highlight the importance of the suppression of brothels and immoral traffic. At the instigation of Women's Indian Association and press, the Suppression of Brothels and Immoral Traffic Act was introduced in Madras Legislative Council in December in 1927 by K.R. Venkatarama Iyer. The journal, *New India* remarks, the Madras Legislative Council deserves to be congratulated warmly on the passing of this measure.³⁰ It is to be hoped that the government will take steps to bring it into force as early as possible.

Journal, *Dravidian* observes: This Bill should be enforced throughout the Madras Presidency, if the traffic in girls for the purpose of prostitution is to be completely got rid of.³¹

Journal, *Swadeshbhimani* wrote thus: This Bill has been passed into law. But we do not know on whom the responsibility of showing them a way thereafter, to learn a decent living has fallen. The government do not provide for their livelihood. Then, they should get themselves married.³² If even that was not possible, providing for the educated among them with such appointments as teaching and clerkships may perhaps enable them to lead decent lives. The Journal, *Catholic Leader* wrote that it was a pity the government declined to take financial responsibility for the organizing rescue homes where the girls whom the law saved might lead a new and a pure life.

Devadasi System

Press and the social reformers of the Nineteenth Century raised a cry against the prevalence of devadasi system. The discountenancing of the system was begun by missionaries and taken up by Brahma Samaj and other social reformers. The Secretary of State to the Government of India sent a dispatch.

Indian Ladies Magazine observed while the legislature measures were going on in one side to eradicate the devadasi system, the Self-Respecters were also propagating the evils of dedicating girls for prostitution in the name of religion. *Indian Ladies Magazine* again reported

that owing to the pressure from the public and government the number of those dedicated was declining and many temples stopped the services of the devadasis in the temple premises. To educate people on this issue, he used his creative talent and wrote a satire, *Vesypriya Prahasanamu* in which he ably met all the arguments of the reform, for example, the possible damage to music and fine arts if the devadasi system was abolished.³³ *Satyasam Vardhani* a monthly journal, stated a movement against devadasi system at Madras. In the Madras Presidency meetings were held by the Women's Associations to get the support of the public and press to the Bill.

'The Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act in 1929', which provided the devadasis the rights of holding and enjoying the imams. But they did not stop the practice of prostitution and dedication of girls as devadasis. The amendment act was also silent. Hence, Muthulakshmi Reddy decided to enact a new act to put an end to the devadasi system.³⁴ In 1929 she prepared a Bill to be introduced in the Madras Legislative Council. Newspaper, *India Today* wrote that the efforts of the press, social reformers, education of the people, the oppressive measures of government on prostitution, and the enactment of the devadasis prevention act resulted in the abolition of the age old devadasi system in Tamil Nadu.

Women Labourers

The press, the Women's Indian Association and some other societies took an effort to elevate the economic position of women. There were a number of meetings called especially for women labourers by the various unions and took up special schemes like baby welfare, crèches, etc., for the women workers.³⁵ These women workers were becoming active in the labour movement of the city.

Dowry

Almost all the papers of that time insisted on the evils of the dowry system often. The deprived unmarried girls were mostly affected by this social evil. Even after knowing that it was a social evil, most of the grooms accepted or demanded dowry without any hesitation. To escapee from the questions of the society, the grooms laid blame on the women of the family.

The Madhar Marumanam listed the demerits of the dowry system as follows:

- It deteriorated the female value in the society
- It made marriage a commercial deal
- It created unhappiness, while a female child was born
- It resulted in female illiteracy
- It resulted in late marriage of deprived girls
- Even good-looking and brilliant girls could not get married
- It created bewilderments inside the family
- It resulted in extravagancy and
- Moral degeneration of the young men who got married to rich girls.

The magazine requested the society to avoid such practices of dowry; the dowry system should be abolished.

The Press and the Right to Divorce

According to the Kudiarasu, the marriage was nothing but an agreement between husband and wife. In course of time if they felt to break the bond, they could go for divorce without any hesitation. It considered the right to divorce to women as a symbol of liberation. A Women's Conference held in Madras on November 16 and 17, 1929 resolved in favour of the right to divorce women. The Kudiyarasu unequivocally welcomed it. The paper said that it was nothing but a legal safeguard for women and it would not increase the numbers of divorcees. It counselled the protesters not to be frightened of the act. It opined that it would certainly not ruin chastity. When the "Justice", the paper of the Justice Party.

The Hindu and **The Mail** wrote against the resolution, the Kudiyarasu expressed its shock and criticised their opinion. It regularly insisted on the necessity of the right to divorce women.³⁶

Press on the Women's Health Awareness

Next to education, the most vital need for women is health. The health of a nation's women is the greatest asset, because only healthy women can produce healthy children. The out

reach of health services was very poor in respect to women of Tamilnadu in those days. Examinations of in-and-out patients' records of medical institutions made known that for every three men who benefited of these facilities only one woman did so. Knowing the facts, the press in Tamilnadu observed this problem as socio-health problem. The Kudiয়ারasu published an article on the evils of purdah system. The Sri-Dharma argued that purdah did not have spiritual and religious authority either in Islam and Hinduism.

The Madhar Marumanam criticised the conservatives who safeguarded this system by parcelling the women within the cloth in the name of purdah system and put them in house imprisonment. Even though the liberal press in Tamilnadu voiced for removing the purdah, the tone was not sound enough to succeed. Few journals pointed out the evils of this system whereas few journals made efforts in the form of soothing the Muslim community. But the majority of the Muslim press vehemently opposed the elimination of the socio-health evil.³⁷

There was no doubt that the women suffered a lot of issues inside and outside of the family such as wifehood problem, widow hood hardships, conservative social ideas, lack of health consciousness, and the problem of dowry. The male chauvinistic society didn't consider their sufferings. Even the affected women willingly accepted the sufferings as God's gifts. Thus, public opinion was created by the press, which broke the social impasses against women in the subsequent days.

The term, "Press", at present, refers to dailies, weeklies, monthlies and journals. In the words of A.R. Desai, the Press in India was an effective weapon in the hands of social reform groups to expose social evils. The Press in the Colonial Tamil Nadu, during the period of this study, richly contributed to the growth of the social reforms movement also, which, to a large extent was part of the national movement. Sita Ram Singh observed, that nationalism and social reform 'went hand in glove' during the national movement in India. What he said about the close alliance between nationalism and social reform in India between 1885 and 1947, was true of the Colonial Tamil Nadu during the period between 1891 and 1947.

Majority of the nationalist press in the Colonial Tamil Nadu, supported the various issues connected with social reform. However, a few papers, like the *The Hindu*, *Swadesamitan*, *New India*, *Indian Patriot*, *Tamil Nadu*, *Swarjya* highlighted nationalist ideas and expressed very conservative opinions on aspects connected with the social reform. Finally, the Bill was passed. The Madras Devadasis (prevention of dedication) Act (Act No XXXI of 1947) was passed on November 25, 1947 by which the devadasi system was ultimately abolished.

The important newspapers were *The Madras Mail*, *The Hindu*, *Swadesamithran*, *Kudi Arasu*, *New India*, *Sri-Dharma*, *Madhar Marumanam*, etc. The *Madras Mail* commented that women should be given equal rights with men in all spheres of life.' The deplorable condition of women in the society was highlighted time to time. Child marriage was condemned in the editorial of *Madras Mail*.

It received great importance in *Hindu* and *Swadesamitan*. The *Madras Times* congratulated a group of social reformers who endorsed a petition to the Government of India to pass the proposed Bill on the Age of Consent. Annie Besant wrote in *New India* about the abolition of child marriage. *New India* supported the Post Puberty Marriage Bill in the Central Legislative Council. Again she emphasized in the paper, *New India* that "only if they educated the girls, the country will show progress.

Madhar Marumanam, a journal from Madras, encouraged men to marry the widows. Widow remarriage was highlighted in this journal. Now, articles related to women in the journals are very few in number". *Sri-Dharma* appealed to the Government that "women should have the right to vote and then only women would have an equal share in the society".³⁸

Conclusion

There was no doubt that the women suffered a lot of issues inside and outside of the family such as wifehood problem, widow hood hardships, conservative social ideas, lack of health consciousness, and the problem of dowry. The male chauvinistic society didn't consider their sufferings. Even the affected women willingly accepted the sufferings as God's gifts. Thus, public opinion was created by the press,

which broke the social impasses against women in the subsequent days.

In 1937, the Government of India passed the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act in the Central Legislative Assembly. *Kudi Arasu* propounded an alternative idea that "giving a share of our property to our daughters, the daughters-in-law will also bring in their share of property to our family. Today, the modern women of Tamil Nadu realise the fact that home

is not the only environment of activity. In spite of education, Tamil Nadu remains one of the upcoming states in women's literacy. At present, women's movements are trying to build up a new womenhood. In this way, the press plays a commendable role in the evolution of women's emancipation. Therefore, the problem of women are discussed today even by illiterate people. There is no doubt that even in future, the press will analyse women's problems and publish them for the benefit of the people.

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MADRAS I.C.S. MEN AND THE CAUSE OF NON- BRAHMINS' COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

R. Jaganath

The paper attempts to highlight the favourable stand of the Madras Government and Madras I.C.S. Men in promoting the interests of the non-Brahmins and their demand for

communal representation in the erstwhile Madras Presidency in the second decade of the Twentieth Century. More immediately, the Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland, and his

Executive Council, including Sir Alexander Cardew, directly helped the non-Brahman cause by insisting communal representation as the basis for the entire Reforms scheme. A number of Madras I.C.S. men actively assisted the non-Brahmins, and in particular the Justice Party, in their demand for communal representation as the best way of modifying Brahman supremacy. These British Officials began to realize that, the preponderance of the Brahmins in Indian National Congress and in British Administrative and other state services would be dangerous to their prosperity. Hence, they attempted to check the influence of the Brahmins in all possible ways.

I.C.S. Officials

The ways in which officials in the Madras Government assisted the Justice Party cause differed according to the persons involved and the situation. Sir Alexander Cardew, a Member of the Madras Executive Council in his evidence before the Public Service Commission in 1913 described in detail about the relative positions of the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins in the public service of the Madras Presidency. He also viewed that if simultaneous examinations in England and India for admission into the Indian Civil Service were introduced, the Brahmins, whom he characterized as "a small rigidly exclusive caste" would swamp civil service.¹ According to Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, editor of the *Hindu*, even before the Reforms Scheme was published one senior member of the I.C.S. in Madras, H. F. Gillman, told K. Vyasa Rao, a journalist and a Brahmin, to stop supporting the Home Rule movement.² T.M. Nair declared this to be false.³ But it is undeniable that a member of the I.C.S., a former Vellala converted to Christianity named Kumaraswami Tampoe, actually joined the Justice Party,⁴ and another Indian member of the Madras I.C.S., a Beri Chetti named V. Venugopal Chetti, a senior man in the service by 1917, played a very active role as Collector in increasing the proportion of non-Brahmins who were recruited to government services.⁵

Madras Government's Stand on Franchise Scheme

In answer to an inquiry from the Government of India as to the nature of the franchise structure preferred by the Madras Government, the Acting Chief Secretary in

Madras wrote back that the Governor was convinced that it was quite premature to implement any scheme of franchise for Madras Presidency "on accepted theories," even though he recognized that the Government of India had pledged itself to some advance in this direction.⁶ If the burden of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was to transform the Provincial Legislative Councils from advisory bodies to ones possessing mandatory powers, the Madras government stated that a council of this nature would not represent the interests of the Presidency. Any scheme that employed a system of franchise using territorial electorates would result in most of the seats being captured by Brahmins, as the exclusive spirit of the Brahmins would secure a solid Brahmin vote in favour of Brahman candidates."

In answer to the argument that the great majority of voter who would be enfranchised would not be Brahmins but in fact non-Brahman caste Hindus, the Madras government posted that as the right to vote moved further and further down the social hierarchy the more the lower castes were under the control of the Brahmins. They believed that this control would express itself in the election of a large number of Brahmin politicians by a largely non-Brahman electorate. To substantiate their claim, they pointed to the results of elections to the Legislative Councils under the Minto-Morley Reforms. In 1909, out of 13 seats that were "open" electorates available to members elected by local bodies (the indirect system by which elections to the Legislative Councils were held), 9 seats went to non-Brahman caste Hindus and only 3 to Brahmins; in 1916, out of 15 seats then open to such representatives of local bodies, 10 went to Brahmins and only 5 to non-Brahman caste Hindus. It was the opinion of the Madras government that these Brahmins had been elected not only by Brahmin voters (there were 1,921 in 1916) but by a considerable number of non-Brahmin caste Hindu voters (3,495 in 1916).

Against Broadening Franchise and Territorial Electorates

The Madras Government rejected both the broadening of the franchise and the construction of a franchise system based on territorial rather than communal electorates. First of all, these measures would give the vote to a large number

of illiterate voters. Secondly, untouchables, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians (i.e., Eurasians), and Europeans would find no representation on the councils. Thirdly, a sufficiently trained staff to manage the elections involving a large number of illiterates would be unobtainable. A widening of the franchise would simply not represent the interests of the "great mass of the people of the Madras Presidency."⁷ To meet the fears of the non-Brahmin caste Hindus and to ensure proper representation of all interests in the Madras Presidency, the Madras Government recommended a franchise system which would "provide communal electorates freely" wherever possible, and under which nomination would be resorted to only when communal electorates could not be used. But since the Madras Government had been requested by the Government of India to provide a scheme based on territorial constituencies, it did so, but it also drew up its own franchise structure based on communal electorates in which non-Brahmin caste Hindus would have reserved for them 30 out of a total of 76 seats open for election.

South borough and Feetham Committees in Madras

The authors of the Report on Indian constitutional reforms though outlined the general principles, left the details regarding the nature of the new franchise system and the exact divisions of the functions of government to be worked out and decided by two important government committees called, the Southborough and Feetham Committees. The composition of the Southborough Committee became a controversial issue. It totally excluded non-Brahmins but included two Brahmins, one from Madras, V.S.Srinivasa Sastri (the political opponent of T.M.Nair) and other from Bengal, Surendranath Banerjee. They were Congressmen and staunch opponents of the non-Brahmin Movement and its demand for communal representation.⁸ The newspaper, Justice described V.S. Srinivasa Sastri as 'pronounced Madras Brahmin' and 'the advocate in the Imperial Legislative Council of Brahmin Oligarchy.'⁹ By the time the Southborough Franchise Committee and the Peetham Function Committee finally arrived in Madras, T.M. Nair and other Justice leaders had decided not to appear before the Southborough inquiry,¹⁰ and the Madras Executive Council and Madras

Governor Pentland had hardened in their opposition to either a broadening of the franchise or the creation of territorial electorates. Southborough pleaded for an increase in the electorate from Lord Pentland's proposal of 0.8 of one percent of the population to the one percent or even two percent of the population which other provinces had considered reasonable, but the Madras Government was unwilling to give in at all.¹¹ The Feetham Committee, concerned with the division of subjects between reserved and transferred departments, fared no better. M. E. Couchman, who represented the Madras Government on the Feetham Committee, would not recommend the transfer of "any subject in Madras. unless separate provision [in the Legislative Council] is made for the non-Brahmins,"¹² and he was unwilling to transfer even fisheries to Indian control because the "higher castes, who take the leading part in political life in the Madras Presidency, do not themselves eat fish and have so far displayed little interest in the subject of Fisheries."¹³

Non-Co-operation of the Madras Government

The Madras Government did not cooperate with either the Southborough Committee or the Feetham Committee, and its simultaneous insistence both upon communal representation and upon a very limited broadening of the franchise can be considered in part as a means by which a bureaucratic government was protecting its interests against pressures from Britain and to some extent from the Government of India to make the government of the Madras Presidency more of a popular institution. The Madras Government's refusal to compromise was also basically connected with its fear of a Brahmin take-over was well pointed out by Lord Southborough when he appeared before the Joint Select Committee in London in 1919 thus: I am not sure that we could not have made an arrangement with the Madras Government as to the number of electors and the franchise if there had not been overlying difficulties surrounding us, the principle of which, as the Joint Committee know was the quarrel as to communal representation for the purpose of putting a check to the preponderance of power alleged to be in the Brahmin community. . . I could not point to any assent on the part of the Government of Madras, but I think the dissent of the Government

of Madras, when we concluded our labours with them, remained on the communal questions, and not with regard to the electorate.¹⁴

The Madras consultations were unpleasant for Southborough and his committee members, and he had little hesitation about pointing it out to the Joint Select Committee. The non-Brahman demands for communal electorates were, Southborough said, "as a detailed question, as distinct from all-overriding difficulty . . . the most awkward thing we had to deal with. It was really a question peculiar to Madras."¹⁵

Stand of Feetham and the Southborough Committees

Both the Feetham and the Southborough Committees entirely disregarded the protests of the Madras Government. Couchman's pleas that excise and fisheries should remain reserved departments were overruled by the Feetham Committee, and the Southborough Committee went about constructing a franchise system for Madras which applied communal representation only to Muslims, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Indian Christians, and used territorial constituencies for the remaining electorates which represented about 1.3 percent of the total population.¹⁶ The Southborough inquiry considered not only a system whereby the number of Brahmins elected to the Legislative Councils could be limited,¹⁷ but also a system giving reserved seats for non-Brahmans in plural member constituencies. The latter system provided that if there were two seats in one territorial constituency (a district or Madras city) and one of these seats was reserved for a non-Brahmin, the non-Brahman who polled the highest number of votes would win the reserved seat; the other seat could be held by any one, Brahmin or non-Brahmin - whoever polled the second largest number of votes. This proposal, for reserving a certain number of seats for non-Brahmins in constituencies where either Brahmins or non-Brahmins could vote appealed to the South borough Committee, and it recommended that this line of inquiry be taken up in future negotiations.¹⁸

Apart from these rather hesitant attempts to solve the impasse created by the Madras situation, the Southborough Committee was frankly unwilling to go along with the views of the Madras Government, or of the Justice Party,

especially since T.M. Nair, P. Theagaraya Chetty, and K. V. Reddy Naidu had refused to appear before the committee and had therefore deprived it of "all power of intervention and made a settlement by consent impossible."¹⁹ The Committee was baffled by the uncompromising attitude of the Justice Party (the Madras Presidency Association did appear before it) and offered a word or two of advice. "We cannot but think," the Southborough Report stated (p. 9), "that, if the capacity already devoted to politics among the non-Brahmins were utilized in organising this great majority, the non-Brahmins would make itself effectually felt despite the power and influence of the Brahmins."

Resentment of the Madras Government

In all this, it was fear of the Brahmins usurping political power in an electoral structure without communal electorates that determined the attitude of the Madras Government. Both the Southborough and the Feetham committees found the Madras Government quite as impossible an institution as had Montagu a year before, unwilling to change its conception of its role and demanding that problems in Madras were unique and required special handling. In the same way as the Madras Government had resented the release of Annie Besant as the instigator of political agitation supported by south Indian Brahmins, so also it found the demands of the Secretary of State that it widen the franchise and expose the non-Brahmans to Brahmin politicking gratuitous and unnecessary. T.M. Nair's unwillingness to cooperate with the Southborough Committee sprang partly from the Justice leadership's awareness of the feelings of the Governor and his Council toward the Justice Party's demands, and suggests an amazing confidence in the belief that its boycott of a governmental body would not harm its chances of ultimate victory. The boycott move was viewed by a few Justicites as a bad political strategy. But T.M.Nair's conviction on the issue ultimately prevailed over them. Even he was aware on the risks of antagonizing the committee. However, the support the non-Brahmin leaders expected from the Madras I.C.S. Men and Lord Pentland perhaps took them to such an extreme step of boycott.²⁰

As the upholders of communal justice, some Madras I.C.S. British Officials with the sense of fairness, equity and justice like,

Governor Wenlock, Governor Elphinstone, Governor Pentland, Charles. Todhunter, M.E.Couchman, W.R.Carnish and Alexander Cardew realized that the Brahmins unduly usurped and monopolized most of the posts. With the idea of providing reservation, and clipping the feathers of the Brahmin dominated Congress, the British Government willingly came to the rescue of the non-Brahmin leaders like T.M.Nair, P.Theagaraya Chetty and Natesa Mudaliar. The British Administrators like Alexander Cardew provided necessary data

about the domination of the Brahmins in all the State and Public Services. The injustice rendered to the non-Brahmins in the administrative set up, made the British to evolve reservation policy aiming at communal representation to all. The Madras Government strongly opposed the ulterior motives of the Southborough and Feetham Committees. T.M.Nair, the captain and guide of the non-Brahmin Movement, in the version of P.Rajaraman, openly boycotted the Southborough Committee on the encouragement renders by the Madras I.C.S.Men.

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A FRAGMENTARY NETWORK: THE JUDICATURE OF PRE-BRITISH COCHIN

Jose Kuriakose

The beginning of British rule in India was a major turning point in the history of India. The colonizer has used different tools for the subjugation of the natives such as colonial education, survey, census, mapping, environment etc. Making of judicature and the introduction of a new legal system is such a tool to anglicanise and control the native society. Tracing the history of jurisprudence¹ is a very interesting task for the scholars of law but for a student of History it is the study of evolution through ages. The current legal system that we are practicing is not the result of a single day of practice but it is the product of evolution. Making of judicature is a part of judicialization. It is concerned with the working of judiciary rather than the science of law.

India is a land of personal laws².

The judicial system based on 'Rule of law' was a tool to make a uniform pattern of legal system based on codes. For this British had a definite plan and they played a key role in the judicialization of the country³

The system of Judicature of the Portuguese and the Dutch

In 1791, Raja of Cochin put an end to the Mysore connection and entered into a treaty with the English East India Company. Cochin became a subsidiary ally in 1809. After this Britain began to control the native society of Cochin. There was a drastic change in the system of administration of justice, when Colonel Munro became the Diwan in 1812.

The pre-British legal system had some similarities in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

Adjudication in these areas was based on prevailing customs and *Maryadas*. It was different from religion to religion and caste to caste.

The Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians had different judicial systems based on their beliefs and customs. But it is interesting to note down the different punishment system existed for different communities. In the case of *Brahmins* they were exempted from death sentence. The *Jews Vaniyans* and *Kongani* community was also enjoyed some privileges in Cochin in the pre-British period. Customs and *Maryada* was the basis of law and *Dharmasastra* considered as the supreme code of law.

The punishment for the crimes was were very cruel and harsh. The Village assemblies based on their customs and practices pronounced judgements. Sometimes the punishment was based on a moral sanction inflicted upon the culprit. During the time of Sakthan Thampuran more centralized mechanism of legal order came into existence

The early colonial legal engagements of the Cochin were by the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Portuguese had a short time in Cochin even though they had established their own legal system. They didn't acknowledge the authority of Cochin Raja in legal matters⁴. The openly proclaims that they were under the Portuguese law and the authority of the Pope. They insisted that all the Christians in Cochin had to be under the control of the Portuguese legal machinery. But the legal ambitions of the Portuguese was short lived as they were conquered by the Dutch.

The Dutch had a clear cut legal system in Cochin. The system of appointing government pleaders was started by the Dutch. The government pleaders were known as *Advocate-Fiscal*, by this he had to contest on behalf of both the parties⁵. The peculiar thing is the procedure was in Dutch language. There was interpreters helped the parties to understand the language. The Christians comes under the Dutch domination by the treaty of 1663⁶. Judicial authority of the raja of Cochin was encroached by the *Konkani* community of Cochin. They were given special concession in the Dutch rule.

Judicial Administration in the Pre-British Period

The King was the final authority of law. King was helped by a group of ministers in the judicial administration. Under the King the *Naduvazhis* had exercised judicial powers. Caste assemblies during this time was very powerful and it seems that this assemblies based on their rituals and tradition had the complete authority in judicial matters.

Severe punishments were inflicted by the assemblies. Even the trial was sometimes very cruel that it leads to *trial by ordeal*. To prove the guilt, harsh methods were used. If the parties are Christians or Muslims the decision was largely based on Christian law and Mohammedan law respectively. Caste offences are generally referred to caste assemblies. The evidence of the women and slaves were generally not accepted. The complaints in the serious case were subjected to *trial by ordeal*.

The kings of Cochin followed *Sukraneethi* and this code describes the rules and procedures for the kings. It tells king is the protector of the universe. He has to give extra care to the widows and orphans. His duty is to kill the enemies. He has to keep the *Dandaneethi*⁸ and by this his subjects should fear their ruler. For the administration of justice he has to make tours all over the country in disguise. Even the ministers should be punished with iron hand. A powerful king should rule the state as per the *Neethi sastras* such as *Sukraneethi*, *Danda neethi*, *Agni Puranokthithi*. The ruler should try his best in the impartial administration of justice. His judgments were closely resembled in the Principles embodied in the *Varnasrama Dharma* and *Yajnavalkyasmrithi*.

During the period of Sakthan Thampuran, administration of justice had done with an iron hand and he had a clear vision of justice. His period from 1791 to 1805 was an epoch in the judicial history of Cochin. Sakthan was so efficient in the administration of justice. He had a hawk's eye in the administration of justice.

The Rajah exercised *Danda Neethi* which imparted severe punishment for every wrongs committed by the wrong doer. He directly confiscated the property of the corrupt official in to the central treasury.⁹ Attempts of rape, poisoning and attempt of murder with a weapon should be given capital punishment. The corrupt officials, who had the responsibility to protect the

people should be expelled from the country after confiscating the property.¹⁰ The environmental consideration of Sakthan Thampuran was amazing in the administration of justice.

Codes of Procedure

Prior to the British rule, customs or *Maryadas* were the foundations of the administration of justice in Princely Cochin. These customs were believed to be more or less based on the *Dharmasastras*.¹¹ *Maryada* (custom) was the basis of administering judicial administration. The administration of justice was based on text of *Dharmasastras* and, *Vyavaharamala*. In special cases other *vedic* text like *vedas* and *Upanishads* were also followed. The legal system in the pre-British period was not uniform. As mentioned earlier caste assemblies had a dominant role in the administration of justice.

Vyavaharamala was the law book of Travancore and Cochin written during the late medieval period in Kerala by Mazhamangalam Narayanan Namboothiri. The text is 500 years old. It was a law code with punishments prevalent before the 19th century.

The role of religion can be well understood by the practice of *Smarthanvicharam*. It is a case of sexual misconduct committed by a woman. The caste assembly had a major role in conducting the enquiry. If the suspicion persists even after the enquiry, the matter is reported to the Rajah. With the permission of the king the *smartha* of the suspected lady was conducted in a cruel manner. If she found guilty, she has to reveal the name of the persons involved otherwise the members of the family prostrate before the accused for the wrong they had committed. This ceremony is called *Kshamanamaskaram*.¹² A case of *Smarthavicharam* was reported in Cochin in 1829¹³.

The Role of Kariagars in the Administration of Justice

The *karyagars*, who were the collectors of revenue, managed the administrations of justice before the judicial reforms. The feudal chieftains lost power by the treaty of 1762 and *karyagars* were entrusted the duty of revenue collection. By

this time the Cochin state had an administrative unit called *Taluks*. The *karyagars* were rough and very stiff in their civil administration. These functionaries were not only revenue officers, but also judges, magistrates, and police officers and to a more limited extent, military governors of their respective districts. The *karyagars* became very powerful and they enjoyed extra ordinary powers. This *karyagars*, who applied pure commonsense and they are unaware about the laws in the *Dharma sastras*.¹⁴ The Colonel Munro became the First *Diwan* of Cochin in the year 1812. When he became the *Diwan* he was already entrusted with the *diwanship* of the princely state of Travancore. The first step of the Diwan was to suppress the extra ordinary powers exercised by the *karyagars*. According to the Colonel "The authority of the *kariagars* enabled them to prosecute the system of rapine, fraud and coercion, which I have described, and it was essential to the purity of the revenue administration of the country that they should be divested of the magisterial functions which they possessed. But the views which I have stated could not be accomplished by any half measures; they could be accomplished only by reducing the *kariagars* merely to the office of revenue servants and depriving them of all direct authority over the persons or property of the people"¹⁵. Thus by the early attempts of the Diwan, *karyagars* were divested of their judicial and police powers and their duties were confined to revenue collection only.

The legal system currently in India bears very close resemblance to what the British left to us.¹⁶ The East India Company, which ruled parts of India in the eighteenth century, took steps to introduce their own judicial and political administration in its territories. When the British came to India they realized that there were dispute resolution systems of various types in different geographical regions. Cochin was not an exception. As a result, a new hybrid legal system with the elements of English institutions, Hindu and Muslim elements began to slowly emerge in Cochin. British in Cochin never rejected the existence of judicial system in India. However, they saw these as 'primitive'. As per the needs of the changing times, amendments were made, but still the procedure, which is followed at present, has its roots of colonial period

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CONTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS TO HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN TAMIL NADU, 1916-17

K. Kalaiarasi

With the launching of the Home Rule Movement, geared up by spirit of nationalism and longing to acquire self-rule, the heterogenous social groups started to shoulder the Movement, by resorting to organize Home Rule meetings, classes, drills etc. This article tries to account the contribution of different social groups for sustaining of home rule surge in Tamil Nadu.

Public Involvement in Home Rule League Branches

Mrs.Besant's Home Rule League was important in Madras. By August 1916 it had 110 branches in the Presidency, which was more than all the branches in the other parts of India.¹ Later in September 1917, there were 132 branches including 65 in Tamil Nadu, 46 in Andhra, 12 in the Kannada speaking areas and 9 in Malabar.² In a letter to *New India*, Arundale stated that the Home Rule League had 5000 members in the Madras Presidency.³ According to a government record there were 147 branches of Home Rule League in Madras Presidency by the end of 1917. By this time, the subscriptions to the 'Besant Fund' amounted to Rs.52391.⁴ This reflected the strength in those areas of the Theosophical Society nearly 40% of whose Indian members and 56% of whose lodges were in Madras Presidency.⁵ The theosophists comprised a proportion of the membership of the League of one-sixth. The members of the Home Rule Leagues were largely drawn from the same

groups and the carried on the agitational demand for self-government. They were very much consisted of villagers and as well as townfolk.⁷ In Tamil Nadu the league branches varied widely in size. The Salem branch claimed 60 in December 1916. The branches also varied widely in the scope and intensity of their activities: some published pamphlets in the regional languages, some sent lecturers and organisers into villages and a number of them opened libraries and reading rooms of Home Rule material. Many branches organised discussion groups and most, ranged public meetings and lectures to discuss and foster the demand for self-government at the end of the war.⁸

The press played an important role in the Movement. The newspapers *New India*, *Swadeshmitran*, *Indian Patriot*, *The Hindu* and *Prapanchamitran* had the largest circulation in Tamil Nadu and they were housed in the libraries.

The Home Rule Movement contained a considerable number of non-Brahmans, however, including such figures as P.Kesava Pillai, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, P.Varadarajulu Naidu, Adhinarayana Chetti, T.V.Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, K.P.Raman Menon and George Joseph. They formed the Pro-Home Rule Madras Presidency Association.¹⁰ Although supported by some wealthy landowners and traders, the

Madras Presidency Association did not have adequate financial resources. It claimed a much larger membership of 2,500 in 26 branches and it published a Tamil newspaper, *Desabhaktan*, and the English *Indian Patriot*, which ran at the contribution made good by merchants who supported Mr. Besant's agitation.¹²

A number of non-Brahmin caste associations such as the Vanniakula Kshatriyas, the Arya Vaisyas and the Kammas also backed the Home Rule Movement.¹³ Even the Home Rulers sought and won support among the relatively compact urban proletariat and low caste groups. The First World War drew up prices and this contributed to an outbreak of strikes in later 1917. The Home Rule League and the Madras Presidency Association assisted strikers with funds and advice and went on to organize trade unions among railway workers and mill workers in Madras, Nagapattinam and Madurai.¹⁴ The pro-Home Rule non-Brahmin bodies in order to compete successfully for the non-Brahmin support, they demanded safeguards and opportunities for the acquisition of power by the non-Brahmin communities. Hence, Madras Presidency Association demanded separate electorates for some depressed communities and occupational groups in which non-Brahmins figured prominently as well as the reservation of two-thirds of the seats in general constituencies for non-Brahmins. Aiming constitutional prestige, some of the non-Brahmin forms patronized the Home Rule Movement and they were active members of the Leagues.¹⁵

The year 1917 witnessed a quickening of national consciousness throughout India and widely popular agitation in favour of Home Rule. Home Rule League branches were established all over Tamil Nadu. Madras government brought repression on the political agitation.¹⁶

Young Men's Indian Association

A Home Rule League meeting was held at Young Men's Indian Association, Madras on 13 October, 1916 with Mrs. Besant in the chair for the purpose of inviting suggestions to the formulation of a definite programme for Home Rule Movement. A special Home Rule classes twice in a week were held in the Association premises.¹⁷

The Association took part in the distribution of political pamphlets of Mrs. Besant.

Mrs. Besant and other top rank leaders took active part on student affairs and interacted with them through the organisation of Boys Scouts and sports. The members of the Association made debates, mock parliaments, libraries and reading rooms for creating the political consciousness among the youths. It organised group discussions mostly based on the subjects of Indian finance, Local self-government etc. Mrs. Besant concentrated on the student community, middle class merchants, lawyers, and youths to create the political activity towards attaining of self-rule. She instituted home rule classes. Mrs. Besant strongly felt that drill, physical exercises, games, fencing, Indian sword play and science of self-defense must be trained to students and it should be a part of curriculum. Boy Scout and cadets must be trained. Patriotism nourished by Indian History.¹⁹

Arundale served and guided the students and teachers in colleges and he inspired the student community with his patriotic ideals. Mrs. Besant asked the Boys Scouts and volunteers to involve and to do social work and help the poor.²⁰ Mrs. Besant clearly stated that our policy to encourage students to study life around them to work with motives of patriotism, religion and service, to read news papers, and study the thoughts and listen to the world of public men though not take active part in politics.²¹ On 1 March, 1917, a meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall, Young Men's Indian Association under the presidency of Mrs. Besant at which 500 people reported to have their names. C.P. Ramasamy Iyer, Advocate, A. Rangasamy Iyengar, Journalist were among them.²² On 27 February, 1917, a Home Rule meeting was held at the Association to protest against the orders passed by the Punjab Government and by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi prohibiting Tilak and B.C. Pal from entering into their respective Provinces.²³

Home Rule Volunteers Corps

Home Rule Volunteers Corps training was held on 14 November, 1916. The primary purpose of the Home Rule Volunteers Corps was to keep up order at league's meetings. The volunteers wore crimson turbans with the prescribed uniform. Home Rule classes for volunteers were held most of the cities in Tamil Nadu including St. Joseph College, Trichirappalli, Government College, Kumbakonam, Youth

Association, Dindigul and Mission's college, Cuddalore. In most of the times, the proceedings were interrupted by police and consequently resulted in abrupt end.²⁴

Theosophists

The Theosophical Society of Tamil Nadu stood in support of the Home Rule Movement. The Theosophical Society founded in New York in 1875 by Colonel H.S.Olcott and Madame H.P. Blavatsky. In the words of one of its founders, aimed at three main objectives to promote a feeling of brotherhood among men regardless of race, creed or colour; to promote the study of Aryan and other religions, philosophies, and sciences; and to promote experimental research into the hidden laws of Nature and the latent capabilities of man.²⁶ Consequent on their arrival in Bombay, the theosophist leaders were flooded with inquiries, emanating as much from Indians including Tamilians.²⁸

In 1893, when Mrs.Besant arrived in Madras to join Olcott, the Theosophical Movement had found a fresh impetus and had begun to recapture some of the popularity that it had enjoyed in Tamil Nadu especially in Madras city. In this revival, Mrs.Besant played a crucial role. Possessing considerable personal charm, she toured many parts of Tamil Nadu and stirred the audiences by the eloquence of her lecture and by her knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion and science. The Theosophist leaders had brought back to Hindu the vital spark of self-respect which were about to lose".²⁹ The Hindu social reforms, for their part lamented that Mrs.Besant strengthened the spiritual pride of the Hindus "with a bigotry and plausibility of reasoning unknown to the orthodox".³⁰ This reform group was essentially force of change offering alternative models for achieving social modernization within the Hindu community. Reformers sought to inspire change along rationalist lines and in the light of western social experience, the revivalists wanted to find largely Indian prescriptions to regenerate their society. That the later were committed to change was attested by their decision to organise the Madras Hindu Association in 1904.³¹ Mrs.Besant organised a meeting of the theosophists, at Adyar in September, 1916, and put forward a fourfold plan of reforms for religious practices, education, social customs, and politics. The four point programme corresponded to the four fold

constitutions spirit, mind, emotion, and physical body.³²

The Theosophical Society established the Theosophical Educational Trust in 1913 to spread out in the country.³³ The Theosophical Society started the Central Hindu College at Benaras in 1898, a successful institution in which Hinduism is an integral part of the education. After fifteen years of independent life, being recognised as the leading National Hindu Institution, it was handed over to the Hindu University as the University college, then expanding into fuller and larger life. The Society has founded five girls schools as well as boys in different parts of Tamil Nadu. The Society has also a number of schools for the depressed classes five in Madras.³⁴ The Theosophists had instituted training centres and they were attended by thousands of people. Thus the Theosophical society and its elite men rendered a great service in the field of education through these various institutions. The theosophical institution helped to grow the Indian nation along its own lines and to develop in its own way the boy scouts formed by the society helped to develop a character among the boys.³⁵

The new political development under the banner of Home Rule League resulted in numerous speeches, processions and strikes by the theosophists all over Tamil Nadu.³⁷ Further, these anti-British activities took concrete shape with the ramification of a number of branches Home Rule League branches at Chinglepet, Vadalore, Ariyalur, Thirumayim and other places in 1916-17. To spread theosophical ideologies, Theosophical lodges were constituted widely in Madras Presidency. A report from Thanjavur District Collector reveals that V.K.Ramanuja Achariyar, President, theosophical Lodge, Thanjavur, hold a Home Rule meeting inspite of local objections against using the lodge for political purposes. Thirteen people attended it out of the whole of Kumbakonam. The Madras government very much concerned with political interest of theosophical lodges and as a result used to launch such organizations.³⁸ The members of the league have organized lectures and group discussions in cities like Madurai, Madras, Trichireppalli and other places.³⁹

Harisarvothama Rao who was the Secretary for Andhra Branch of the League, wrote several pamphlets for propaganda of the

Movement the titles were 'Why Swaraj' The Idea and the Ideal of Home Rule'.

Mrs. Besant pleaded for establishing of home rule organisations at district, taluk and village levels. She said that, the increase in the number of district committees was one of signs of growing political life of the country. The network of political agitation and association spread over the country, supporting and strengthening of each other, ready to move in common direction, and to organise the expression of public opinion. The district and taluk committees could act as instrument for educating the people by distribution of literature, by lectures, by discussions by the establishment of free-reading rooms. This was an established fact that there were more than 127 Home Rule branches at different levels.⁴²

Madras Parliament

Mrs. Besant established the 'Madras Parliament' a debating society to popularise parliamentary forms and methods. This Parliament discussed all public questions and remedy political and social deadlocks. The valuable series of papers and pamphlets published by the Home Rule League and also on self-government bills were discussed in Madras Parliament.⁴³ Apart from these, it stood to promote the civic Education of the citizens.⁴⁴ Several prominent political leaders became its members. In Madras, Justice Sadasiva Iyer was induced to join the 'Madras Parliament'. By constant and vigorous efforts of Mrs.Besant, many leaders joined the Home Rule Movement from all Tamil Nadu. Among them were S.Subramania Iyer, A.Rangaswamy Iyengar, C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer, V.S. Srinivasa Sastry O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar and many others. The Madras Parliament meeting was held on 26 November, 1916 for discussing separation of executive and judicial functions. Mrs.Besant herself took part in the debates for the purpose of answering the arguments from the Home Rule leaders and spectators. A number of meetings of Madras Parliament were held in 1916-17. In March 1917, Madras Parliament session was held where in religious education bill and emigration bill were discussed.⁴⁵

Women's Contribution

The active participation of women in the Home Rule Movement, calls for specific reference. On the 14 September, a special meeting was held in a Triplicane Mandapam, attended by some three hundred ladies, mostly Brahmins but also Vaisyas, and including Mrs.Jinarajadasa and another English lady from the Adyar settlement. The meeting was addressed among others by Mrs.Sivakamu Ammal and was followed by a procession to an adjacent temple, bearing a portrait of Mrs.Besant and flying a large Home Rule flag. The women's procession was avowedly undertaken in order to test whether the police would interfere, having regard to the orders previously issued prohibiting general processions.⁴⁸ Mrs.Audinarayana Chetti is one of the women Home Rulers endeavor to stir up her fellow women to be more active in politics by citing the life of the Rani of Jhansi.

As a result of their Home Rule agitation, Margaret Cousins was inspired to organize a protest meetings in Madras, Villupuram, Tindivanam, Kumbakonam and other places.⁴⁹ In 1917 the interest of the women in the movement for Home Rule was deeply stirred and stimulated by the internment of Mrs.Besant Besant and hence the Women Indian Association branches took active part in obtaining her release. As the Home Rule agitation became vigorous everywhere it made the government to come out with an announcement on 20 August 1918 that the ultimate goal of the British in ruling the country was to a responsible government. This announcement was made by Montague, the secretary of state and was called the August Declaration. He visited Bombay in December 1917 and met the leaders of the Home Rule League Tilak, Mrs.Besant and Jinnah. Montague Chelmsford report was published in July 1918, formally announcing responsible movement as the goal for India. This was followed by the release of Mrs.Besant and other agitators. Mrs.Besant withdrew her Home Rule movement as she felt that no more propaganda was necessary for the Home Rule because the Movement achieved its main objective with Montague declaration.⁵⁰

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"CONTRIBUTION OF BRITISHERS TO MOUNTAIN RAILWAY AND COMMUNICATION IN NILGIRI DISTRICT"

P. Kanni

The natives of the Nilgiris developed no technique of transport. Before the advent of the Europeans, the hills had neither wheeled vehicles (including the cattle drawn traditional carts) nor improvised roads. The steep slopes and rough terrain often intercepted by swamps, sholas and streams posed challenges to means of communication, which the natives hardly cared to respond. Herding the cattle patch and Swidden cultivation did not demand any transport messages were passed from person to person. Their produces like ghee (Clarified butter) honey and other minor forest products were carried of human shoulders as far as

Sirumugai, Karamadai, and Gundalpet. They exchanged them for grains, cloths and other essential goods.¹ Movements were entirely on foot only. Hence beaten foot- paths alone were the links between the hamlets and between the plateau and the plains. The hill communities have developed a good custom of hospitality on this background that any new – comer or passers by is freely offered a drink. This culture was nothing but their past necessity to treat the weary travellers.

A goods transport system is indispensable for the Nilgiris plantations, farming and such

other activities. The Indian princess, the European planters and officers and the tourists brought upto date vehicles to the hills.

Marvels of the Nilgiris Mountain Railway

The Nilgiris Mountain Railway was one of the marvels of the European engineering skill. Its introduction provided another opening into the tight shells of the hills. It added one more feather in the proud crown of the 'Queen of Hills'. Its bearing on the Nilgiris economy and tourist industry for nearly one century is of great importance. The Railway line underlines the Europeans deeds.

The proposal for a railway up to Coonoor was mooted in 1854, long before the completion of Coonoor ghat. On completion of broad gauge between Podhanur and Mettupalayam, in early 1870's several proposals were made for mountain line. The engineers of Darjeeling Railways expressed their enthusiasm in establishing a mountain railway in Kotagiri valley, Wellington and Ootacamund². M. Riggerbach, a Swiss Engineer and the very inventor of the Rigi system of mountain railways offered to take up the constructions, in 1876, on the same conditions. Government poured cold waters on this scheme. The hybrid project of Railways and Ropeway. Proposed by the duke of Buckingham in the following year also met the same fate. The Planters and the residents formed the Nilgiris Rigi Railway Company Limited in 1880 and Riggerbach assisted by Major Morant, the District Engineer made preliminary investigation.³

The terms and conditions between the company and the government could not be finalised and the company was squashed soon. A new company, called the Nilgiris Railway Company, was formed in 1885 with a capital of Rupees 25 lakhs, raised in London. After a contract made with the Government, and a survey made by W.G.Gilchrist, a state Railway Engineer, the company commenced the work with the first sod cut by Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras, on August 3, 1891.⁴ However the company was not able to complete the construction of the line was liquidated in 1894. A new company was turned and it purchased and completed the line in 1898. The line was handed over to the Madras Railway company. But a severe cyclonic storm damaged it soon.

The rebuilt line was opened in June 1899. The Government purchased the line on January 1, 1903.⁵ The total cost of the Mettupalayam – coonoor line came to Rs 38,00,000 /-.Nineteen viaducts several of them are 60 feet high and 13 tunnels, the longest being 481 feet length, were the reasons for a huge initial cost. ABT rack type or Rigi system of track was laid between Kallar and Coonoor. The method consisted of two steel racks laid in the centre of rails and bolted to the sleepers. The engines were provided with two sets of cylinders whose pinions engage with the teeth of the racks. This system ensures smooth and safe climbing over the rugged hilly track. This is the only one of its kind in India and second in the world.⁶ The primary objective of the work is to trace the course of transport and communication in the Nilgiris. To learn the reasons that led to the development of transport and communications. The contribution of the various levels of administration The line render the hills more accessible from other parts of South India. The slow train journey through the wooded slopes, precipitous cliffs and gushing mountain streams, has never failed to thrill the passengers then or now.

Postal

Postal service was extended to the residents of Ootacamund as early as 1826. The first post office in the Nilgiris was opened in Ootacamund in that year.⁷ Though the actual location of the first post office is not known, Fredrick Price says that it ought to have been in the original, travellers' bungalow. The post office was changed to many places in Ootacamund. A room in the public quarter No. 1 was appropriated for post office.⁸ It finally came to the present building (Head Post Office, near the Collectorate) built originally for the Commandant's office and other public offices in 1829. The Collector's office was constructed in 1866. The public offices were shifted to the new building placing the entire old building at the disposal of the post office, which occupied only a portion of it till then. The first post office when was under, military hand had one writer and two delivery peons.⁹ This post office delivered 2,000 covers per day during the summer and 700 during the off season and earned a revenue of Rupees 68,000 per year.¹⁰ Before postal stamps were introduced postage was calculated taking the weight and distance into account. It costed 8

annas (Rupees 0.50) for a letter weighing up to one tola to reach Madras from Ooty. It took five days.¹¹

Postal stamps were introduced in 1854 and the criteria of distance disappeared. Relay runners were posted in both the Coonoor and Gudalur ghat. Horse were employed for quick services. Another post office was opened in the stables of the Commandant of the Madras Regimental Centre, Wellington in 1855.¹² This served the military station and later on was called as Wellington, Barracks, Post Office.¹³ There are certain interesting points to be noted here, letters on arrival were collected by the addressees. However, those need peons for delivery. The arrival and departure of overland mails were marked by hoisting flags.¹⁴

Arrivals of pay were also made known to the residents of Ootacamund by the same method perhaps using different colours of flags. Flag staffs were erected by private subscriptions in 1856, in front of the public office which was replaced by new one at a cost of Rupees 354 from the government.¹⁵ There is also references of the post offices working in the evening and during night. Money order facilities were extended to Ootacamund and Coonoor. The business was conducted not by post offices but by the Treasury department, the commission was 2 percent.¹⁶ The residents of the Nilgiris were very keen in the table functions of the post offices for it was an important link with their mother countries. These were occasions of removal of lapel peons for misconduct.¹⁷ The abolition of present system and the introduction of Tongas in 1878 ensured quick service.¹⁸ The postal service's literally crossed the mountain barriers.

Telegraph system

Introduction of telegraph was another milestone in the progressive European impact in the Nilgiris. It took one century for telegraph to reach from the land of its origin. Command of France invented telegraph in 1787. The British laid the first line in India between Agra and Calcutta in 1853 which went a long way in quelling the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The Nilgiris was fortunate to get the service within two years of its introduction in India.

The residents in the hills were numerous. European Regiments were stationed at Jakatalla. The role of the telegraphic line between the capital and important stations in North India during the mutiny was well known. These things could not bring enough pressure on the government but the proposal visit of marquis of Dalhousie of the hills in 1855 compelled the authorities to provide Ootacamund and Kotagiri with telegraph.¹⁹

A temporary line which was made for the convenience of the Governor General was completed between Bangalore and Ootacamund in February 1855. The line was established through Srirangapattanam, Mysore, Gundalpet and Sigur. The bamboo poles were replaced by solid teak poles. Lord Dalhousie received the first message through this line on April 1, 1855.²⁰ The telegraph office was opened on May 4, 1855. On the slope behind the library, the rates were Rupees 1-0-0 for 6 words with India and Rupees 1-8-0 for 8 words to Burma and Ceylon.²¹

Memoranda were received by Lord Dalhousie for extension of the line to Coonoor, Coimbatore and Palghat. He sent directions to the Madras Government accordingly. By the end of the year 1855 Ootacamund was connected with Callicut. The Ootacamund-Mettupalayam-Madras line was completed at a later stage but not until 1871-72.²² Telegraph communications system between the Secretariat offices and the Government offices residing in Ootacamund was established in May 1883.

The development made by the Europeans in the fields of transport and communication were the gifts to the hills. Novel railways system, efficient post and telegram system which were installed by trained hand of the Europeans and enormous manpower of the pioneers and convicts.

The hills originally had no wheeled vehicle and road. By laying paths, construction of roads in the 1820's the European pioneers successfully responded to the challenges of hard ground, the severity of which was too much to the slender tribal's of the Nilgiris hitherto.

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DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION FROM 1947 TO 1986

P. Kantharuby

Introduction

The development of education in India has a long history. A number of historical accounts on indigenous education have been documented. Apart from the accounts derived from Greek and Chinese travelers, many inscriptions also survive to highlight the activities of ancient educational institutions of India. They include the universities of Nalanda and Taxila in the north and the famous Ghatika of Kanchi in south India. It should be noted that there was Exchange of knowledge not only between different parts of India but also between various parts of the world during ancient times. For example, there are accounts of more than 200 Chinese scholars who spent extensive periods of time in India during the first millennium. Amartya Sen has elaborately dealt with the epistemic process between India and China in his book of the *Argumentative Indian*.¹

Educational Status in India during the Pre-British Period

The information on indigenous education for the pre-British period has been compiled by many scholars. Among them the work of

Dharampal, the well known Gandhian and historian of Indian Science, is a detailed account of me extensive indigenous system of education that was thriving in India before me British. The book is tided as *The Beautiful Tree*.² It is significant to mention that indigenous education was carried out through *pathshalas*, *madrassahs* and *giiruhilas*. These three institutions were the source of traditional knowledge systems in India and played a very significant role in the Indian education. Dharampal quotes Sir Thomas Munro, the famous British Governor of the Madras Presidency during the first quarter of nineteenth century, who observed that "every village had a school".³ Further, William Adam's observations that there existed about 1,00,000 village schools in Bengal and Bihar around the 1830s confirms Munro's remark on the state of indigenous education in India during the pre-British period.³

Education in India had witnessed a significant change after the commencement of the British rule. Not only the method and content of education got transformed but also the percentage of population who had access to education was considerable dwindled. The

English East India Company government's policies such as the introduction of western system of education and English as medium of education proved detrimental to the growth of indigenous system of learning. Mahatma Gandhi observed during the early part of twentieth century two main points on Indian education: "(1) Today India is more illiterate than it was fifty or hundred years ago; and (2) The British administrators instead of looking after education and other matters which had existed, began to root them out".⁴ In fact, Gandhi described the traditional educational system as a beautiful tree that was destroyed during British rule.

In its judgment in Unnikrishnan Case, 1993, the Supreme Court held that: "The citizens of this country have a fundamental right to education. This right flows from Article 21 of the Constitution. The right is however, not an absolute right. Its content and parameters have to be determined in the light of Articles 45 and 41 of the Constitution. Thus, every child, who is a citizen of this country, has a fundamental right to free education until he completes the age of fourteen years. Thereafter, his right to education is subject to the limits of economic capacity and development of the state."⁵

The Supreme Court emphasized that, "the State should honour the command of Article 45. It must be made a reality, at least now."⁶

National Policy on Education-1968.

The recommendation of the Kothari Education commission were considered by various educational organizations and institutions. A number of debates and conferences were held on these recommendations. The Commission recommended that the government of India should issue a statement on the national Policy on Educational policy on Education which should provide guidance to the State Government and the local authorities in preparing and implementing educational plans. Therefore, the Government of India constituted a committee of Members of Parliament on Education to prepare the draft of a statement on the National Policy of Education.⁷ Later, this draft was considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education, the highest policy-making body in education. Based on a general consensus arrived at the Board's deliberations, a Resolution on the

national policy on education was adopted in the Indian Parliament in 1968.

Growth of Primary Education in Tamil Nadu

The Tamil Nadu State has always been in the forefront of the spread of elementary education. The idea of universalization of primary education became vibrant in Tamil Nadu when K. Kamaraj was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu (1954 - 1963). When C. Rajagopalachari was the Chief Minister, he made an attempt to introduce the system of education based on one's family vocation - *Kula Kalvi Thittam*.³⁰ It was strongly resisted by Periyar E.V.R. and other Dravidian leaders. Within the Congress Party, Kamaraj and some others opposed this reactionary move in the educational.⁸

When Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in 1954, he got rid of Rajaji's *Kula Kalvi Thittam*. Instead, Kamaraj worked hard to expand the primary education through the nook and corner of the State. He reopened the 6000 schools closed by the previous government for financial reasons and also added 12000 more schools in the state. In fact, Tamil Nadu State made immense strides in education during the rule of Perunthalaivar Kamarajar.⁹

New schools were opened, so that poor rural students were to walk no more than three miles to their nearest school. Better facilities were added to existing ones. No village remained without a primary school and no village panchayat without a high school. Kamaraj strove to eradicate illiteracy by introducing free and compulsory education up to the eleventh standard.

Kamaraj had also introduced the Mid-day Meal Scheme to provide at least one meal per day to the lakhs of poor school children. It was considered the first time in the whole world. There is an interesting story about how Kamaraj got the idea of a noon meal scheme. The spark is said to have occurred in a small village called Cheranmahadevi in Tirunelveli District of Tamil Nadu. Kamaraj was a very simple person who used to travel in his car and was not accustomed to convoys. On one such journey, he had to stop at the railway intersection in Cheranmahadevi and got out of the car and waited. He saw a few boys busy with their cows and goats. The Chief Minister had asked one small boy, "What are you doing with these cows? Why didn't you go to

school?" The boy immediately answered, "If I go to school, will you give me food to eat? I can learn only if I eat." The boy's retort sparked the entire process into establishing the Mid-Day Meal programme.¹⁰

He also introduced free school uniforms to weed out caste, creed and class distinctions among young minds. Kamaraj remained Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for three consecutive terms. Kamaraj noticed that the Congress party was slowly losing its vigor. He came up with a plan which was called the "Kamaraj Plan". On October 2, 1963, he resigned from the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Post. He proposed that all senior Congress leaders should resign from their posts and devote all their energy to the revitalization of the Congress.

In order to honour the services of Kamaraj, who opened many schools in Tamil Nadu so as to remove the darkness of illiteracy and worked hard for the improvement of education, the Tamil Nadu Government declared 15 July, the birthday of Kamarajar as the "Education Improvement Day". Arrangements have been made in the schools so that school children are celebrating the birthday of Kamaraj by decorating the portrait of Kamaraj.¹¹

Later, when M.G. Ramachandran became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, the Mid Day Meal scheme was revamped. There was a public debate at that time about the pioneer of the meals scheme provided for the school children. It was found that one of the pioneers of the scheme is the Madras Presidency that started providing cooked meals to children in corporation schools in the Madras city in 1923.

The programme was introduced in a large scale in 1960s under the Chief Minister ship of K. Kamaraj. But, the first major thrust came in 1982 when the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M. G. Ramachandran, decided to universalize the scheme for all children in government schools in primary classes.³⁴ Subsequently, the programme was expanded to cover all children up to class 10. Tamil Nadu's Mid-Day Meal programme became popular through out the country. Thereafter, several other states of India also emulated Tamil Nadu and introduced mid-day meal programmes. The most notable among them is Gujarat that has had it since the late 1980s. Kerala started providing cooked meals in schools since 1995 and so did Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in small pockets. On November 28, 2001 the Supreme Court of India gave a landmark direction, which made it obligatory for the government to provide cooked meals to all children in all government and government assisted primary schools. The direction was resisted vigorously by State governments initially, but the programmed has become almost universal by 2005.¹²

In fact, Tamil Nadu remains the pioneer in providing Noon Meal Scheme to school children through which the most important impediment in the spread of primary education has been removed. Thus, the process of universalization of primary education in Tamil Nadu was based on the cooperation of the Government of India and the Tamil Nadu State Government. Both National and regional leaders took efforts to spread the primary education in Tamilnadu. The formulation of National policy has reached another land mark in the form National Education Policy in 1986.

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THE ROLE OF DALIT WOMEN IN HYDERABAD FREEDOM MOVEMENT, SPECIAL REFERENCE TO T.N. SADA LAXMI

Kishore Sirgamalla

The dominant politics in Telangana in both colonial and post independent India are challenged by Dalits. The Dalit leadership during colonial period was emerged from various streams like Congress and Gandhian, Hindu reformist and Arya Samaj traditions and Amedkaarite politics. It is worthy to recognise that along with Dalit male, and Dalit women emerged as powerful leader and politician such as TN Sadalaxmi came from Congress and Gandhian influence, she has played critical historical role in democratizing mainstream politics and advancing the Dalit discourse.

TN Sada Laxmi was born on 25th December 1928 in Bollaram in a place called Pensionpura Mehthar Basthi. Her parents were Karre Gopamma, Kondaiah.¹ A reformer named Chaduvu Puli Narsimlu encouraged Sadalaxmi to pursue education, with his encouragement she joined in Middle School Bollaram, later she continued her education in Keys High School². With support of then education minister, BS Venkat Rao, she joined in Nizam College and due to some reasons she shifted to Madras Quens Mary College. She had to come to Hyderabad and enter into active politics without by dropping her education at her plus two level education. She actively participated in the struggles against then Nizam. She participated in the movement called Join India. She was greatly influenced by Gandhi and Ambedakar. Subsequently she married her childhood friend TV Narayana.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was the first man who thought intellectually to redeem women from uppercaste and dalit women from lower caste from the bandage of Indian Hindu caste system and Hindu Patriarchy. This was a beginning of new era for dalit women's empowerment. Is 'educate, agitate and organize' have faith in yourself? With justice on our side, I do not see how we can lose our battle. The battle to me is a matter of joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing social or material in it. For ours is a battle not for wealth or for power, it

is a battle for freedom. It is a battle for the reclamation of human personality.³

Her life not only revolves around political events but also takes a social revolutionary standing to oppose the hierarchical structures of society. Here, Sadalakshmi's social activism is much more influential, revolutionary and progressive than that of her political activism. Her interest to participate in socio-political activities has developed from her childhood onwards. She has always derived her strength from the basic teachings and speeches of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and from her political guru Babu Jagjeevan Ram. She has shown keen interest in participating in the socio-political activities taking inspiration from these great ideologues and intelligentsia. These influential events have driven her towards a democratic society. Therefore, Sadalakshmi is not typically seen as a political activist but as a social activist, social reformist, and social revolutionist who asserts claiming of her rights, voice and opinion for which lead empowering herself and empowering Dalit communities.

Sadalaxmi had to experience many ups and downs in her political career. She contested for the MP from Sulthanbad constituency in Karimnagar District⁴. Then she was the congress candidate. She could not win in that elections due to massive influence of communist parties even Congress party stalwarts like PV Narasihma Rao lost in those elections. But Sadalaxmi could not give up her efforts she actively continued her political life. In 1957 she contested from Kamareddy constituency in Nizamabad district then onwards she progressed in her political life by occupying various positions in the government and political parties where she worked in. In the tenure of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, the Chief Minister of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh State, she served as the as the Minister for Endowment department, when Damodaram Sanjeevaiah was the Chief Mibnister she was made as the Deputy speaker⁵, thus she is considered to be the first deputy speaker in the state history. When Ayyadevara

Kalaeswara Rao, then Speaker of the Assembly, was ill she acted as the speaker and effectively conducted the business in the assembly. In the government of Kasu Brahmananda Reddy she was taken as the Minister for Social Welfare Department. As the minister for the department of endowment she succeeded in the affairs of assets of Nizam Trust.

Through this revolutionary stand T. N Sadalakshmi could challenge the dominant hegemonic ideological structures. This demonstrates her self-assertion, self-affirmation and activism towards social democracy stemmed from her struggles to survive.

T. N Sadalakshmi through her power politics could transform and reform the ministries in which she took charge. As a minister of Endowment, Social welfare and as the Assembly speaker, she has brought tremendous reforms in these portfolios. Yet there was huge criticism and opposition to her considerable democratic deeds. But she never bent down to the criticism and carried out her policies and implemented them very successfully in a democratic manner. This shows her activism and assertion within political life and reminds us that if a dalit woman like Sadalakshmi has power, there will be no question of inequality, poverty, discrimination and injustice. Also one can imagine a society's progress keeping in mind all sections of the society. Without T. N Sadalakshmi's assertion of the self through activism be it social and political, there wouldn't have been the realization of Telangana statehood. She was the forerunner of separate Telangana state agitation movement during her life time. Though she faced double oppression from social and political sphere she never stepped down and never bowed down to any oppression. During her life time, she had given more importance to socio-democratic values which would establish human spirit and harmony in the society.

She worked in Congress for thirty years till 1977, when Babu Jagjeevan Ram resigned from Congress and established Congress for Democracy, she followed Babu Jagjeevan and joined in that party, soon after this party merged with Janatha Party. In 1977 itself she worked as the Secretary and President at national level.

In 1982 when Telugu Desham Party was established she was invited and was offered vice-

President position. In election manifesto she ensured large proportion of representation for Arudatiray's. She supported the SC categorization movement subsequently extending her support to Madiga Dandora movement.

T. N Sadalakshmi's life long struggle was not for political cause and concern but for the social cause and concern of Dalit of women to provide adequate resources to rejoin her Dalit women and create a home of egalitarianism and humanitarianism on the ground of social cause. This reflects her consciousness of Dalit intellectual thought. Sadalakshmi says "I don't know why I am so interested in socio-political activities. Before my marriage I was involved in activities and after marriage also I am engrossed in activities. As a student I was so active. So much zeal I have." ⁶

Even though she was exploited and discriminated in the hands of dominant caste groups, she was firm and determined to pursue social justice without any inhibition. In one of her speeches she very firmly and rigidly says that "Even if they were scornful of me, yet I'm determined to carry out my responsibility as a representative of my community." ⁷ (Shyamala, 143) This was the strength and courage of T. N Sadalakshmi's activism and assertion. Through her ideal speeches she tries to implant the seeds of socio-political activism in the minds of Dalit Bahujan communities.

T.N Sadalakshmi as a woman and as a downtrodden woman at that time had encountered double oppression in terms of caste and gender. She clearly repudiated these forms of oppression and raised her voice against such inhuman practices. For instance, when she was a member of Congress party, she had participated in campaigns. After the campaign all party leaders had gathered for a lunch break in a house of a dominant caste member. All members belong to dominant caste were having lunch inside the house but members belong to lower caste were given lunch outside the house. This type of discrimination on caste lines had irked and infuriated Sadalakshmi much. She instantly ran into the house and questioned the upper caste members for their inhuman treatment of Dalit communities within the realm of one political party. This made her realize that leadership and politics is a different sphere. They

needed strategies and wisdom to tame the dominant spectrum of society.

In 1968-69 Jai Telangana Movement started, in that movement she played a vital role. Sadalaxmi Presided the first meeting of Telangana Prajasamithi in Reddy Hostel. She gave inspiring speeches during Telangana Movements. When Chenna Reddy was arrested in this movement, Sadalaxmi took up complete leadership responsibility of the movement and ran the movement. As she became a threat to the government as she was getting overwhelming response from the people, she was arrested and was put in Chenchalguda jail. She grossly condemned the leaders who sold out the Telangana movement.

T.N Sadalakshmi as a downtrodden woman primarily stood for dalit women's cause and rights to uphold their interests in every sphere. She was always objective in the perception of her role as a dalit woman to work independently without giving chance to others to define what her position is. She led a women's procession from Keshav Memorial School, Narayanaguda to the Assembly and appealed to women to participate in the 'Chalo Assembly', procession to prove their unity and determination that they were prepared to sacrifice themselves for the preservation of

democracy and achieve a separate state for Telangana. She gave a slogan that "Women warriors, arise to speak up."⁸ For this, she worked day and night knowing her limits of reason and wisdom. Swathy Margaret underscores that "If we do not define ourselves for ourselves, we will be defined by others, for their use and to our detriment."⁹ T. N Sadalakshmi's voice needs to be looked at from dalit feminist point of view as it is a representative of all dalit women who are oppressed and silenced.

Subsequently, she won in the elections when she contested representing Telangana Praja Samithi Party. That was evident how people were committed to Telangana movement under the leadership of Sadalaxmi. As Telangana Praja Samithi was merged with Congress, she joined the Telanagana State Congress party which was founded by Konda Laxman Bapuji and contested from Secunderabad constituency but she could not win in that election. Sadalaxmi dedicated her life in uplifting downtrodden. In this process she started many organizations such as Bandhu Seva Mandali, Arunditeeya Mahasabha, Backward Class Federation, Babu Jagjeevanram Trust. She worked as the chairman for Lead Cap. She continued her political life actively for four decades.

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ERODING COLONIAL LEGITIMACY THROUGH MASS MOBILIZATION: A CRITIQUE OF GANDHI'S POLITICAL STRATEGY

P. Laina

The present paper is an attempt to highlight Gandhian political strategy in the context of the Indian National Movement. Mass mobilization is considered as an important aspect of his strategy. Though large elements of the strategy adopted by the Indian National Congress evolved during

the Moderate and Extremist phases of the movement, it was structured and completed during the Gandhian phase of the movement and in Gandhi's political practice. Present paper focuses on the period, 1917-47. The work is both interpretative and analytical.

The British who took India by force consolidated their rule in India by introducing the rule of law, western education, representative institutions etc. Colonial policy depended on the nature of politics and economy in the Metropolis as well as the emerging trends in the colony. Its interest was to prolong its rule as long as possible for which the colonial masters changed their policy from time to time depending on the nature of exploitation. Colonial state in India cannot be considered as autocratic or authoritative in nature nor as hegemonic in character. The western models that British introduced in India included the mechanisms of civil society. The public meetings, press campaigns against the government, interview with the government officials etc. were allowed in colonial India. The existence of the Indian National Congress, which organized mass mobilizations against government on such a wide a scale shows that the British state was not purely autocratic or authoritative state. The rule of law which the British government established in India was in a limited sense when compared to that of a modern state. The colonial ideology behind the introduction of rule of law and education was not basically for the improvement or modernization of Indian society. Instead it was through which they tries to get support of a section of the people to their rule.

The political strategy that Gandhi evolved was conditioned by and suited to a semi-hegemonic state like colonial India. The British who took India by force consolidated their power in India by adopting some measures to collaborate with the native people. The central question of Gandhian strategy was how to organize mass action against the colonial government. The basic assumptions on which Gandhian strategy depended were that individuals are the ultimate source of power, no government can rule without the consent of the ruled and modern state intruded into areas which were once considered private. With the introduction of rule of law, western education and representative institutions etc. they established their legitimacy in India. Gandhi's effort was to erode this legitimacy by withdrawing the consent of the masses to the colonial authority. Gandhi's struggle against the British was a fight against power. According to Burrowes, Gandhi's struggle in India was based

on his understanding that "illegitimate power can work only in certain circumstances"¹.

The Non Cooperation Movement of 1920 was aimed at withdrawing the consent which a government obtained from its subjects. The non-cooperation movement involved the deliberate withdrawal of cooperation with the state by organizing strikes, boycotts, no-tax campaigns, boycott of British courts, legislative bodies and elections. Political non-cooperation included acts of civil disobedience – the deliberate, open and peaceful violation of particular laws, regulations, or instructions believed to be orally objectionable or unreasonable.² Non Cooperation with the government results in the loss of prestige of the government. Thus the government lost its prestige during the non-violent non-cooperation of 1920, which it never regained. "Titles, law courts, educational institutions no longer inspire the awe they did in 1920"³

Gandhi offered non-violence as the means to make non-cooperation effective against British rule in India. He chose non-violence not only for ethical reasons but also for its practical utility. In a letter to Viceroy Chelmsford he wrote ... "half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so"⁴. Only a non-violent movement could get the support of the masses. Large scale mass participation on the lines of non-violence alone could make non-cooperation successful. Acceptance by the Indian National Congress of his non-violent technique was not a moral or religious act but a political decision because Gandhi offered a course of action which was seen to be practical and effective.

Governments find it difficult to take action against non-violent movements: "Repression against non-violent resisters can alienate various groups further so that it actually weakens the opponents and strengthens the non-violent group"⁵ The government at first decided not to take any action against Gandhi while the non-cooperation movement of 1920 was going on. George Lowndes, a British Officer, wrote in August 1920 that, "To take any legal steps against him [Gandhi] now would be merely playing into his hands. If we leave him alone the non-cooperation movement with it his personal influence will die of inanition. I should however rather like to get our reasons into the public press and to make it known that we no longer regard

him as worth powder and shot. It might be put rather neatly, I think, the Government now refuse to "co-operate" with the Mahatma!"⁶

Later during the Salt March of 1930 also the government decided not to take any action against the march so long as it was conducted peacefully. "So long as it is conducted peacefully there is no provision of law which permits prohibition of the March"⁷ But the government was forced to change its policy and resort to repression once it found that its authority was getting eroded.

The issue of salt did not alienate the Congress Moderates. It had a widespread popular concern which helped in mobilizing a mass following. It had no divisive potential. It enabled the participation by different sections of the society. Large-scale participation of women was a notable feature of this movement. The movement really demonstrated the mass following of the Congress.

The two-fold programme of Boycott and Civil Disobedience had a two-fold objective. The Boycott was directed against the ignorance and selfishness of the British public and the Civil Disobedience was directed against the arrogance and political stupidity of the Bureaucracy.⁸ Civil Disobedience came to an end with the Gandhi-Irwin pact of 1931.⁹ The movement which later resumed, sauntered on for two years and came to an end in 1934. Gandhi now turned his attention to the Constructive Programme.

Gandhi worked at two levels. He worked with the Congress and also through his Constructive Programme. His strategy was based on a specific technique. Gandhi had shown an amazing degree of adaptability. He took up immediate issues at stake to organize the masses around these and through the specific issues he questioned the existence of the colonial authority. His Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience movements questioned the hegemony of the British power in India. His method was to slowly erode the British hegemony. So he did not make 'unreasonable' demands. Except during the Quit India movement, complete independence was not made the immediate demand.

Gandhi prepared a comprehensive plan of action before starting a movement. He chose

particular and inclusive issues.¹⁰ Gandhi chose immediate issues to start a movement. Except Quit India movement, which was a fight to the finish, no other movement had its declared aim as complete independence Swaraj. He chose "petty and collateral issue of Rowlatt Bills for the inauguration of Satyagraha, although there was before India the mammoth issue of Self-Government.....In 1920 when the Punjab tragedy and the Khilaphat wrong were made by him the issue on which to inaugurate the Non-co-operation movement, - not Swaraj."¹¹

Gandhi launched movements only when he was convinced that masses would enthusiastically participate in them. Knowing the limitations of the masses he called off the movements whenever they were at low ebb. He kept masses active through his constructive programme. His constructive programme, which was intended to restructure the social and economic life of all Indians, was a vital part of his strategy. It was an attempt to strengthen Indian society socially and economically without depending on British power: "The constant internal strengthening of Indian society and its institutions was seen by Gandhi as leading to the inevitable end of British rule"¹²

Gandhi's fasts could also be considered as part of his strategy. The colonial government was of the opinion that Gandhi's fasts were for political ends and in order to gain prestige.¹³ With the exception of his first fast during the Ahmedabad Mill Strike in 1918, all other fasts coincided with serious internal crises in the Congress, usually due to dissensions over policy of violence or non-violence, when Gandhi's leadership was seriously threatened; it resulted in immense increase in popularity and prestige of Gandhi at a time when this was most needed by him; enabled him to re-establish his personal ascendancy.

For the purpose of organizing a mass movement, Gandhi tried to put much emphasis on the class conciliation. He totally rejected the notion of class struggles put forward by the leftists. For him the necessary and important struggle that had to be waged was the anti-imperialist struggle. His attempt was to organize the masses in order to question the hegemony of the colonial power. His programmes were designed to forge a broad united front against the colonial power. Gandhian techniques were

equally against strife and internal conflicts. Gandhi deferred class revolution for the sake of achieving independence. Through his methods he tried to make the country fit for freedom though not for socialism¹⁴.

Even though the leftists and the revolutionary terrorists also had their own programmes to mobilize masses they were not successful in their task. Kerala provides an example of a different kind of mobilization. In Kerala, mass mobilization took place based on class struggles and without Gandhism. Here it was the leftists who undertook the task of mobilizing the masses. Kerala had its own

specific conditions and that were crucial to the leftist success. It shows the complexities and possibilities that existed within the national movement.

The Indian national movement witnessed the evolution of a practical strategy in terms of the Gandhian method of struggle. He represented the needs of his time. His strategy was suited to the nature of semi-hegemonic state that existed in colonial India. His techniques and programmes were developed to meet the immediate social and political needs the success of which depended on the context in which it is applied.

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INFILTRATION OF COMMUNISTS INTO CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

S. Lalitha

1930's witnessed the rapid growth of socialist ideas within and outside the congress. In 1929 there was a great economic depression in the United States which gradually spread to the rest of the world. The world depression brought the capitalist system into disrepute and drew attention towards Marxism, Socialism and economic planning. Consequently social ideas began to attract more and more people, especially the young, the workers and the peasants.

Socialist ideas:

The masses wanted economic freedom. They had to create a new age in which all should

work to the best of their abilities and take only what was absolutely necessary for them. The majority class must make organized efforts to put an end for all time, to poverty, ignorance, inequality, injustice, high handedness and exploitation going on in the world. The labour must have the right to enjoy all the fruits of his labour. Every one ought to get the necessary facilities to live and grow. The horrible distinctions such as master and servant, landlord and tenant, the rich and the poor, the employer and the employed must be obliterated. In short, the principle aim of socialists was to overturn the whole structure of society, wanted to bring about revolutionary changes and establish universal

fraternity, natural unity and real happiness there in.¹

The primary duty of the Indian socialist at present was to form an independent political party for the labouring class. Indian socialism can be established firmly only by organizing a separate political labour party.² Socialism is consistent with the real self respect of the human beings in the world, it is the duty of youths to establish it to do away with anything, which opposes it, and establish a rule which is based upon respect for man.³ In 1924 the Servants of the People Society started a weekly newspaper in English "*The People*" and some of the editorial staff got into touch with the advanced socialist party in Bombay. This paper came to an end in 1930 as consequence of publishing objectionable communist articles.⁴

The aim should be simply to put good tools into the hands of the workers to enable them to produce more abundantly for their own benefits.⁵ Socialism cannot be killed by repression, capitalism and the competition. For selfish gains is the root cause of all the troubles in the world today. It is only if the Government accepts the principle that both the employers and the employed are entitled to the fruits of their joint labours equally and help the latter in their struggle to win.⁶

Formation of Socialist Party:

The idea to form a socialist Party on all India level originated in the minds of a few prisoners of the Civil Disobedience Movement lodged in the Nasik Central Prison. Persons who propagated this idea were Jayaprakash Narayan, Ashok Mehta, Achyut Patwardhan, Yusuf Meherally, M.R.Masani, N.G.Gore, S.N.Joshi and M.L.Dantwala. These socialists were dissatisfied with the policies of the congress.⁷ They entertained doubts about the efficiency of Gandhian tactics and felt the necessity to direct the National Movement on the socialist lines to make it effective.

They recognized the Indian National Congress as the main National Organization in the country, the chief platform to carry on the struggle for freedom.⁸ They held the view that by working outside the National Congress the socialists would isolate themselves from the Nationalist Movement. The achievement of political freedom was the primary task for them.

There was only one movement which was capable of removing the defects existing in India and that was the socialist movement. Everybody in the country should enlist support for it. The congress should become socialist in character.⁹

The masses were numerically larger. The needs of the Indian democratic movement also required an alliance between the lower middle class and the masses. Congressmen had been approaching the masses in the name of democracy and political freedom.¹⁰ The formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 with in the congress became a landmark in the growth of socialist movement in India, which had been gathering strength for a decade. Moreover it gave a definite shape of the radical thinking within the Indian National Congress.¹¹

Communist Infiltration

The emergence of the Congress Socialist Party in October 1934 paved the way for the communists to rally under its banner and revives its organization and influence the society. Both the Congress Socialist Party and the Communist Party were making vigorous attempts to establish influential contact with the different sections of the society, such as the labour, the peasants and youth through various kinds of organizations such as workers union, youth league .etc. to gain their support and sympathy to their party activities and programs. Though they were not able to get the people's support in the beginning, their constant social interaction enabled them to win people's confidence.¹²

Socialistically minded congressmen decided at the conference held at Patna on 17th May 1934 to organise an All India Congress Socialist Party with provincial branches. Congressmen with socialist views in Madras, headed by Sripad Shankar and K.S.Gopala Krishnan, held a meeting on the 1st July 1934 and decided to form a Tamilnadu Socialist party with head quarters at Madras. Jaya prakash Narayan, General secretary, All-India Congress Socialist Party came to Madras in 1934 but it was not materialised due to C.Rajagopalachari's opposition on the ground that this would create the impression of a split in the congress.¹³ Jayaprakash was both a socialist and a nationalist. He tried his best to win over both the communists and the congressmen for creating a broad socialists front to fight imperialism.¹⁴

Among the voluminous material on the birth and development of the Congress Socialist Party, a prominent place should be given to a book written by Jayaprakash Narayanan under the title, 'Why Socialism', that opened the eyes of a large number of young congress men and women who were grouping towards a new path since they had become frustrated with the utter futility of the programmes and practices adopted by the right wing leaders of the Indian National Congress. The ideology of socialism enabled the radical congressmen to rally the masses of working people in the struggle for freedom.¹⁵

The party aimed at the destruction of private property and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat by means of a revolution. The party's objects were the achievement of complete independence of India by the violent overthrow of British rule and the establishment of a Soviet Government, the confiscation without compensation of all the lands and properties of the rulers, princes, landlords etc. The party fought to secure these objects by organization a general strike of workers culminating in a general political strike.¹⁶

In 1936 under the Presidentship of Dinker Mehta, a provincial Congress Socialist party for TamilNadu was formed. District Congress Socialist Party meetings were held at Madurai, Dindigul, Tanjore, Tuticorin, Tirunelveli and Madras. In the meetings, the socialist advocated the establishment of a social state as a panacea for all ills. They preached class consciousness. Members of the party continued to inspire the activities of the Madras Students' Organisation.¹⁷

The Communists utilized the platforms of the congress and the congress socialist party to the maximum to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and carry on other mass activities.¹⁸ The communists worked in alliance with the congress socialists and soon made a deeper impression on young socialists and radicals. The result was that along with the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, there was a rapid growth of communist influence and of the communist party.¹⁹ Nehru propagated the ideas of socialism and declared that political freedom would become meaningful only if it led to the economic emancipation of the masses, it had to therefore, be followed by the establishment of a socialist society. Nehru in his presidential

address to the Lucknow Congress in 1936, Nehru urged the congress to accept Socialism as its goal and to bring itself closer to the peasantry and the working class.²⁰

When the Madras Provincial Congress Socialist Party was formed in 1937, Jeevanandham became its first secretary. According to P.Jeevanandham the congress was interested only in the political freedom of the country and was not serious about social justice or ending economic exploitation. He was convinced that only socialism could bring about the total liberation of the people. This conviction inspired him to join the socialists, who were then functioning within the congress fold.²¹ P.Jeevanandham explained the principles of the socialist movement and stated that it is only the labourers that form the backbone of the movement.²² Socialism had been trying to free the land from these two, to bring about real equality, and to establish people's Government in the country. Socialism is the only means to remove communal bickering and riots. Socialism is the creed which diverts the youth from constitutional methods on the one hand and terrorism on the other. It takes him along a different path from a merely petitioning body.²³

To form a provincial party in Tamilnadu and get it affiliated with the All-India Congress Socialist Party a conference was held at Salem on the 28th and 29th November 1936 under the presidentship of Dinker Mehta at which a provincial Congress Socialist party for Tamilnadu was formed. At the conference office-bearers were elected and the District parties in Madras city, Coimbatore, Salem and Trichinopoly were recognized as branches.²⁴ A congress socialist party had been formed in the South Arcot district and it was reported that a similar party was to be formed in the Tanjore district.²⁵

The socialists organised a Lenin Day meeting in Madras on the 21 January 1937. Socialists have succeeded in forming a student's association under the name of 'The Madras City Student's Organization'. The objects of this association include 1) the preparation of schemes to relieve unemployment, 2) the promotion of Swadeshi, 3) the formation of volunteer corps and 4) rural reconstruction. It is intended that similar associations should be

formed in the mufassal and affiliated to the city association.²⁶

By the beginning of 1939 the communist had gained enormous benefits from their penetration of the Congress Socialist Party, for it had given them opportunity not only to capture

units of that organisation but to influence its mass audience in India. The communist party had grown tremendously multiplying its membership many times over in the space of three years. The most important benefit however, was access to the Indian National Congress.²⁷

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THE LEADERSHIP AND PERSPECTIVE OF VARIYAM KUNNATH KUNHAMMED HAJI IN THE ANTI COLONIAL UPSURGE OF 1921

K.B. Latheeb Kumar & Dr. N. Kanakarathnam

Background and perspectives

The Malabar rebellion was an *exciting* chapter in the history of the freedom struggle in Kerala. This heroic struggle ended with a tragic episode was differentially viewed by the historians and the writers with vested interests. The fight, which lasted for nearly a year, has been marked by some historians as a part of the national movement.

As Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership, the National movement achieved a new passion and vigor. In December 1920, at Nagpur Congress, it was declared that the aim of Congress is to achieve Swaraj and it should be through non-violence. The Khilafath movement also was getting stronger at this time in India. Gandhiji utilized this chance to attract Muslims who were generally reluctant towards the

National Movement. The Congress also lent its full support to the Khilafath cause, which had been agitating the minds of the Indian Muslims. The issue concerned the shabby treatment meted out to the Sultan of Turkey (the Caliph of Islam) by the British at the end of the First World War. Regarding the Muslims, the holy movement Khilafath was the basement of their belief. So Mappilas came forward widely to assist and support this movement. They considered it as a religious duty to fight in defense of the Khilafath till the last Muslim is done away with¹.

Mahatma Gandhi and Shoukath Ali reached Malabar in August 1920 as a part of All India campaign to enrich the non-cooperative movement and Khilafath movement. This was a diversion in the politicalisation path of the Mappilas. Gandhiji gave a detailed speech about

Khilafath problems at a big rally in Calicut beach. "I have understood about the feelings of a Musalman about Khilafath issue. So, I, do hereby declare, the government has wounded the beliefs of a Musalman as never before". If the Indian Muslims hadn't controlled their feelings, if the message of non-violence were not conveyed to them and if they were not ready to approve that message, there would more blood shedding². The speech made by Shoukath Ali was more passionate. "If you are strong and capable, then it is your bounden duty, so long as one Musalman breathes, to fight the unjust king, the unjust government that proved to be an enemy to your faith and to your God. If you are weak and could not cope physically with your opponents, then it is incumbent for you to go, migrate, to another country and leave that unjust kingdom and that unjust tyrant king"³.

In short, the visit of Shoukath Ali and Gandhiji recharged the passions of Muslims and by the end of 1920; Khilafath ideas were circulated in Malabar. Khilafath committees had come in to being in almost every village in the Mappila zone. K. Madhavan Nair, K.P. Keshava Menon, M.P. Narayana Menon, Kattilassery Mohammed Musliyar etc. considered Khilafath movement as a part of a non-violent great war against colonial rule. But for religious leaders who played a crucial role in mobilizing the Mappilas and for their followers at lower levels, the Khilafath movement was basically a religious question and its anti-imperialist character was only incidental⁴.

That is, as the Congress leaders were stressing on the necessity of non-violence, non-co-operation and Hindu Muslim unity, a sort of undercurrent of violence was included from the very beginning of Khilafath movement in Malabar. The campaigns made by Ali Brothers on All India level were explained here as a declaration that "if we are strong enough, then we must fight with the British". E. Moidu Moulavi told an audience at Cannanore that the Indian Muslims ought to have fought a war in revenge for the wrongs done to Islam and he deplored the want of arms to undertake such a venture⁵.

Similarly authorities like E.F. Thomas (District Magistrate) also had feared that it would be more spreading and violent, hadn't it stopped in the very beginning itself. So he banned the Khilafath meetings wherever possible. Banning

of Khilafath meetings created a very volatile atmosphere in Malabar area.

The Khilafath explanation meeting under the leadership of Yaakoob Hussain on 15th February 1921 in Calicut was banned and Yaakoob Hussain, U. Gopala Menon and K. Madhavan Nair were arrested. The police arrests and treating were more helpful to anti government uproars. Madhavan Nair states that Malabar area, which was gradually woke up, became asleep⁶. The arrest of Congress leaders set a stage for a big rally of protest – which led to a complete *hartal* in Calicut. The Yaakoob Hussain episode proved to be a turning point in the Khilafath movement as it evoked a decidedly hostile and aggressive attitude among the Khilafath activists. The government retaliated by suppressing Khilafath activities, filing false charges and closing Khilafath newspapers. A newspaper 'The Muslim' estimated the incidents, "the repressive policy of Mr. Thomas in Malabar is now reported to have taken a new form. Finding that the imprisonment of those who are working for their religion and country, it is not possible to force them to give up their efforts, the authorities have now begun to inflict frightful torture. It is now an open secret that the police do seize Khilafath workers and non-cooperators and take them inside the police stations where they Barbourously beat and threaten them.

Interpretations and Actuality

The arrest of the Vadekke Veetil Muhammed the Khilafath volunteer and the rumour in which the Tirurangadi mosque was attacked were just some of the events led to the final battle. The British authorities had to work hard to suppress the resistance of a people who had suffered the feudal exploitation and colonial encroachments. So many well known and unknown brave patriots participated in this heroic struggle in Malabar. It is not a proper approach to observe and analyze history through an individual. Yet in some cases individuals may take history to their way quiet unexpectedly. Variyam Kunnath Kunhammed Haji was such a patriot in the Malabar rebellion. He was born in 1866 at Nellikuth in eastern Earnad as the eldest son of Chakkiparamnbath Variyam Kunnath Moideenkutty Haji and Kunhayissu Umma, to a well – to – do family. He was the descendant of the Ali Musliar who played a

leading role in the Malabar Rebellion. He, like his predecessors and his family members, had an anti colonial attitude and had been deported and imprisoned many times. Kunhammed Haji returned to Malabar at the end 1913 or early in 1914. In 1915 C A Innes, district Majistrates, Malabar, reporting about a Mappila outbreak of that year, had occasion to comment on Kunhammed Haji and he wrote that " Variyam Kunnath Kunhammed Haji whether deservedly or not as the reputation of being the most dangerous man in Malabar" ⁷.

Polity and Policy

In the beginning stages of the riot, Kunhammed Haji was against framing Hindus or compulsory conversion of religion. Knowing that the British and their auxiliaries were the real opponents of this country, he followed a strict policy that should not be against Hindus and the riot should not be a communal one. He had special arrangements for punishing the Muslims who helped the British, as well as punishing the Muslims who framed Hindus. The killing of Retired Inspector Khan Bahadur Chekutty has great relevance to this context. Chekutty Sahib was a well-known person in south Malabar, a staunch supporter of the government. As the authorities trusted him he acted as a liaison between the government and the *Mappilas* whenever their relations became strained⁸. Kunhammed Haji had an earlier revengeful feeling against Chekutty Sahib because he was the main reason behind the exile of Haji and his father. Haji invaded Sahibs house and killed him, and his head was carried on a pole and returned as a processions. These acts of Kunhammed Haji indicate his determination to punish those who helped the British government and opposed the rebellion, especially the *Mappilas*⁹.

The Manjery declaration by Kunhammed Haji after Chekkutty sahibs assassination is a proof of his attitude towards the Hindus. In his speech he reminded the people "this is not the war between Hindus and Muslims. British, landlords and loyal *Mappilas* are spreading news like this and they want to divide us on the basis of religion and kept majority of us as their slaves but we are not their slaves. We do not hate Hindus but we will punish the British supporters and the people who betray this state. Hindus are our natives, and one who attack the Hindus without any provocation will face punishments

by the government and our intention is not to form an Islamic state or to destroy the properties of the Hindus. By 28 August 1921, Hitchcock comments that the murder of Chekutty was part of Kunhammed Haji's measures to start a reign of terror to counter act the defeat of the rebels of Pokkottur¹⁰.

Martial trial and execution

When the rebellion broke out he assumed its leadership in eastern Earnad and proclaimed himself raja of the Hindus, Amir of the Musalmans and the colonel of the Khilafath army¹¹. But later when the Military intervened to suppress the riots, many Hindus helped the raids of Police and Military as a part of their opposition against the Muslim attacks. Even Madhavan Nair admits that only after this, he started to harm those Hindus and to compel them for religious conversion. By the last stage of the riot, Kunhammed Haji was captured at Veetikundu on Chokkad hills, east of Nilambur Kalikavu road in the Western Ghats. A platoon of the Malabar Special Police formed to suppress the riots had surrounded the place of Kunhammed Haji. After some negotiations the leader of the special police party Ramanatha Iyer, met Kunhammed Haji alone on 6th January 1922 and Haji with 21 followers surrendered lying down their arms consisting of one 303 rifle, 14 other guns, 4 swords and one spear and a quantity of ammunition¹². Kunhammed Haji and his men were marched 13 miles to Wandur guarded by a platoon of 2/9th Gurkhas from Kalikav and later they were taken to Manjery.

Kunhammed Haji was summarily tried by the martial law court sitting in the office of the Sub- Divisional Magistrate; the trial was held in the presence of R Gelli the collector, Robert Howard Hitchcock, army officer Hamphri, Amu sahib DYSP and Narayana Menon the Circle Inspector and others at Malappuram and sentenced to death. When the police officers began to cover to his eyes with a towel tied his eyes he refused by saying that "usually you used to shoot a person from the back side after chained his hands. But keep my eyes open and avoid the hand chains the bullets that ruin my life should come and fall on my chest. I want to see it and die in this soil." He was shot on 21st January 1922¹³. His comrades were also shot at the same place Kottakkunnu. The bodies were cremated fearing that the grave may become

further inspiration for the rebels. All the records connected with the Khilafath Raj were burnt in order to make the people to forget the Khilafath rule of six months. Variyam Kunnath

Kunhammed Haji was an eminent opponent of British government in Malabar rebellion, one the most aggressive revolts occurred after the Sipoy Mutiny in 1857¹⁴.

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‘SAKTI’ AS THE WAR GODDESS: A STUDY OF MADAYI KAVU, KANNUR DISTRICT, KERALA

V. Lijin

The Sanskrit term *tantra* derives from the verb *tan* meaning to expand, and thus, it literally denotes anything that can be stretched or extended like threads on a loom. In its developed form, Tantra refers to a complex cultic practices, rituals, mysticism and secret rites that are based on a philosophy and deep spiritual devotion centring on the concept of supreme power. That power called sakti, has diverse manifestations¹. Those who worship the supreme deity exclusively as a female Principles are called Sakta.² In Tamilakam Korraivai and Aiyayi are the names by which the Mother Goddess was known to early Tamil writers. The Eyinar and Maravar, two ancient Tamil Warrior classes, propitiated her as the Goddess of victory by bloody sacrifices accompanied by ritual, music and dancing.

Bhagavati (The Goddess) is the predominant Hindu deity of Kerala³. Every community in Kerala worships her in a distinct way ranging from simple Kavu traditions to elite temple culture. Many ritual traditions associated with the worship of Bhagavathi can be studied in the backdrop of Kerala's eclectic historical and social development.⁴ There are thirteen Sakteya Kavus mostly concentrated in northern Kerala, (erstwhile Malabar) and each of them are noted for unique customs and ritual practices. Of these,

Madayi Kavu (12° 2'5.02"N; 75°15'40.59"E) situated in Pazhayangadi of Kannur district is one the important Kavus in the history of the region.⁵ Extending over an area of 2 hectares, the Madayi Kavu is located amidst thick green vegetation cover which supports a wide variety of endemic species of flora and fauna. The temple complex consists of two *Srikovils*: of Siva facing east and that of Bhadrakali facing west; *namaskara mandapam*, sub-shrines, *chuttambalam*. The sub shrines are for associated deities such as Ayyappan, Saptamatrikas, Bhairava as Kshetrapalaka, Veerabhadra, and Ganapati. In the vicinity of the *Madayi kavu*, major ponds are *Aryamvilikulam*, *Jutakulam*, *Kshetrakulam*, *Prakulam*, *Vadukunna thadakam*, and *Yakshikulam*⁶.

Tradition says that the term, ‘Madayi’ is derived from two Malayalam words *mad* means land and *ayi* means formed (Madayi = formed land). Madayi has an important place in the political history of Northern Kerala. Several lines of Kings such as rulers of Mushaka Vamsa, Ezhimala and Kolathiri ruled over this region. Kerala Varma Kolathiri who ruled over the place in the middle of the 14th century built the temple at Madayi. The *Madayi kavu Bhagavati* is the tutelary deity of the Kolathiri ruler of Kolathunadu.

The Legendary Accounts

There are many legends associated with the goddess of *Madayi kavu*. One of the myths says that after Bhadrakali killed Darikasura on this plateau, she refused to give up her anger and started the 'Killing Dance', God Shiva appeared before Bhadrakali and persuaded her to take a bath to cool down mentally as well as physically. For this purpose, Lord Siva created a lake with his *Trisoolam* and God along with Devi took bath in this 'Vadukunna Lake' to make her mind calm.

A peculiar feature is that the concept of the goddess Bhadarakali here is of Rurujithvidhanam⁷. Hence the temple is on par with similar temples like Mannanpurath Kavu, Kalarivaathukal temple, Thiruvaiyanatkavu, Thirumandhamkunnu temple, Kodungallur Temple and Panayanar Kavu. Toddy, meat etc are offered to the deity of Madayi at the time of madayamma puja.

DEITIES

Thiruvarkat Bhagavathi

Thiruvarkat Bhagavathi is the Tutelary deity of the Kolathiri Raja.⁸ She is bhagavati the chaste virgin, famed all over Malabar for her 'titanic warfare against demonic forces. She is conceived as Kali born out of the third eye of Siva to accomplish the annihilation of Darika⁹. Having vanquished darika she sets to Kizhlokam. Within a short while she drained off an ocean of unfathomable depth and turned it into matayi or sterile land¹⁰. Henceforth, she came to be known as Matayi Kavil acchi or the grandmother of Matayi Kavu. The Kolathiri Raja, ruler of Kolattunad accepted her as his tayi and began worshiping her¹¹. The tottam songs of Thiruvarkatu Bhagavathi praises the goddess as war deity.¹² The goddess Madayi Kavilamma was generated 'to destroy the lineages of enemies' in 'great affection for the King' as 'Kerala hero would not falter' and she was the personification of the *diksha* that was enjoined to protect the entire lineage of the Kolathiri King.¹³

Kolathiri Raja had another temple as same like the Madayi kavu known as Kaalarivathukal Bhagavathi temple. Here the deity Kalarivathukal Amma also worshipped as the tutelary deity of Kolathiri as the Kalari devatha (deity of Martial art Kalari) In malabar Nayars are the martial

community and they following the sakteya form of worship in their cultic spaces like sacred groves and Kalari.¹⁴

In the realm of Tantra, the central theme is the divine energy and creative power (sakti) that is represented by the feminine aspect of any of various gods; personified as a devi, or goddess, she is portrayed as his wife, above all as the wife of siva. The tantric texts usually take the form of a dialogue between Shiva and sakti. Kali or Kalika, is one of the many forms of sakti, whose name and form parallel that of the particular aspect the god takes, such as Kala and Kali.¹⁵

Bhairavan

Bhairava (frightful or terrible) is a fearsome manifestation of Shiva, whose icon has long fangs. He is sometimes called Kalabhairava or Kalaraj, Lord of time (as Kali is seen to be the Mistress of time), and is seen to control time and the world.¹⁶ Bhairava has been renowned god in the tantric circle and usually worshipped in the left-hand practice (vamacara) with liquor, meat and other unconventional ritual items.¹⁷

Saptamatrikas

Saptamatrika is a well-known alphabet goddess mentioned in many tantric texts, irrespective of their age or affiliation¹⁸. Matrikas are group of Hindu goddesses, who are always depicted together. They are Brahmani, Vaishnavi, Maheswari, Kaumari, varahi, Indrani and chamunda.¹⁹ In madayi Kavu saptamatrikas are placed in the southern side of the Kavu. These are the life size figures. The arrangement of matrikas are not usual sequence starts right from Camunda, Brahmi, Maheswari Kumari, Vaisnavi, Varahi and Indrani are flanked by Ganesa on the right and Virabadra on the left side respectively.²⁰ Saptamatrikas emerged into the mainstream of Hindu religion as Tantric deities.²¹

Another important deity in these Kavu is Lord Siva is installed in the form of *sila-linga*. The idol of Goddess Bhadrakali is made of Katusarkkara yogam. In sitting pose with the right leg on the base and the left kept on Darika and piercing him with the trident. The vigraham of the Goddess has eight arms with two tridents, sword, shield, skull, rope, hook, and serpent in hands. On the right and left sides of this idol, there are images of Bhairavan and Bhairavi. The idol of Lord Bhairavan and sree Bhairavi are

made of granite stone. Sree Paathala Bhadra is symbolized by an ashta dala Padma type sila. Since Goddess Bhadrakali (facing west) Lord siva (facing east) and Kshetrapal are installed within the same akathe balivattam and considering the sankalpam of the Goddess. On the southern side of the temple in a rectangular shrine saptamatrakas is placed. These are life size figures. The temple is classified under the Rurujit Vidhanam. But the type of saktism have been found in Madayi Kavu is similar to folk or tribal saktism. Nandakam the sword of Thiruvarkat bahagavathi also worshipped in Mdayiakavu²²

RITUALS AND FESTIVALS PITARAN

Daily ritual in Madayi Kavu is carried out by a section of Ambalavasi, who, according to Mr Logan 'drink liquor, exorcise devils, and are worshippers of Bhadrakali or of Sakthi²³. The Pitarar serve as religious specialists in the sakttheya Kavu where the goddess Kali is worshipped. People do not have a clear cut idea about their origin. Some believe that they have migrated from Bengal where Kali worship was foremost. This belief got its root because the Namboothiri Brahmins in Kerala strictly abstain from the consumption of non-vegetarian diet. This is a peculiarity in which they find themselves with the Bengali Brahmins.²⁴ They eat animal flesh drink liquor. The Pitarar worshipped the royal goddess Thiruvarkat bhagavathi inside the temple with the blood sacrifices of cocks and offering of liquor and the flesh as naivedya as part of the regular services on Tuesday, Friday and other time of special request. The fundamental scriptures prescribing the rituals of these deities are said to be Matsadbhava and seshasauchya²⁵. But the ritual system in both of these texts is representative of typical Kerala Brahmanical ritual mode and Pitaran community of North Malabar they did not following these texts they rightly following certain manuscripts handed down for generations. Another view about the rituals following in these Kavu is Kaulachara (left handed) practices in Tantra.

Rituals practiced in Madayi Kavu is Sakteya form of Worship. The significant ritual of the madayi Kavu is known as Vatakken vathil²⁶ dedicated to god Bhairavan cock sacrifice liquor parched cereals placed as offering also to the goddess Badrakali. Madya(liquor), Matsya (fish)

And Mudra (parched cereal) are generally included in the tantric system of worship.²⁷

Kameluthu also practiced in Madayi kavu as the part of festivals. Kameluthu is the drawing of certain aniconic/symbolic and anthropomorphic figures of deities using powders of certain specific colours²⁸. In Madayi Kavu symbol of badarakali drawn in the floor with different colours. The cultic practice of Kameluthu is the extant tradition of the tantric cults of Malabar.²⁹

On the other hand ballads and hymns of the goddess in different vernacular languages exist in considerable number.³⁰ In Madayi Kavu songs to Kali (*pattu* and *totta*) are used as mantras During the ritual worship and recently these songs were treated as a secret tradition.³¹ Thus in the ritual context these songs replaced the Sanskrit mantras, stavas, puranas and mahathmyas Which used to occupy that final position.³²

Theyyam also performed in the festive occasion in Madayi Kavu. Thiruvarkatu bagavavathi considered to be as the swaroopam deity of Kolathu raja. The Kolathiri raja also patronised the Thiruvarkat Bhagavathi³³ and deities like Thiruvarkat Bhagavathi, Someswari, Kalariyil Bhagavathi, Chuzhali Bhagavathi, Paadikutti Bhagavathi, Veera chamundi Vetuva chekavar, Kshetrapalan³⁴ etc appeared before devotees in the form of Theyyam. Another important theyyam performed in Madayi Kavu is the Mari theyyam by the Pulaya caste of north Malabar. Mari theyyam is celebrated on the 16th day of the Malayalam month Karkidakam to ward off endemic diseases³⁵. But the Maari theyyam not performed in the temple premises. In theyyam performances of north Malabar, tantric ritual is a regular feature in which Pancamakaras are offered.³⁶

KALASAM

The most important object of worship in the Theyyatam of Madayi Kavu is Kalasam a term derived from Sanskrit Kalasa, which denotes the womb of the mother earth. Filled with toddy or arrack, the kalasam or pot is richly decorated with tender coconut leaves and areca seeds. Procession of Kalasam is taken round the shrine thrice. Wherever the performance takes place and whichever is the caste that shrine belongs to the kalasakkaran (the kalasam bearer)

ought to be a man from Tiyya caste.³⁷ The primary of Kalasam bears allusion to the origin of the teyyam as it derived from ancient fertility cult.

SOCIETY

Generally Kavus have been dedicated by local communities to their ancestral spirits or deities. In Madayi Kavu we can see the participation of different communities assigned for different rituals and the devotees also participated the festive occasion of these Kavu. For daily ritual Toddy are carried out by Thiyyas. Thiyyas are the toddy drawing castes of Kerala.³⁸ The community of Pulayas have the right to

carried out Paddy rice to these Kavu. Pulayas are traditionally agricultural labours in Kerala. Madayi Kavu is often treated as a centre of communal harmony where various communities participated in these ceremonies. The festival of Madayi Kavu known as Poora mahotsavam. Poorakali is performed during pooram festival.³⁹ It is a very rare festival and it should be considered as the festival of fertility rather than considering it as the festival of northern Kerala. When we go through these ritual, there can be see many symbols related with fertility and ritual for production etc.⁴⁰

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A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF PONVILAINTHAKALATTUR

S. Loganathan

The Land of Tamilcountry was divided into five regions based on their natural phenomenon such as hill, pastoral, forest, coastal, and desert, which is mentioned in Tamil literature as Kurunji, Marudham, Mullai, Neidhal and Palai.¹ The village Ponvilaintha Kalattur (or) Kalattur is associated with the Marudham region, because the village is filled with rich cultivable lands. This article deals with the epigraphs of Kalattur i.e., Ponvilaintha Kalattur, Kalattur nadu of Kalattur Kottam, Tondaimandalam.

LOCATION

At present this village is located in the Kanchipuram District, formerly incorporated with the Chingleput District – Geographically it lies in 79°59'04" E and 12°36'58" N.² It lies 10 kms South of Chingleput and 10 kms West of Tirukkalukkunram and 60 kms from Chennai.

This village formed part of Tondaimandalam region. Kalattur seemed to have been the headquarters of Kalattur nadu of Kalattur Kottam. Tondaimandalam was divided into 24 Kottams and ruled by the Kurumbar, which was captured by the Pallavas.⁴ Later on Kalattur Kottam was one among the 24 Kottams of Tondaimandalam and listed as 9th kottam by the historian Dr.C.Meenakshi in her book *"The Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas"*.⁵

This village is embellished with three important temples such as Lakshmi Narasimhar Temple, Meenakshi Amman Samathe - Sri Munkudumesvara temple, Panchali Samathe - Dharmaraja Temple and at 4 kms distance there is another temple - Pon Panthir Kudam, Chaturbhuj Raman is located. Of these temples the Munkudumesvara was the oldest temple of this region.

ETYMOLOGY

Etymologically the name of the place can be split as Pon + Vilaintha + Kalattur. The term 'Pon' denotes 'Gold' 'Vilaintha' means 'Cropped' or 'harvested' and Kalattur is divided into the Kalam + Ur, Kalam bears several meaning.

LEGEND ASSOCIATED WITH PLACE NAME

A devotee of Lord Shiva was employed under a Brahmin to look after his land. The Brahmin offered a place of his land to the devotee as remuneration for his work. The devotee was looking after the land belonging to both. The Brahmin came to know that paddy sown in a specific period in the portion of the devotees land would yield golden paddy. To devotees get the golden paddy, the Brahmin asked the employee that it would be enough if he gave him paddy grown in specific field and offered the entire crop grown in other portion land. The devotee obliged and agreed to give the golden paddy. The people of the village knowing the Brahmin's trick asked him to give the employee a share in the gold paddy, which the Brahmin refused. The cause was taken to the king, who ordered the whole gold paddy should be paid into the Government's account. The Brahmin lost both shares. The employee got excess yield by the grace of Lord Shiva. As gold paddy grew in this land, the place came to know as Ponvilaintha Kalathur, which means Pon – gold, Vilaintha – growing, Kalathur the name of the place.⁷

During the 7th C.E., one among the 63 Nayanmars, Sri Kurruva Nayanar is said to have lived in this village. During the Chola period, Pugazendhi Pulavar, who wrote Nalavenba, was born in this village.⁸

LEGEND ASSOCIATED WITH THE TEMPLE

Pon Vilaintha Kalattur has small temple for Lord Siva. The main deity is called as Sri Munkudumeesvara and goddess Meenakshi Amman, and the temple was built by king Rajendra I. According to a legend,⁹ there lived a king, who was ruling this part of the country in ancient days. He was an ardent devotee of Lord Shiva and had a habit of getting Prasad from his temple every day before starting his routines. The priest of the temple used to perform daily routine pooja to the lord and carry the prasadam to the palace to submit to the king. The king was having his bath, the priest has to wait till he return to accept the prasadam, in the mean time the queen saw the priest waiting and enquired him, the priest told the reason and The queen liked the fresh flower and picked it and wore it on her plait. The priest was shocked and told the prasadam was meant for the king and grabbed the flowers from the queen and kept them in the plate.

The king arrived and accepted the prasadam with devotion, but he was shocked to see a single long hair got mixed up with flowers from the temple. The king got angry and enquired with the priest. The priest got frightened he could not tell the king that queen was responsible for it, but the priest told that the Lord in the temple had a long hair and hence the flower taken from the Lords idol had a hair mixed up among the flowers. The king warned the priest if the Lord does not have the hair, the head of the priest will be cut down.

The priest returned and cried and prayed to the Lord. The next day the priest and the king arrived at the temple for morning pooja, when the priest opened the sanctum, he was astonished to see a tuft near the forehead of the shiva Lingam. The priest was in tears realising the mercy of the God, to whom he was doing poojas with full devotion. On seeing the tuft the king apologised to the priest for suspecting him. As the Lord has a tuft towards his forehead, he came to be known as Munkudumeeswara. Even today we can witness the tuft on the Lord Lingam's head. Sri Munkudameesvara is bold and beautiful and facing east. The temple is situated on a vast area amidst the paddy fields in the calm village and is now protected and maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India.

SRI MUNKUDUMESVARA TEMPLE

A Chola temple is found in the village called Sri Munkudmeesvara temple. It is to have been built by Rajendra I. The temple would have been in some form during the Pallava period, because there is an epigraph of Pallava Nandivarman III.¹⁰

ARCHITECTURE OF SRI MUNKUDUMESVARA TEMPLE

The architectural features of the temple reveal the fact it can be assigned to the Chola period. The temple has the following components viz., Garbagriha, Ardhamandapa, Mahamandapa, Muhamandapa, Nandhi and Balipitha. The Garbagriha facing east is built in apsidal form. The adhisthana, consists of Upana, Jagati, Muppattai kumudam and Pattigai, the height of the adhisthana measures two feet. The pilaster consists of half pillar and Devkostha. The Devakostha enshrines Vinayaka and Dakshinamurthy on the south, Vishnu on the west, Brahma and Durga on the north. The half pillar has the usual parts of the pillar the pot, the palagai, the corbel, the bhutagana, the prastara has kudu motif. The pillars are beautifully built. The apsidal vimana rises above the prastara, which is built in stucco. The devakostha has Torana decoration on top of it, with miniature sculpture. The ardhmandapa and mahamandapa bear similar architectural feature. The mahamandapa has 32 pillars. The Nandhi, Balipitha and flag staff are placed in an axial line to the garbagriha. The Greeva and Sikhara are built in gajabrishta style. The stupid is placed on east and west. The parivara deities are Vinayaka and Subramanya on the west prakara.

MINAKSHI AMMAN SHRINE

Minakshi Amman shrine is located on the North east of the prakara facing south. The outer circumambulation has two entrances one on the east, other on the south side, which is devoid of gopura. The outer wall and the entrance are built in stone.

SCULPTURE

The sculptures enshrined in the devakostha are Vinayaka, Dakshinamurthy, Vishnu, Brahma, Durga, Chandikesavara Subramanya and Bhairava Navagrha.

BRONZE

The imperial Cholas were pioneers in metal bronze images. Chandrasekhar, Minakshi Amman, Pillaiyar, Valli, Deivanai, Murugan, Kurruva Nayanar. The bronze images bear similar features as that of stone sculptures, which is assigned to the Chola period.

The panel sculptures are found in the pillars of the temple, and these panel sculptures and the structure of the pillars are assigned to the Chola period.

Nearly 21 epigraphs have been reported from the temple of Munkudumeswarar, of which one record is assigned to Pallavas and another one is assigned to Vijayagandagopala, four records to the Pandyas and the rest 15 epigraphs are assigned to the Cholas. Of the twenty epigraphs, eight speak about endowment of lamp and twelve are related to grant of land to the temple. It is to be noted here that dancing girls played a vital role in the temple activities.¹¹

ENDOWMENT OF LAMPS

The Munkudumeswarar temple is mentioned in the epigraph as Peruntirukkoil Mahadeva, Aruvivaram udaiya Mahadeva. A solitary record of Nandivarman Maharaja identified by T.V. Mahalingam as Nandivarman III, dated in the 14th regnal year (860 A.D) mentioned the existence of the sabha and Perumakkal which assigned 1/3 of the share of the income from the lake. The income was endowed to the Paramesvara of the temple.¹²

Despite the fact that the temple is said to have been built by Rajendra Chola, but the earliest inscription is assigned to Kulottunga I, dated in his 46th regnal year (1116 A.D) It registers the provision for burning a twilight lamp in the Arulisvara Udaiya Mahadeva at Kalattur of Kalattur Kottam of Jayankonda Chola Mandalam. The endowment was given by Uttama Vadugayyan.¹³

Yet another inscription of Vikrama Chola, dated in his 15th regnal year (1133 A.D) records gift of two lamps to the temple of Peruntirukkoil Mahadeva at Kalattur by a brahman of Kalattur village.¹⁴

During Kulottunga II's period, (1138 A.D) money was gifted for burning two lamps¹⁵ Yet another epigraph Kulottunga III begins with the

epithet that he conquered Madurai and the head of the Pandya king, which mentions the endowment of three lamps.¹⁶

GIFT OF LAND

A record of Kulottunga, which may be assigned to Kulottunga II or III, (1138 & 1183 A.D) mentions certain land in the village Siru Tandalam was endowed by Parikirattu pendugal of Valudalai of Valudalai Mambakkam in vellanadu, a sub division of Damar Kottam to the temple of Avudaiya Nayanar at Kalattur.¹⁹

CREATION OF DEVADANA VILLAGE

A record of Tribuvana Konerimaikondan Kulottunga II, issued in his 12th regnal year (1145 A.D) mentions an order issued on 293 day by the chief Tondaiman, the land were clubbed and created a new devadana village Kulottunga Chola Tiruttodatogainallur, where in a flower garden was also created. It mentions the name of the Royal secretary (Tirumandira olai) Anabaya Muvendavelan. Anabaya was the title borne by Kulottunga II, who covered the Perambalam with gold. In this place, the Royal secretary is mentioned as Anabaya Muvendavelan.²⁰

During the reign of Kulottunga III (1190 A.D) land was endowed by a dancing girl (devaradiyal) to the temple.²¹ Yet another record of the same king mentions two dancing girls endowed land to the same temple. The name of the village Kalattur is said to have been changed as Gangaikonda Chola Chaturvedimangalam.²² It is well known that Chaturvedimangalam was the settlement of the Brahmins learned.

CONSECRATION OF IMAGE

Another inscription engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of Munkudimisvara temple mentions the name of the king as Tribhuvana Chakravartin Rajarajadeva, T.V. Mahalingam has assigned it to either Rajaraja II or Rajaraja III, (1154 or 1224 A.D) It speaks about the consecration of the image of Chandesvara in the Peruntirukoyil and endowed money for burning a perpetual lamp in the shrine. The image was gifted by the Devaradiyal Aravindavalli of Tiruvorriyur and the lamp stand was donated by the merchant of Mayilarpil. The Devaradiyal and the merchant hailed from Puzhal of Puliur Kottam respectively.²³

CONSECRATION OF THE IMAGE OF KSHETRAPALA

In the year 1191 A.D, during the reign of Kulottunga III, two sisters, who were the dancing girls of the temple endowed land for the consecration of the image of Kshetrapala in the Peruntirukoyil of Kalattur Pallipakkam, which was the hamlet of Kalattur.²⁴

VIJAYAGANDAGOPALADEVA CONSTRUCTION OF A SHRINE

The Telugu Cholas ruled northern part of Tamilcountry as feudatory under the Cholas, there were two rulers called Vijayagandagopala and Viragandagopala. Vijayandagopala issued a record in his 15th regnal year (1565 A.D) and the epigraph mentions that one Arulalapperumal constructed a shrine for the goddess and granted land to the same deity. The temple construction was made for the merit of the mother of Arulalaperumal.²⁵

PANDYAS AND KALATTUR

After the decline of the imperial Cholas, the Pandyas emerged as supreme power and extended their rule in Tondaimandalam also, four records have been assigned to pandyas. Three epigraphs were issued by Maravarman alias Tribhuvana Sundra pandya and were dated in his 14th regnal year. All the three records mentions the endowment made by the Kaikkolars. The name of the Kaikkolas mentioned in the epigraphs is the Kakkanayakkan, Aludaiyanayakkan and Mallandai. It is to be noted there all the three of them were brothers and endowed lands to the temple of Peruntirukkoyil Mahadeva,²⁶ for the offerings to the temple. The place Kalattur is also mentioned as Gangaikonda Chola Chaturvedimangalam. The name itself reveals the fact that it was named after the Chola king Rajendra I, the Chola ruler. Yet another record mentions the Brahmanas were settled in this village.²⁷

END NOTES

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2. K. Rajan, V.P. Yathees kumar, S. Selvakumar, *Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu – Vol. I*, Heritage India Trust, Tanjavur, (2009) p.241
3. D.Kalyani : *Manavil Kottam Through The Ages* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Madras, (1992) p.20
4. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas*, University of Madras, (1977) p.46

DIGGING OF WELL IN THE TEMPLE

An epigraph, palaeographically assigned to 13th C.E, engraved on the south wall of the Central shrine in the Adhipurisvara temple. It states that one women Uyyavandans sempon constructed a well in the premises of the temple, for the sacred bath of the God.²⁸

TIRUNAMATTUKKANI

A record, Palaeographically assigned to 16th C.A.D, mentions the village Mosipakkam village was granted as *tirunamattukkani* to the deity Bhairava in the temple of Adipurisvara. Yet another epigraph registers the gift of the same village - Mosipakkam in Kalattur Sirmai for the worship of the god Bhairavamurti by Papparasar, as the gift of Vasal Rayappa Nayaka and the agreement of the uravar of Kalattur to maintain the offerings and the lamp in the temple. On the same wall is a fragmentary inscription of the 11th century A.D. which mentions the assembly of Gangai kondasola Chaturvedimangalam in Kalattur nadu and a temple of Pillaiyar.²⁹

THE POET PUGAZENDHI

The popular poet Pugazendhi, lived during the medieval period, under the Cholas. He is said to have been a contemporary of Ottakuttan, a native of Kalantai, in Tondainadu.³⁰ But it is identified with the place Kalattur. He is said to have been known by his Nalavenba, a poem narrating the story of Nala in about 400 stanzas. K.A. Nilakanda Sastri has written that the age of Pugazendhi cannot be established by the evidence. Ottakuttan was a contemporary of Vikrama Chola and two other kings. Pugazendhi would have lived during Kulottunga – II, because one of the official of the temple borne the title of the king as Anapaya Muvendavelan.³¹ It is to be noted here that Kalandai and Kalattur seem to have been the same place. The popular poet of the Cholas period belongs to this place. Dandiyalankaram, in some of the stanzas are in praise of Anapaya Chola. Anapaya was the title of Kulottunga II who covered the Perambalam with gold.³²

5. Koil Sthalapuram, p.2
6. K.A. Nilakanda Sastri, *The Cōlas*, University of Madras, (1975) p.673
7. Koil Sthalapuram, p.5
8. *A.R.E.* No.349 of 1911, S.II. Vol. No.XII, No.51
9. *Ibid.*, 84 of 1932 – 33
10. *Ibid.*, 349 of 1911
11. *Ibid.*, 84 of 1932 – 33
12. *Ibid.*, 335 of 1911
13. *Ibid.*, 340 of 1911
14. *Ibid.*, 341 of 1911
15. *Ibid.*, 335 of 1911
16. *Ibid.*, 346 of 1911
17. *Ibid.*, 347 of 1911
18. *Ibid.*, 338 of 1911
19. *Ibid.*, 334 of 1911
20. *Ibid.*, 345 of 1911
21. *Ibid.*, 351 of 1911
22. *Ibid.*, 343, 344 & 332 of 1911
23. *Ibid.*, 339 of 1911
24. *Ibid.*, 85 of 1932 – 33
25. *Ibid.*, 86 and 87 of 1932 – 33
26. K.A. Nilakanda Sastri, *Op.cit.*, p.673
27. *A.R.E.* No. 346 of 1911
28. K.A. Nilakanda Sastri, *Op.cit.*, p.349

THE ADI-ANDHRA MOVEMENT IN TELUGU REGIONS DURING 20th CENTURY

Dr. Mahammad Sharif

The Burmese factor also played as the base of the movement. Thousands of Dalit labourers, especially Malas, Migrated each year for spells of work on the docks at Rangoon in Burma from the late-nineteenth century onwards. Some of them stayed back even after their contract ceded and managed to learn new trades. In Burma they availed education and earned money, and on return some of them took direct part in the movement, others enthusiastically financed it. Many Dalit leaders, later visited Burma to collect funds for their movements. Most of the Dalit leaders who were active in 1920s were the product of *Sevasram* established by a Brahman reformer, Guduru Rama Chandra Rao, at Gudivada in Krishna district in 1912. He invited Dalit activists to work in the *asram* to train the untouchable cadre who later worked in the rural areas. These included Sundru Venkayya, Kusuma Venkatramayya, Naralasetti Devendrudu, Kusuma Dharmanna and many others.

The term **Adi-Andhra** arose in the post-1917 period when the Dalits all over the South, influenced by the 'non-Aryan' theories of the Dravidian movement, were identifying themselves as **Adi-Dravidian**, **Adi-Karnataka**, original sons of the soil. The **Adi-Dravida Mahajanasabha** came into existence in 1890, but was then named the **Pariah Mahajana Sabha**. During this period the untouchables of Madras made a couple of representations to the government to recognize a new name for them, reiterating the demand they had presented to

Montague at the time of Constitutional hearings in Madras. "We should be designated as Adi-Dravidas or the original Dravidas, thus bringing us into line with the non-Brahman Hindus who are called Dravidians". Then the Legislative Council recommended to the government that the term *Panchama* or *Pariah*, used to designate the ancient Dravidian Community in Southern India, should be deleted from the government records and the term **Adi-Dravida** in the Tamil and **Adi-Andhra** in the Telugu districts be substituted instead. The identity of 'Adi' ideology was also spreading among the North Indian Chamars who adopted the Sanskrit term *Charmakari* (Leather worker) at this time, claiming to be the exploited and conquered original inhabitants. Partly-educated Dalits and the radicalization of Dalit movements throughout the South brought an identification with the *Adi* ideology. The untouchables, to a great extent, changed their nomenclature to **Adi-Dravidians and Adi-Andhras**⁴.

Nevertheless, for coastal Andhra the decisive year was 1917. At this time caste-Hindu reformer Guduru Ramachandra Rao called a conference in Bazawada, which was labeled the '**First Provincial Panchama Mahajana Sabha**' (4-6 November 1917) at the big dramatic hall of Mylavaram Rajah. The Hyderabad leader Bhagya Reddy Varma Presided and Sundru Venkayya was the Chairman of the reception committee. On the very first day of the conference, in his presidential address, after mentioning the atrocities of caste-Hindus on

untouchables and their miserable plight, Bhagya Reddy Varma stressed that the so-called untouchables were the original inhabitants of India and he condemned the term *Panchama* and justified the use of the term *Adi-Andhras*. Thus, the Dalit Movement in coastal Andhra began to be called **Adi-Andhra Movement**. He argued that the term *Panchama* (the fifth order) was nowhere to be found in *Puranas* or other Hindu scriptures and that untouchables were the sons of the soil who had been the rulers of the country, surprisingly the very next day all the banners and signs of the venue changed to **Andhra Desa First Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha**. The delegates rejected the term *Panchama*⁶.

The conference was held for three days. The first conference is an important landmark in the history of Dalit movement as it has set a new course to the movement and widened its base. Numbers of resolutions were passed in the conference. One of the resolutions is to change the name *Panchama* to **Adi-Andhras**. Most of the resolutions were in the nature of demands on the government to nominate **Adi-Andhras** to statutory bodies, right from the Panchayat Boards, to admit their children into common schools, wherever free admission to schools was not possible, the resolution was passed urging the government to start separate labour schools in Mala and Madiga areas; and to sink separate wells to provide drinking water for them⁷.

Another noteworthy feature of the conference was distribution of literature pertaining to the Dalit upliftment to the members. The book '*Nirudha Bharatam*' the poetries composed by Mangipudi Venkata Sarma of Pippara, West Godavari District were freely distributed to all the delegates. An important consequence of the first Adi-Andhra Conference was the institutionalization of the Harijan movement. In response to the Dalit movement activities in Andhra and in the Country as a whole, the government of Madras appointed from 1920 onwards Commissioners of labour to look after the welfare of the depressed classes. Though the concept of Dalit movement was not new to the political parties of those times, but this conference definitely attracted the attention of a number of political parties, which in turn started emphasizing on needs for Harijan upliftment. From then practice of holding Dalit conferences were started. After this conference a provincial

'*Adi Andhra Sangham*' was formed and its office bearer and members of the Executive, were elected every year in the conference itself. A Constitution of Sangham was formed and the District Committees were also constituted⁸.

The 1920s was a decade that witnessed the growth of consciousness. The conferences held at provincial as well as district levels influenced the Dalit youth and made them conscious of their social, political and economic degradation. The youth later carried on a ceaseless fight against the social system. Conferences were held regularly in 1920 at Gudivada with Bhagya Reddy Varma as president and Sundru Venkayya as reception committee Chairman; in 1922 at Eluru with Bhagya Reddy Varma and Naralasetti Devendrudu; in 1924 at Guntur with Kusuma Venkataramayya and Nutakki Venkateswarlu; and in 1925 at Anantapuram again with Bhagya Reddy Varma as president - in which they passed altogether fourteen resolutions including a resolution demanding the right of untouchables to use water from common wells. These conferences also recommended the formation of working committees consisting of leading *Adi-Andhras* in various villages¹¹.

In 1926 they had their sixth *Adi-Andhras* Conference at Venkatagiri in Nellore district with Naralasetti Devendrudu as president and Kamatam Shanmugam as the Chairman of the reception committee. The seventh conference at Narsapuram in West Godavari district again with Bhagya Reddy Varma and Gottimukkala Venkanna, and again at Bezawada in 1929 with Prattipati Adinarayana and Vemula Kurmayya followed by another in 1930 at Anantapur presided over by Naralasetti Devendrudu.

In 1935 the tenth conference was organized at Rajahmundry, East Godavari district with Kusuma Venkataramayya as president and Kusuma Dharmanna as its reception committee Chairman. This conference was inaugurated by M.C. Rajah, one of the leading personalities of the Dalit movement in the Madras presidency. The eleventh Conference was held in 1936 and the twelfth at Tallarevu East Godavari district in 1938, again with Bhagya Reddy Varma as president and Vundru Subbarao as the Chairman of the reception committee. The resolutions included as demand for reserved seats for *adi-Andhras* from the Panchayat level to the

legislature assembly; sanction against those opposing the presence of untouchable children into schools; job reservations and formation of labour cooperation and credit Banks; and a demand for distribution of waste lands to the Dalits¹³.

Between 1917 and 1937 nearly fifteen conferences were held in different parts of Andhra districts ventilating the grievances of the Dalits. The geographical spread of these conferences (provincial, taluk, town and village levels) suggests that Adi-Andhra Mahasabha succeeded in drawing the rural masses into its fold. A content analysis of the resolutions passed by the Adi-Andhra conference indicates that Dalits were essentially resentful of the monopoly of socio-economic resources by the Caste, Hindus.

The Mahasabha also urged Dalits to give up drinking of alcohol and abolish intra-community/sub-caste divisions, and stressed the importance of unity within the community¹⁵.

Adi-Andhra Conference:

Under the influence of state-level Adi-Andhra Conference resolutions, local level organizers organized many district-level conferences. The first district-level Adi-Andhra conference was organized in 1921 at Amalapuram by Vundru Tatayya (1850-1930) with the help of Talari Gopala Rao Naidu, the then Assistant Labour Commissioner of East Godavari district. Many Dalit Activists such as Nakka Venkata Reddy and Tadepalli Tatayya played a major role in mobilizing the masses and local activists to come to this conference. Most of the younger Dalit leaders, including Chuttugulla Venkayya, B. Didla Pullayya, Ambati Gangiseti and many others, were influenced by conferences in their areas.

Conferences were held at Ramachandrapuram in 1930 with Pamu Rammurthy presiding; at Rajolu in 1933; at Vijayanagaram in 1936 with Kusuma Dharamanna presiding; at Ramachandrapuram in 1937 with Pamu Ramamurthy; at Tallarevu with Gotimulla Venkanna and Bhagya Reddy Varma; at Euluru in 1938 with Vundru Subba Rao, inaugurated by V.T. Muniswamy Pillai; at Peddapuram in 1939; at Kakinda in 1940 with Eeli Vadapalli and another conference at Oyata Korangi in 1940 and in 1943 at Kakinada with

N. Sivaraj, another leading Dalit leader of the Presidency.

Conferences were arranged at taluk and firka levels also. At Korukonda in 1933; in 1938 at Korangi with Janipelli Venkatarao and in the same year at Challapalli with Geddada Brahmayya; at Tandavapalli in 1940 with Jala Rangaswamy and in many places including Paddapalem, Rajolu, Chandrapuram and at village level associations in almost all villages such as Tanuku, Relangi, Kanteru, Volamooru, and Martooru.

All these village and taluk-level organizations had their executive committees which maintained regular contacts with their district-and state-level organizing committees. All these associations had a common code of conduct and common demands but separate constitutions of their own¹⁷.

The integration of the Adi-Andhra movement into other movements may be characterized as insignificant. Later, the most striking development was the cooperation of many Dalit leaders into the major political parties of the time, the Indian National Congress and the Communist Party¹⁸.

By the turn of 1940s, the Dalit movement in coastal Andhra region gradually faded away due to several reasons. The process of accommodation and absorption within the pattern of Hinduistic reform, the method of Congress led by Gandhi was at its zenith, on the one hand and the Communist movement on the other, eroded the base of the Dalit movement by systematically organizing landless agricultural labourers in many villages. B.S. Murthy, Gaddada Mahalaxmi, Vemula Kurmayya, Chuttumalla Venkatramam, Jala Rangaswamy, Vundru Subbarao, Naralasetti Devendrudu and many other who were active in 1920s and 30s were gradually joined the Congress. On the other hand, the militancy of lower-class Dalits was increasingly being expressed in Communist agricultural labour organizations. Many young Dalits joined the movement from 1940s including Guntur Bapaiah, Prasada Rao, M. Sriramulu, Koneru Rangarao, R.A. Kottayya, K. Nagabhushanam, K. Mohanarao, and Konda Surya Prakasarao. These two organizations systematically moulded Dalits in to their respective parties.

As mentioned earlier of the organizational level the Communists were unwilling to accept any kind of Dalit autonomy and at the level of culture and identity their failure to provide an alternative to the Brahmanized Hinduist interpretation of Indian history was a retrogressive feature. This was because all the Communist leadership of 1930s and 40s remained in the hands of either Brahmans or high-caste Hindus. By then, the establishment of Congress hegemony was almost complete.

Both, the Congress and Communist opposition, helped to create an anti-Ambedkar atmosphere and also factionalism among the autonomous Dalit movement in Andhra. After the death of Bhagya Reddy Varma in 1939 both regions, Hyderabad and the coastal Andhra, suffered due to lack of effective leadership. Taking this opportunity, the caste-Hindus absorbed them into their respective parties, providing meager concessions and successfully created factions among them. Apprehension about this was expressed by Dalit leaders before the Simon Commission. For instance, there was a conflict between Golla Chandraiah and Kusuma Veeraswamy, president and executive member of the *Adi-Andhra Sthai Sangam*. Consequently, Kusuma Veeraswamy left the organization, followed by Pandu Laxmanswamy and Nakka Venkata Reddy and formed another organization¹⁹

In September 1944, the visit of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to Andhra energized the young Dalits and branch of the Scheduled Caste Federation was formed under Buldas Swamy. Nandanar Hari and Eeli Vadapalli played a major role in inviting Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to develop the organization. Ambedkar addressed many public meetings, notably three at Rajahmundry, Rama Chandrapuram and Kakinadada presided over by Jala Rangaswamy, Eeli Vadapally and Pamu Ramamurthy respectively.³¹ Among those other places visited by Ambedkar were Anakapalli, Visakhapatnam, Guduwada, Kavvali, Eluru and Nellore. He received rapturous welcome in all these places, and there was total acceptance of his utterances among the Harijans and the progressive thinking persons among the upper caste Hindus. For example, the *Vaisya* Association, Backward Classes Association and

Prema Samajam presented him with welcome addresses Ambedkar found the Vaisyas as persons with correct thinking on social and economic issues²⁰. Inspired by his speeches, leaders of *Adi-Andhra Mahasabha* of East Godavari District collected young cowherds in the fields, and put them to school.⁴¹ Pamu Ramamurthy, Eeli Wadapalli, Gollipalli Gavi Raju, Undru Subba Rao and Golla Chandraiah should be mentioned in this connection. They received assistance from Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao. Undru Subba Rao started a paper, *Harijan* and galvanized the Harijans.⁴² Kusuma Dharmanna appealed to Dalits to unitedly fight for socialism because it was through social equality that they could hope for decent living and self-respect. Socialism according to him (*Samyavadam*) meant 'a society where there would be no place for discrimination and internal rivalry. He was also bitterly critical of Brahmanical Hinduism. In his long poetic work, *Makoddi Nalla Dorathanam* (We don't want this Black Lord's rule), he portrayed the miserable condition of the Dalit masses. He lamented that the caste Hindus.⁴³ He was a prolific writer and also founder editor of the magazine called '*Jayabheri*'. It focused on contemporary political and literary trends and aimed at the development of the depressed sections of society. His another work '*Harijana Satakam*' is of great importance, for it gives a clear picture of socio-economic conditions of the Dalits. He was an Ambedkarite thinker²¹.

Gradually, the largest section of Dalit leadership got absorbed into Congress with its Harijan identity and its reiteration of Hindu identity. Among the few who opposed this strongly, such as Kusuma Dharmanna, were discredited by their Pro-Muslim stance. He called upon the Dalits to convert into Islam in his *Jayabheri*, which was the mouthpiece for Ambedkrite group. In many ways the reformist Hinduisation can be traced to the writings of Boyi Bhimanna, a Dalit Congressman, who was described by many Congress Dalits as their guiding spirit. In mid-1940s, Dalit employees formed their employees associations but could not take any steps to organize the masses or form any movement.

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H.V. CONOLLY AND HIS VISIONARY ACTIVITIES IN MALABAR: AN APPRAISAL

I. Muhammed Saddam

Introduction:

H.V. Conolly was an able and foresighted British civil servant officer who owns the credit for establishing a systematic teak plantation at Nilambur in Malappuaram District of Kerala, that is the oldest man-made teak plantation in the world, and for constructing canals and roads in various parts of Malabar. Conolly is one of the few District Collectors of Malabar whose names are repeatedly remembered by the people of Kerala especially of Malabar because they left something notable as a part of their colonial administration. William Logan and Robinson are the other two. As far as Conolly is concerned, his name is ever significant as long as Conolly's Plot at Nilambur and Conolly Canal exist, which were significant initiatives of Conolly. While the earlier one was to fulfill mere the vested colonial interests and needs, the latter one cannot be taken in the same sense. The prime motive behind the establishment of Nilambur Teak Plantation was strong pressure on Conolly from the officials at Bombay to provide logs of teak in large quantity. Then the later one, that is the construction of the canal, was not result of any such pressure from above. It was to develop the means of transportation in which Malabar was very behind than Cochin and Travancore. This paper highlights the major genuine initiatives of Conolly in fifteen years of his administration, which expresses his firmness in going forward

with bringing into force what is believed by him as the right action as per the time needs.

Teak Plantation

Conolly proved his ability and wisdom as an administrator mainly by establishing an unexemplary teak plantation to meet the increasing demands of world-famous teak woods for the shipyards in Bombay. Of the experiments made in the Madras Presidency to propagate teak the most important and most prosperous were the efforts made by Conolly. His object was to establish nurseries, in order to replenish the teak forests, which were rapidly becoming thinned; the demands for the timber were being so great, and so steadily on the increase, as to indicate, at no distant period, a scarcity of large-sized logs much to be deprecated. This scarcity was realized that so much was required to meet the purposes of the Railway Department. Besides, from the fact that teak, especially Malabar teak, was acknowledged to be the most valuable timber for ship-building purposes, and consequently always preferred at British Government dockyards.¹ In 1840s so many letters were sent from Bombay dockyards and Government of Bombay to Conolly to provide enough teak logs.² The works of plantation started in 1844, were completed in 1854.

Conolly as a man of vision and foresight is recognized by anyone who goes through the history of his administration. When W.D. Simur, the secretary to Madras Government, asked Conolly about the circumference of Nilambur Teak Plantation, its expenditure, and expected profit, he answered 'we have nine lakh Teak plants one year to nine-year-old. We planted Teaks for the first time in 1843. Until this day we expended 40,000 rupees. When plants grow up, we will get market rate. Now we have got nothing as income. In the last ten years, five to thirty rupees was rate of a single Candy (12 cubic feet).³ This denotes that Conolly was very optimistic and confident in his project of maximum profit making by planting teaks which will bring its profit only after years. Of the 1500 acres of old Teak Plantation, five acres were later protected by the Government in 1943 named as Conolly's Plot. There are now more than one hundred teak trees left.⁴

Tile Roofing of Market Buildings

Another progressive undertaking of Conolly is related with eradication of a superstition in the society and welcoming modernity. In 1840s, in the days of Conolly's sway over Malabar, there was a belief among the common people that only the roofs of temples and royal palaces would be tiled. The hay-thatched shops in Calicut and its suburban areas, especially Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar), drew the attention of Conolly. In those days, the buildings of Malabar were thatched by hay and there was a high possibility of fire always. This danger compelled Conolly in 1847 to take needed measures in this regard for roofing market shops with tiles ignoring the prevailing superstition. It is worth mentioned here that this was before the establishment of tile factories at Calicut by the Basel Evangelical Mission. Therefore, this is also an evidence for the fact that tiles had been indigenously made in Malabar utilizing local technologies even before the establishment of Basel Mission's Tile Factories.⁵

Construction of Canal Network

During the British colonial period, British Companies had made attempts to urbanize Malabar. The construction of artificial canals also can be taken in this regard. Getting inspiration from the history of canals and innovations in transport sector by waterways, Conolly

expressed extreme interest and determination in canal projects in Malabar at the risk of heavy expense and adverse geographical features in some areas.

Rivers and backwaters were the main channels of trade and passage in Kerala as these afforded the easiest and cheapest means of communication in times when wheeled traffic and pack bullock traffic were unknown. During the medieval period, two-wheeled carts weren't widely used in Kerala. Goods were carried on back of bullock or as head loads. Only for the traffic of heavy goods carts were utilized as well as used for traffic of articles of elite groups.⁶ Due to the absence of roads, the inland communication was carried out through waterways till the advent of the Mysoreans in the latter half of the 18th century. When Haider Ali conquered Malabar, he felt the necessity of connecting the places by digging canals. The work was carried out by his commandant Ali Raja of Kannur and the Ramapuram River⁷ was connected with the Thalipparamba River⁸ by an artificial canal which is called even now the 'Sultan's Canal'. Its length is 3.8 km. Though confined in a small area, this helped the navigation and easier transport in the coastal belt of Malabar.⁹

The land of Kerala isn't plain as of neighbour state Tamil Nadu. This was a challenging factor in the construction of roads here. The presence of short and long rivers whose number exceeds forty became an obstacle to road making. In addition to this, according to the weather condition of Kerala, about half of the year is monsoon season in which many of these rivers overflowed. Hundreds of bridges had to be built upon the rivers as well as lakes, backwaters, lagoons, etc. No doubt this was impossible in early period. Later, during the period of little expansion of technology also, this was very expensive. While Rajas of Cochin and Travancore initiated some kind of construction of canals and road making Zamorins of Calicut showed little interest in this regard. Serious efforts to build bridges were taken by Tipu Sultan and that was for carrying cannons during the Malabar expedition. He sought help of French men from Pondichery for road making and building bridges as a part of mutual understanding between Tipu and the French authority.¹⁰

After Malabar came in the hands of British, the colonial Government was concerned about the condition of transportation in Malabar and was seeking suitable means of communication and transportation. The communication and transport system in Malabar was poorer than in Cochin and Travancore. The climate and the nature of Malabar were alike unfavourable for road-making. In this background the colonial state introduced a systematic scheme of gradual developing communication and transport facilities which underwent three distinct stages. The three stages of transport infrastructure development are marked by the beginning of artificial canal construction, the road construction and the introduction of railway.¹¹

In the first stage the colonial state planned the project of linking the different rivers in Kerala flowing to the west to meet the newly rising requirements. Greame, the Special Commissioner for Malabar in 1822, conceived the idea of extending the water communication from Kavvai¹² to Chetuva. A scheme was prepared to excavate a distance of 209.2 km and the proposed canal was to touch such important places as Kavvai, Valapatanam, Kannur, Thalassery, Kozhikode, Tanur, Ponnani, and Chavakkad.¹³ The idea of construction of canals for navigation was very successful in Europe. Greame was thus very optimistic in putting his idea in front of the Government officials and he firmly believed that implementation of his idea will bring fruitful and successful result. Though the estimates were submitted to the Government the whole scheme was dropped in 1824 on the score of expense.¹⁴

Nothing further was done until H.V. Conolly (1806-1855) became the Collector of Malabar on 21st January 1840 and in 1845 he caused to dig a canal connecting Elathur and Kallayi.¹⁵ He proceeded with other canal projects. On 27 January 1854 W.D. Simur, Secretary to Madras Government, asked Collector of Malabar, Conolly what about the canals? He replied 'we determined need of a waterway from Chavakkad to Kavvai, with 142 ½ miles in length. I have completed a canal linking two lagoons near Vadakara expending 1195 rupees. Similarly, I have constructed a canal of five-mile-long at Kozhikode from Elathur River to Kallayi River, expending 19360 rupees. Yet there is little more to be completed.'¹⁶

As an administrator of Malabar, Conolly proved his foresightedness, initiating network of canals in Malabar. Confidently he came forward with the project which was dropped earlier, and convinced the authority the possibilities that can develop the infrastructural and commercial prosperity of the region as well as make easy the colonial administration. C. Balan justifies this: "The administration of Conolly as the collector of Malabar marked a revolutionary phase in the development of water transport. He was in full support for any effort for the fruitful realization of major projects of canals."¹⁷

The name 'Conolly Canal' is the general nomenclature of all artificial canals between Vadakara and Kottappuram. The canal is also known by different names in different areas, like PC Canal (Ponnani-Chavakkad Canal), TK Canal (Tanur-Koottayi Canal), EK Canal (Elathur-Kallayi Canal), Vadakara Canal, Payyoli Canal and Canoli Canal (Elathur-Kallayi Canal). The total length of waterway between Vadakara and Kottappuram is 207.90 km, of which 103.873 km is natural reach while 104.023 km is artificial.¹⁸

Construction of Conolly canal and its proper maintenance were very expensive in those days of less technological advancement and huge amount of money was expended in the project, looking into the future advantages and innovations. The following table shows the different reaches of the canal, its length, original cost of construction before 1856-57 and expenditure sum up to 1873-74:

Table 1: Expenditure on Conolly Canal up to 1873-74

Section of the Canal	Distance (Mile)	Original Cost of Construction before 1855-56	Expenditure sum up to 1873-74
Badagara	3	795	9632
Payyoli	1.5	1195	-
Elathur-Kallayi	6	19360	525
Tanur-Koottayi	15.5	19017	7475
Ponnani-Chavakkad	15	12410	3849

Calicut Bazaar	1	2350	11424
Edathiruthy	1	-	-
Total	43	55127	32905

Source: C. Balan, 'Political Economy of Transport Infrastructure Development in Kerala during the Colonial Period', in C. Balan, (ed.), *Reflections on Malabar – Society, Institution & Culture*, Kanhangad, PG Department of History – Nehru Arts & Science College, 2000, p. 103.

Definitely there would be certain relevant intensions behind the construction of any artificial canal especially one with more than hundred km in length. Almost all canals may be either an irrigation canal or navigation canal. Conolly Canal comes under the second category, the navigational canal, seeking a remedy for lacking suitable means of navigation to meet increasing needs and demands of the period and to accelerate urbanization process expected at areas such as Calicut.

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7. It is a small river 19 km. long, which joins the southward branch of Peruvamba River and empties into the sea to the south of Ezhimala. It has origin in the Iringal hills, flows through the villages of Pariyaram, Cheruthazham and Madayi.
8. It is also known as Kuppam River or Payangadi River. It originates from the Padinalkad Ghat reserve forest in Coorg district. It joins the Valapatanam estuary before it does exist into the sea.
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RESERVATION IN TAMIL NADU FROM 1921 TO 2009 – A STUDY

H. Munavarjan & K. Sabapathy

Introduction

Reservation as an arrangement has been prevailing since thousands of years in India. It is legally adopted. Thousands of years ago our religious books were the main source of law during English empire. In the courts of the kings the punishment was imposed on the basis of these religious books. The Hindus of higher castes have been getting hundred percent economic and social reservations since immemorial time in the name of caste and creed. After independence, Dr.Ambedkar arranged in

constitution social and economic equality, which is called reservation arrangement. Thus to help the depressed and backward classes economically and to provide facilities is also the reservation arrangement.

History of the Reservation System

The reservation in Indian continent is an age-old traditional system sometimes mentioned as equivalent to apartheid. Every person's occupation or job status was fixed by birth. Not only that even who will get education or not, who will live where, who will be allowed to avail

social amenities or not was also determined by birth. The British understood their psyche very well and gave it a legal and constitutional acknowledgement.

Present Reservation system has a long history and has been debated before and after Indian Independence from the British in 1947.

The scheme of giving appointments to different communities in administration began in the Madras Presidency with the B.S.O. 128(2) of 1854.³ It aimed at ensuring that the subordinate appointments in districts are not monopolized by members of a few influential families.

The Hunter Commission (1882) found Muslims underrepresented in education and the British implemented a policy of reserving certain places for them in educational institutions.

The Madras Government framed Grant-in-Aid Code in 1885 to regulate financial aid to educational institutions providing special facilities for students of depressed classes.

The administrative jobs in the former princely State of Travancore in Kerala were monopolized by non-Malayalies, particularly the Tamil Brahmins. So the Malayalis petitioned to the Maharajah in 1891 to give due share to them. The subsequent steps taken by the Travancore Government secured jobs only to Nambudiri Brahmins and Sudra upper Caste Nairs. So a delegation of the lower caste Eazhavas and Thiyyas under the leadership of Dr. Pulpu met the Rajah and pleaded to give them representation in the government appointments (1895). Their demands were gradually fulfilled. And then came the turn of Pulayas and other of the depressed classes.

In June 1895, the Mysore Government issued a circular reserving certain posts in favour of backward castes. In 1918, the same government appointed a committee under Sir Leslie Miller, the then Chief Justice. On the recommendation of the committee, reservations were made in appointment to non-Brahmins, including Muslims.

Sahu Maharaj of Kolhapur state in Maharashtra reserved 50 per cent of jobs in his native state in 1902 for the lower castes.⁴

The Muslim League was formed in 1906 and it demanded representation for the Muslim

community through separate electorate. Their demand was met by the Indian Councils Act of 1909 under the Minto-Morley scheme. The act introduced communal representation in the legislatures. In the Madras Presidency two seats were provided for the Muslim Community among the nineteen elected members.

The Government of India Act of 1919 under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms provided for the reservation of seats in general non-Muslims Constituencies to non-Brahmins in Madras Presidency.

Justice Party and Communal G.Os in Madras Presidency

After securing communal representation for different communities in the political field, the Justice party aimed to secure the same in the field of administration regarding appointments to government departments, and in the field of education regarding the admission of students.

The Government issued the first Communal Government Order on 16th September 1921. It extended the principle of the distribution of appointments among various castes and communities which was already observed in the Revenue Department to all other departments of Government.

The Government issued a Second Communal Government Order on 15th August 1922. It extended the principle of proportionate representation for various communities in appointments to the realm of promotions also.

S. Muthaih Mudaliar, a minister in Dr. P. Subbarayan's government issued a Third Communal Government Order on 15th December 1928 that for the first time made communal representation defined and effective. The G.O. provided 5 places for the non-Brahmins out of the 12 vacancies. Of the remaining seven two were allotted to the Muhammadans, 2 to the Christians, 2 to the Brahmins and 1 to the Depressed Classes respectively.⁵

Congress Government and Reservation

The Madras government under the Chief Minister O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar, issued an order on 21 Nov., 1947.⁶ It recognised 'Backward Classes' as a category, eligible for separate turns in the order of communal rotation for recruitment to Public Services.

This reservation policy was put into practice and the problems and the difficulties which arose in its wake were handled accordingly. The guidelines issued on 30th April, 1954, (as per Ms. No. 2643) when K.Kamaraj was the Chief Minister, directed that in a unit of 100 appointments, 16 should go to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes 25 to the Backward Classes and 59 to be filled up by open competition meant for all. It also prescribed a rotation system for every 25 appointments.⁷

The Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 is related to matters dealt with in the Articles 15, 29, 31. Of those matters, the issue of reservation required addition of clause (4) to Article 15. In the provisions 15(1) and 29(2), the addition of clause (4) to Article 15 is very significant and fundamental from the point of view of promotion of Social Justice.

M. Karunanidhi and Reservation - I

The cruel hands of death snatched C.N. Annadurai away from the people of Tamil Nadu on 3rd February 1969. Kalaingar M. Karunanidhi succeeded him as the Chief Minister on 10th February 1969. He appointed a Backward Class 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. Later, accepting the recommendations of the Backward Class Commission, the government increased the reservation quota of the backward classes in the educational institutions and government appointments from 25 per cent to 31 per cent and for the scheduled castes from 16 per cent to 18 per cent. Urdu-speaking Muslims and Kongu Vellalas were included in the backward classes list.⁸

M.G. Ramachandran and Reservation

M.G. Ramachandran became the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister in 1977. His Government issued a G.O.⁹ it declared that only those Backward Class persons whose parents' total gross annual income from all sources did not exceed Rs. 9000/- would be eligible for the benefits of reservation policy. The attempt of the State Government under M.G.R. was against the long recognized policy of reservation for socially and educationally backward classes as defined by the constitution.

Fierce opposition arose to the order that fixed an income ceiling to the B.Cs for getting the benefit of reservation. The ADMK faced a shabby defeat in the 1980 Lok Sabha election and struggled hard to survive in politics. MGR came forward to restore justice to the 'socially and educationally' backward sections of the society. His government issued an order to abolishing the notorious Rs. 9000/- order based on economic criterion. By another G.O. in 1980, MGR raised the reservation quota of the Backward Classes from 31 per cent to 50 per cent.¹⁰

M. Karunanidhi and Reservation – II

Certain castes among the backward classes agitated that they should be given separate allocation under the category of Most Backward Classes. When M. Karunanidhi became Chief Minister in 1989, he passed a G.O. considering the reasonable nature of the demand. His government issued G.O.¹¹ 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 the De-notified Communities. Later his government allotted one per cent reservation separately to the Scheduled Tribes. So the reservation scheme in Tamil Nadu is as follows:

Scheduled Tribes	:	1 per cent
Scheduled Castes	:	18 per cent
Backward Classes	:	30 per cent
Most Backward Classes	:	20 per cent
Open Competition	:	31 per cent

J.Jayalithaa and Reservation

The quantum of reservation currently is 69 %; far beyond the Supreme Court limit of 50 %. The Tamil Nadu Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Reservation of Seats in Educational Institution and of appointments or posts in the Services under the State) Act, 1993 was included in the 9th Schedule through the 76th amendment of the Constitution.

M. Karunanidhi and Reservation – III

In 2007, The Tamil Nadu Backward Class Christians and Backward Class Muslims (Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions

Including Private Educational Institutions and of Appointments or Posts in the Services Under the State) Act¹² was 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.

This was followed by 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) Act¹³ in

2009, provide a separate 3 per cent reservation for Arunthathiyar, Chakkiliyar and a few other sub-sects within the existing quota (18 per cent) for the Scheduled Castes. So now the reservation scheme in Tamil Nadu is as follows:

Scheduled Tribes	: 1 per cent
Scheduled Castes	: 15 per cent
Scheduled Castes (Arunthathiyar)	: 3 per cent
Backward Classes	: 26.5 per cent
Backward Classes (Muslims)	: 3.5 per cent
Most Backward Classes	: 20 per cent
Open Competition	: 31 per cent

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DALIT'S POLITICS IDENTITY IN COLONIAL TAMIL NADU

V. Murali

The early 19th century was a significant period in the history of the Dalit liberation movement. From 1909 there emerged a number of Dalit (then referred to as "Depressed classes" by the colonial government) liberation movements across the subcontinent. The organizations became widespread due to the spread of English education and public employment among the Depressed classes which were made possible during the colonial rule.¹

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar viewed that the war between settled (Dalits) tribes and nomadic tribes (Aryans) in the primitive stage of their development, was nothing but a war for economic benefits and existence. "The purpose of Aryan war against Depressed Classes, according to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, was (1) stealing

the cattle, (2) stealing women and (3) stealthily grazing of cattle in the pastures, belonging to other tribes.²

Iyothee Thass and Politics

Iyothee Thass's 'The Buddha and His teachings' was primarily embodied within Tamil Dravidian Traditions, contesting the conservative Vedic perspective of the Indian cultural and historical traditions. It is to be reconstructed on the main force of socio-cultural rationality.³ Iyothee Thass pursued a relentless and sustained campaign against swadeshi reforms while writing in his *Oru Paisa Thamizhan*. He viewed that there did exist a casteist edge to swadeshi pronouncements.⁴

Iyothee Thass's re-reading of history and literature reflected a concern and anxiety over the

Semitic import of the term, '*Paraiyah*'. He vehemently condemned the nationalist social reformers for addressing depressed classes as the *Paraiyas* and *Chandalas*. He observed that for him and his people, the advent of the White Man ushered in the liberation of subaltern class because the British brought with them a learning that was available to all and caste-indifferent.⁵

As soon as the Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha was organized in 1891, education of the depressed classes seemed to have been one of the principal aims of the Sabha. The British Government in Madras had been undertaking some ameliorative measures for this class of people. It was in 1893, that the Government of Madras had announced the need of the depressed class children to study on par with other Caste Hindus.⁶

Thus, Demand No. 1 requested that 'an Act may be enacted with provisions to punish whoever expresses or addresses as *paraiyah*, to ridicule the depressed classes, should be awarded deterrent punishment'. Demand No. 6 requested that 'equal respect and treatment should be given to the depressed class members in running the administration of panchayats and municipalities'. Demand No. 7 called for a repeal of Rule 464 of the Jail Manual which empowered authorities to force *Paraiyahs* to perform 'demeaning' tasks. Demand No. 9 asked that 'the existing restriction preventing the depressed classes from entering or sitting near the premises of courts and offices, where Hindus are employed, should be abolished. In each of these instances, the petitioners may be seen displaying an awareness of rights that are indivisible and universally applicable. One may also discern here a sense of comparative worth and a resistance to the violation of the self by others.⁷

It was observed that a village magistrate can confine a man of the depressed classes any time that he likes and he went on to say that even such things as "laziness in tending the cattle shed, disobedience to the order of the landowner, can bring the depressed brother the punishment of confinement in the stocks". In 1913, the Fourth Depressed Classes Conference, held at Mayavaram, had resolved to entreat the Government to remove this obnoxious practice. Narasimha Iyer, acting on this resolution, had gone on to introduce a Bill, calling for the abolition of the use of stocks as punishment.

Nearly a decade later, in his welcome address to the First Non-Brahmin Confederation, held at Madras in December 1917, Theagaraya Chetty, also drew attention to the Brahmins proclivity to remain exclusive and constitute an oligarchy which historically had successfully resisted all revolts against it.

In striking contrast to the privileged Brahmins were the segregated Panchamas who were called untouchables. They constituted 15% of the population. They established parallel societies, the members having their own roads, wells, their own shops, hotels, barbers and washer man, deities and priests, their own burial grounds from which all Caste Hindus kept away. This elaborate system of apartheid segregated the members of the Panchama Society and kept them at the greatest physical, cultural and economic distance from the Caste Hindus.⁸

Originally, they were casteless but later they formed their own castes. They did not intermarry but were collectively known as the depressed classes and the Harijans. The Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha, which advocated the cause of untouchable castes, was founded in 1892 and on many occasions, the Sabha represented to the Government the grievances of the *Paraiyahs*. In the 1921 Census, 15,025 retained their caste name as *Adi Dravida*. On repeated petitioning to the Government, it recognised the new name by an order issued which directed that the term *Adi -Dravida* should be recognised in Tamil Districts and *Adi Andhra* in Telugu Districts in the place of the word, *Panchama* or *Paraiyahs* or similar names.⁹ The cause for the change may be due to the feeling of respectability that the change in name gave them.

Paraiyar Mahajana Sabha

In 1777, in Madras, there was a major protest which Rettaimalai Srinivasan has recorded in his autobiography. There was an inquiry held in Madras St George Fort, concerning a Dali murder and there was a serious riot at that point. Linked to that conflict, there was a rise in Dalit consciousness and mobilization. Since then, there had been continuous struggle but there was a lack of organisation at that time that hindered the opportunity for greater change. In 1840, the term *Adi-Dravidar* was introduced as a sociopolitical

name, meaning 'original' or 'indigenous' Dravidian. Subsequently, in 1880, the Adi-Dravidar Mahajana Sabha (Adi-Dravidar People's Organisation) was formed as a structured movement, followed by the Paraiyar Mahajana Sabhai (People's Organisation of Paraiyars) in 1890, and the Dravida Mahajana Sabhai (People's Organisation of Dravidians) in 1891. In short three very significant movements started operating between 1880 and 1891. All Dalit movements today may be seen as offspring's of these organisations. The ideals they articulated and the demands they presented, were precisely the ones that are being followed today.¹⁰

In Madras, he strove hard for three years to uplift the Paraiyahs and made them enjoy the equal rights which were hitherto enjoyed by other communities and also to give them a respectable position in the society.¹¹ Srinivasan established and led the Paraiyar Mahajana Sabha in 1891, which later became Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha in 1893.¹²

He felt that the Pariahs should be freed from the semi vile condition under which they lived by such measures as allotment of land for tilling and special facilities for education. Separate Primary Schools were established for pariahs and at the turn of the Century social and political leaders began to stress a need to extend philanthropic activities towards the lowest caste. The Adi - Dravida Mahajana Sabha sent petition to the Government in 1896. In 1898, it made specific request for lowering, in the case of Pariahs, the standard of the qualifying test prescribed for admission to subordinate medical services. In 1916, the Depressed Classes Society held a conference and requested the government to enquire into the exact condition of the depressed classes and to make recommendation to secure freedom and justice for the depressed classes.¹³

M C Rajah

There was specific socio-political context in which M.C. Rajah developed his ideology for the empowerment of Dalits. The three major social groups of Tamil Nadu were Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Dalits and by the beginning of the Twentieth Century, due to the contribution made by European and Indian scholars, a dominant view emerged that Non-Brahmins were

Dravidians and original settlers of the land and Brahmins were Aryan invaders who imposed Sanskrit culture over Tamil land. Brahmins, because of their dominant socio cultural position, occupied most of the administrative and educational jobs in government although they comprised only 3.2 per cent of the total population of Tamil Nadu. This domination of the Brahmins was skillfully used by Non-Brahmin leaders to create a separate Dravidian cultural identity, with the tacit support of the British Government, in the early years of the Twentieth Century.

M.C.Rajah was nominated to the Madras Legislature in 1920 and became a prominent member of the ruling Justice Party. Communal reservation for the dalits was given under the Act of 1919 and they were nominated to the legislature from 1920. But for the continuous struggle of the dalits, this reservation would not have been given to them. In 1918, M.C.Rajah with his men met the South Borough Committee and appealed for the right to vote and representation in the legislatures. In 1919, he convinced the Weston Committee and succeeded in getting the famous Meson Award.¹⁴

He was the first member of the community, in the whole of India, to be nominated to the Provincial Council. His Excellency Lord Willington, when he assumed charge of the Governorship of Madras, nominated Mr. Rajah to the Madras Legislative Council in 1919 (Minto-Morley Reforms Council). In the Council, he rendered useful service to the Depressed classes in particular. He nominated in 1921 and again in 1925 and 1926. In the council his matured wisdom and sane views were recognized by all and he was elected to various important committees. As a member of the Madras Publicity Board, the Madras Soldiers Board, the Madras Labour Advisory Board, the Public Services-Communal Representation Committee and The Madras Widows Home Committee, he rendered meritorious service to the public.¹⁵

Popular representation in the Madras Legislative Council started from 1861 onwards. Until 1919, no nomination for depressed class representative was made in the Madras Legislative Council. When the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 were introduced, a principle that representation to all communities would be

made in the popular council was insisted upon by the reform. Accordingly, to begin with, a separate representation for Muslim was ensured by this reform. Appreciating the Minto-Morley Reforms, *Tamilan*, a pro-non-Brahmin newspaper in Madras, appealed to the new Governor, Sir Thomas Carmichael of the Madras Presidency, to help the Depressed Classes secure membership in the Legislative Council as that would help remove their hardships to a great extent¹⁶

Adi Dravidars and Non-Brahmins

The Justice party approached Dalit issues as distinct from the Dravidian ideology. They maintained a separate identity for themselves. They considered Dalits an integral part of the non-Brahmin movement for all political purposes but not for social issues. Their approach did not vary from that of the Congress formula for betterment measures, without disturbing the federal and capitalist structure. Even doubts were raised by some within the Dravidian political parties whether to include Dalits in the non-Brahmin fold or not. Some reforms were executed by the Justice Party by opening of schools for Dalits, access to common areas in villages and reservation in government jobs, establishment of special schools, and financial aid for health among Dalits, wells and burial grounds in colonies.¹⁷

Dalits began to form their independent political and social organisations in the 1920s. The first independent dalit political platform in India was Depressed Classes Federation, established in Maharashtra, under the encouragement of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association.¹⁸ Its initial purpose was to pressurize the Indian National Congress to include in its main planks the removal of untouchability. Consequently, the Indian National Congress had incorporated this into its agenda, adopted in its annual secession held at Calcutta in 1917. It is interesting to note that the Indian National Congress, after 32 years of its

formation, had adopted the agenda of the removal of untouchability,¹⁹ which was in effect manifestation the of its neglect about a grave problem affecting millions of human beings.

Afterwards, the political climate in the country changed substantially. The Government of India Act, 1919 explicitly provided for communal representations in the Indian Parliament. This stimulated the formation of new dalit organizations, which aimed not only to secure benefits for the dalits but also to organize them into coherent political blocks. No doubt, there grew general concerns among the untouchables or the depressed classes for forming their separate autonomous political organizations throughout India during the early 1920s. As the social, economic, political and geographical realities of the various regions in India were different, so were the dominant issues related to the emergence of autonomous dalits leadership. Each region had different level of social – political consciousness about oppression and exploitation of the Untouchable.²⁰

Adi Dravida' politics, which had lost much of its dynamism prior to 1947, became divided along lines of personalities, ideologies and political strategies, after independence. The Adi-Dravida leaders in the post 1947 period, preferred to align themselves with the more dominant political streams within the Province as well as the Nation. The political behavior of the 'Adi Dravida' leaders brought several interesting issues to the forefront. It, thus, becomes imperative to understand whether the Brahman-Bourgeois Congress, which had successfully appropriated 'scheduled caste politics during the last phase of colonial rule, was mainly responsible for the decline or Adi Dravida' politics in Tamil Nadu. It also needs to be explored as to whether the lack of colonial patronage made this decline an irreversible moment in history.²¹

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION IN TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT

A. Muthukutti

INTRODUCTION

The Pandyas were the rulers of one of the three great kingdoms into which Southern India was divided in the earliest times. Thenpandinadu of the early Pandyas, Mudikonda Cholamandalam of the Imperial Cholas and Tirunelveli Seemai of the Nayaks rule, Tinnevely district of the East India Company period and the British administration and Tirunelveli District of Independent India became Nellai-Kattabomman district. The Nellai-Kattabomman district was subsequently renamed as Tirunelveli-Kattabomman district. In July 1997, the government of Tamilnadu took a decision to call all the districts only after the headquarter towns of the districts. Accordingly, Tirunelveli-Kattabomman district has since become Tirunelveli District.

Tirunelveli was not a significant town or for that matter not a town at all during the Sangam Period. The writing of the early Greeks and Sangam poets do not mention the town Tirunelveli. Tirunelveli was just a chief town of the Pandyas to the south of their capital.¹ During Nayaks period, it became the capital of their southern province.³ Since then, it was known as Tirunelveli-Seemai. Tirunelveli Sthalapurana prescribes a tradition for the origin of the name Tirunelvili.⁴

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TIRUNELVELI

Tirunelveli is one of the Southern districts of Tamilnadu and it has a hoary past and plays a major role in the economic and political spheres of this state being a part of the ancient Pandya country, this district was known for its busy sea trade through the port 'Korkai'.⁵ In the modern period, Tuticorin serves as one of the important harbours of Tamil Nadu. Politically speaking in the nineteenth and twentieth century's no district in Tamil Nadu was as active as this district in the freedom struggle of India. Great leaders like Veerapandya Kattabomman, V.O. Chidambaram, Bharathi etc., hailed from this region and this district served as a centre for extremism.

Lying on the riverbeds of Tambraparni, Tirunelveli has a remote antiquity. From the evidences of some artifacts, the archaeologists opine that there existed an advanced civilization on the banks of the river Tambraparni in the 3rd millennium B.C.

Besides, it is found that even in 1200 B.C. itself, paddy cultivation and the use of iron implements were in practice in this region and iron implements were sent to the South Asian countries. The excavations in this region brought out some Roman coins, urns, precious stones and incalculable ancient remains. Based on the intensive research, the historians arrive at the conclusion that the findings at Tirunelveli region are similar to that of Indus Valley civilization. They also reveal the fact that the civilization that

had developed on the banks of river Tambraparni was the fore-runner of the Indus Valley civilization.

However, in course of time, the civilization in the Tirunelveli region disappeared. Many historians have been tracing the reasons for its disappearance. Rea, a historian and excavator of Iron Age cemetery at Adchanallur⁶ stressed that Adchanallur once served as the port of Pandyas but later became a tiny village due to the running of river Tambraparni and recession of the sea. Subsequently, Korkai on the seacoast developed as a port and pearl fishing centre.⁷ The archaeologists also confirm that the territory lying between Adhichanallur and Korkai must have submerged under the sea.

IMPORTANCE OF SOUTHERN 'PANDI MANDALAM'

The Pandya rulers were known for their patronage of Tamil language. They evinced keen interest in the growth and development of Tamil throughout Tamil Nadu and other parts of South India. They were said to have established Literary Society (Sangam) to review the literary works of Tamil poets and writers. The Pandya country, in the past, had been divided into two parts viz., Vada Pandi Mandalam with Madurai as its head-quarters and Then Pandi Mandalam with Tirunelveli.

Now geographer's states that the port Korkai must have been located at 8.40 N and 78.5 E at the Southern end of the Eastern coast. During the Sangam period, the Tirunelveli region had been considered as a country and was made the Pandya Kingdom to be vast and spacious.¹²

ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM OF PANDYAS

The ancient Pandya rulers ruled the Tirunelveli Seemai by dividing it into many subdivisions. They were Kallakanadu, Karungulavala Nadu, Kannipurathaya Nadu, Keelavembu Nadu (Tirunelveli and Sevalapperi), Ten Arya Nadu (Sankarankoil), Manadu, Meelavembu Nadu (Cheranmadevi and Suttamalli), Mullai Nadu (Ambasamudram and Kallidaikurichi), Vala Nadu, Valudhivala Nadu (Karukkurichi), Vanavan Nadu (Kalakadu), Vaikuntavala Nadu, Najil Nadu (Nagercoil and Kanyakumari),¹³ Vadavari Nadu (Vasudevanallur), Arasur Nadu (Kayathar) and Anma Nadu (Cholapuram). In fact these divisions

clearly indicate that the Pandya rulers of Tirunelveli had their sway over the present districts of Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Kanyakumari.¹⁴

NAYAK RULE IN TIRUNELVELI

The Vijayanagar rule in Madurai was founded by Kumara Kampana on the decline of the Madurai Sultanate rule. The King Achyuta Raja, the founder of Madurai Nayakdom anointed Viswanatha Nayak as the ruler of Madurai and the Nayak of Madurai loyally served the sovereign. Viswanatha Nayak divided the Nayakdom of Madurai into seventy two Pollams and assigned each to a poligar.²³

The Southern poligars had their pollams, most probably in the Tirunelveli region.²⁴ The Southern poligars were thirty four in numbers. Among them, except Ramanathapuram and Sivagangai poligars, the other thirty-two were generally called as Tirunelveli poligars.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The year 1781 A.D. marks an important epoch in the history of the Tirunelveli district and of the Carnatic provinces in general. The close of the year the Nawab assigned by treaty to the East India Company the management and control of the whole of the revenues of those districts, on the condition that he should be allowed one-sixth part of them for his personal uses.³⁰ Superintendents were appointed to the districts to administer them on behalf of the Company and to receive the revenues. Mr. George Proctor was posted in 1781 A.D. to Tirunelveli. His management gave general dissatisfaction and in 1783 A.D. he was succeeded by Mr. Irwin.³¹ The improvement in the situation promised by the concentration in the hands of the Company of all control, both civil and military, was short lived for in 1785 A.D. the Assignment was surrendered and Mr. Irwin, under orders handed over the management of the district to the Nawab's Amuldars.³²

When the Carnatic treaty of 1801 A.D. put an end to the Nawab's sphere of influence in the Tirunelveli Province, the Madras Government appointed S.R. Lushington as the first Collector of Tirunelveli on 8 August 1801 A.D.³³ Tirunelveli District, situated in the extreme Southern part of the Madras Presidency is bounded on the North by Ramnad, on the East

and South by the sea and on the West by Travancore. The British assumed the administration of the district, it was divided into 19 taluks and 15 polayams that came to be called as Zamins and smaller Zamins as Mittahs. The Zamins were Ettayapuram, Melmandai, Attankarai, Kadambur, Maniyachi, Sivagiri, Talaivankottai, Avudayapuram, Naduvakurichi, Alagapuri, Uttamalai Surandai, Chokkampatti, Urkad and Singampatti.³⁴ The names of the 19 taluk could not be traced but, they were reduced to eleven by reconstituitrion. The eleven taluks were Nadumandalam, Sankarankoil, alwartirunagari, Srivaigundam, Panchamahala, Kaldadu, Nellaiyambalam, Vidugramam, Tenkasi, Seramadevi and Brahmadesam. In the year 1838 the taluks were reconstituted by bringing the total number of talks to 13. On reorganization, the Nadumandalam taluk was done away with as it was bifurcated into Sattur and Srivilliputhur taluks. Alwartirunagari taluk was rechristened as Ottaapidaram. On the abolition of Kalakadu taluk Nanguneri and Vallioor talks were established.³⁵

In the year 1860, the 13 taluks were reduced to nine by territorial redistribution. By the reconstitution, a new taluk, Tenkarai taluk was created by merging for former Srivaikundam and Panchamalai taluks. The Nanguneri and Vallioor taluks were merged and Called Nanguneri taluk. By merging the Nellaiyambalam and Vidugramam taluks, Tirunelveli taluk was created. The former taluks of Seramadevi and Brahmadesam were put together and named as Ambasamudram taluk. Later in the year 1893, Tenkarai taluk was renamed as Srivaikundam taluk. The taluks of Sattur, Srivilliputhur, Ottaapidaram, Sankarankoil and Tenkasi continued to function without any territorial change.

AFTER INDEPENDENT ADMINISTRATION

In the year 1933, though there were no changes in the total number of taluks (i.e) eight Ambasamudram, Nanguneri, Tenkasi, Tirunelveli, Sankarankoil, Srivaikundam, Tiruchendur and Koilpatti, there were sub-taluks

with headquarters at Vilathikulam, Thoothukkudi, Palayamkottai, and Radhapuram.³⁶ Later by 1970, the district was arranged into four divisional charges and nine taluks. The four divisional charges are Tuticorin, Seranmadevi, Tirunelveli and Kovilpatti. The nine taluks are Srivaikuntam, Tiruchundur, Ambasamudram, Nanguneri, Tirunelveli, Tenkasi, Anjengo, Kovilpatti and Sankarannayinarkoil.³⁷

When Tirunelveli district was bifurcated into Tirunelveli – Kattabomman and V.O. Chidambaranar districts with effect from 20 October 1986, ten of the taluks have Tirunelveli district. There are Tirunelveli, Palayamkottai, Sankarankoil, Ambasamudram, Nanguneri, Radhapuram, Tenkasi, Veerakeralanpudhur, Sengottai and Sivagiri together formed Tirunelveli Kattabomman district. Of the ten taluks, that constituted the district, Veerakeralanpudhur is an additional taluk while the other nine are full-fledged taluks. Administrative steps have been taken to upgrade Veerakaralanpudhur into a full-fledged taluk.³⁸

CONCLUSION

The British records show that the term district was initially used not in the present connotation, but to denote an administrative unit either big or small. When the British consolidated their possessions in the Carnatic and demarcated it into viable administrative divisions, the 'districts came into being. The districts were mostly named after the towns where the headquarters were located. On acquisition from the Nawab of Arcot in 1801, the British named it as Tinnevelly district through their headquarters was first located in Palayankottai the adjacent town, where their military headquarters during their operation against the Palayakars of the south on behalf of the Nawab. Two reasons may be attributed for naming it after Tirunelveli. One is because, it was and is the chief town of the district and the other is that it was already called as Tirunelveli Seemai under the Nayaks and the Nawab. Both Tirunelveli and Palayamkottai grew as the twin towns of the district.

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RISE AND FALL OF NAXALBARI MOVEMENT IN KERALA (1967-1980): AN OVERVIEW

Omalo Aloysius

Introduction

My research paper is an attempt to analyse the unique factors behind the rise and fall of Naxalbari movement in Kerala in the period between 1967 and 1980. It seeks to evolve a theoretical perspective on the topic. List of Primary and secondary sources on the topic are given as end notes. Writing style is descriptive and analytical.

Roots of Naxalbari movement

In the post Second World War period communist party of India lead popular mass agitations, mobilized the peasants and workers against the exploiting classes of land lords, Money lenders and Reactionary Local Monarchs. Communist leadership was dreaming of Liberation of Subaltern classes through an armed revolution following Marxian principles of 'class struggle' and 'overthrow of capitalism through an armed insurrection lead by the Proletariat'. Communists launched a violent movement against Dewan C.P in Travancore at Punnapra-Vayalar where workers and other subaltern classes were on the forefront. In

Telangana communists organized an armed revolution of the peasants against Land lords and Nizam of Hyderabad.¹ Second Party congress of the communist party was held at Calcutta and B.T Ranadive was elected General Secretary of the communist party. He proposed a resolution for the immediate overthrow of Bourgeoisie government led by Jawahar Lal Nehru through an armed revolution of the Proletarian classes, which he claimed to be a Democratic revolution-more familiar with the title Calcutta thesis. But the Brutal suppression of Punnapra vayalar upheaval and Telengana armed peasant struggle, combined with the ultimate failure of the attempt at overthrow of Nehru government through an armed insurrection, as originally envisaged by the Calcutta thesis, forced the communist party to have a rethink on the strategy to be adopted to bring in Communist revolution in India².

As part of changed strategy from 1950's onwards communists in India began to involve actively in electoral politics and neglected the path of armed revolution. But within the communist party a radical section was not

willing to give up Marxist Leninist ideals of Proletarian armed revolution.³ Ultimate victory of communist forces in China in 1949, under the leadership of Mao Ze dung, after more than two decade long protracted civil war, taught new lessons to the people of third world fighting against imperialists as well as Reactionary Bourgeoisie. Success of the Cuban revolution in 1959 and the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against Yankee imperialists in 1960's induced new hope and confidence among the radical section within the communist party who were still unwilling to give up the Marxist Leninist ideals of Proletarian revolution. Memories of the great communist martyrs like Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht continued to inspire the radicals within the party. Undying spirit of Ernest Cheguera, great Argentine revolutionary instilled new enthusiasm among the communist youth and pushed them towards a search for renewed prospects of armed revolution for the over throw of reactionary bourgeoisie government in India.⁴

In 1957 First communist government captured power in Kerala through the ballot paper, it was first of its kind in the whole world. Though it was ousted from power by an infamous Liberation struggle launched by reactionary forces in the state, within a decade after its dismissal communists returned to power in the form of CPI(M), offshoot of erstwhile undivided CPI, by forming a seven party alliance with the so called communal and Bourgeoisie parties⁵. In west Bengal communist party of India (Marxist) became a party in power after 1967 elections, as constituent of united front government and Jyoti basu eminent Cpm leader became Deputy Chief Minister. Radicals within the Pro Chinese communist party of India (Marxist) were expecting Revolutionary social transformation under democratically elected communist governments. But legal constraints and limitations of federal structure raised barriers on the path to radical social change, and slowed down the pace of socio-economic reforms. Idealists in the communist party who were still dreaming of a proletarian armed revolution capable enough to over throw reactionary bourgeoisie government as in India, felt, communist leadership even though claiming to follow Chinese mass line, had betrayed the cause of revolution. They alleged that participation in the parliamentary democracy had corrupted

erstwhile communist revolutionaries and lead to lose of their idealism and revolutionary ardour. According to them electoral politics is reducing the revolutionary ideology of communist party to a moderate form of social democracy. So they were eager to liberate the communist movement in India from the perverted clutches of revisionism⁶

Naxal bari and the rise of Ultra-Left in India

On 2nd of March 1967, as I have mentioned before communist party of India (Marxist) came to power, for the first time, in west Bengal, as a constituent of United front government. Jyoti basu C.P.M leader became the Deputy Chief minister and Eminent C.P.M Peasant Leader 'Hare Krishna Konar' sworn in as Land revenue minister. Extremists within the C.P.M were demanding immediate action against Land lordism and seizure of the surplus land and its distribution among the land less at the earliest. But once in power communist ministers realized legal constraints in the implementation of Land reforms. But the extremists within the CPM were forcing the communist leadership to emulate mass line introduced by Mao in China. Mao's dictum 'Political power grows out of barrel of a gun' and 'surrounding the cities from the countryside' became guiding tools of this group of extremists. In the Naxal bari village of Siliguri subdivision in Darjeeling district, Within sixteen days after the sworn in ceremony of United front government communist leaders Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal gave a call for abolition of monopoly of land lords over land, land distribution through peasant committees, armed resistance to land lords, United front government and central government. This was the beginning of Naxal bari peasant uprising and Left extremist movement in Independent India⁷. Mainstream CPM leadership now caught in a dilemma, as part of government they could not approve the actions of the naxalbari comrades. When efforts at mediation failed CPM expelled the dissidents from the party, and waves of repressive measures unleashed by the state government could suppress the movement at naxalbari.⁸ But it added a new element in to the politics of India 'Violent form of Left extremism or The Ultra left'. On 22nd April 1969, Within two years after the Naxalbari uprising, All India coordination committee of the communist revolutionaries

(AICCR) took the initiative to form Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal, Jangal Santhal and Saroj Dutta which marked the beginning of organized form of Left extremism in India.

Violent phase of Naxal bari or Ultra-Left Movement in Kerala

Reverberations of Naxalbari uprising fell upon the radical sections within the communist party of India (Marxist) in Kerala as a wakeup call which aroused them from slumber and sowed the seeds of Ultra left movement in Kerala.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) came to power in Kerala as a major Partner in the seven parties Alliance. Communist Leader E.M.S Nambudirippad sworn in as the Chief Minister of Kerala for the second time, who claimed to follow ideological strands of Chinese communist party. But radical section within the CPM was drifting towards revolutionary path inspired by sacrifices of the Naxalbari comrades.⁹ Attempt by the Pulpally devasvam to evict immigrant peasants from its land with the help of Malabar special police¹⁰, and subsequent police excesses¹¹, even at time, communist chief minister was ruling over the state raised doubts in the minds of many CPM cadres about the efficacy of Parliamentary path for the attainment of communism, they now chose to take up arms emulating the peasants of Naxal bari, and took the crucial decision to attack Tellichery and Pulppally police stations in the year 1968¹². Attack on these police stations marked the beginning of violent phase of left extremism in Kerala.¹³ Closing years of 1960's and 1970's witnessed long series of Naxalite violence in Kerala. 'Historic eight documents' of Charu Mazumdar became a guiding tool for a section of left extremists in Kerala. His call for elimination of individuals identified as class enemies inspired the naxalites in Kerala to act against oppressive land lords. Vasudeva adiga, a land lord in Wayanad, Chekkutty (Land lord or Police informer?)¹⁴, Infamous Land lord Narayanankutty Menon in Kongad, Land lord Shankhara Narayana Aiyer and his servant Uthaman pillai in Kumil (Kadaikal), Kesavan Potty and Gopalakrishnan Potty in Nagaroor, Business man and money lender Padmanabhan in killiroor, Joseph an estate owner in Vellathooval...lost their lives in these operations. Kuttyadi police

station attack in the year 1969 was another important episode in the history of naxalite movement in the state. Kunnikkal Narayanan, Areekad Varghese, Kisan Thomman, Philip M Prasad, K.Ajitha, Vasu (Better known as Grow vasu), Venu, Ram unni, A Achutan, Madhu Master, Kunhiraman.. were the leading figures of left extremist movement in Kerala. Upto 1970 December 31, State witnessed 39 Naxal related violence in which 10 Persons were killed. Cases were registered against 343 persons and 244 persons arrested¹⁵. Six Naxalites Kisan Thomman, Koyippalli Velayudhan, A.Varghese, Chandi, Pareed and Abdussalam sacrificed their lives for the cause of revolution. Second E.M.S Ministry fell down on November 1st 1969. On October 4th 1970 Communist party of India-termed as Right communist party by CPM Ideologues-formed a ministry lead by veteran communist leader C.Achuta Menon in alliance with Congress and other casteist and communal parties¹⁶. Following the soviet line, CPI in those days was collaborating with 'Indian national congress under the leadership of Indira Gandhi. Indian National Congress was viewed as 'Party of the Progressive National Bourgeoisie'. K.Karunakaran, The congress leader sworn in as home minister in this ministry. Thereafter Police unleashed waves of brutal repressive measures against left extremists¹⁷. Proclamation of Emergency on 26th of June 1975 which lasted upto January 1977 added more tooth and nail to repressive state machinery. Many suspected Naxal sympathizers were tortured and even. Many of them were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In Tellichery-Pulppally police station attack case 8 convicted out of 149 accused. In Kuttyadi police station attack case 11 convicted out of 165 accused. In Tirunelli-Thrissilery action case 31 persons chargesheeted, out of which 8 were Tribals¹⁸.

Causes for the decline of violent form of Naxalbari or Ultra Left Movement in Kerala- an Anatomy

Post emergency period witnessed decline of violent form of Left extremism in Kerala. Many reasons are attributed to failure of naxalite movement in Kerala. R.K Bijuraj, A Journalist who had authored a brilliant work on Naxalism with the title 'Naxal dhinamgal' identified three important factors for the decline of violent form of naxalbari movement in Kerala. First of all

Naxalites failed to raise an organisational structure, instead they focused on localised heroic exploits. Secondly Growing Internal dissensions destroyed unity of the revolutionaries. Finally strategy of annihilation of individual class enemies led to the rise of reign of terror and turned public against them¹⁹. In her memoirs Ajitha expressed similar feelings on the impact of individual killings. According to her it isolated naxals from general public. It became a tool in the hands of reactionary state to project them as terrorists and soulless criminals²⁰. According to Sebastian joseph revolutionary terror, Retaliation of the Indian state by operation steeple chase-Operation against Naxals launched by Indian armed forces- and subsequent alienation of people from revolutionaries led to its decline.²¹ Gulf boom in the 1970's and 80's created new avenues of employment for Un employed youth in Kerala.²² Gradually land ceased to be a major source of

income. Left extremists who were primarily concerned with the issues of land and peasants began to lose their relevance in the society of Kerala. Philip M Prasad while analysing the decline of violent form of Naxalbari movement in Kerala says 'It was not need based in Kerala' while it was 'Need based in Naxal bari, Andhrapradesh and Bihar'²³ Agrarian expansion with primary focus on cash crops created a large section of rich self-cultivating peasants who were Unsympathetic to an armed revolution proposed by left extremists. Gulf migration and expansion of cultivation of cash crops created new classes of emerging petty bourgeoisie who were reluctant to welcome an armed revolution, which they equated with chaos and anarchy, and remained staunch defenders of status quo. In addition to it Ideological struggle waged by mainstream left parties against Far left extremism may have also contributed towards its decline.

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AN OVERVIEW ON HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF DMK IDEOLOGY IN TAMILNADU

A. Prabhakaran

Introduction

Due to the persistent efforts of the DMK, the Central Government has declared Tamil as a Classical Language. But yet, Tamil has not

found its place so far, as an official language of the Centre. Right from the days of Annadurai, the DMK has been continuously insisting that all the national languages should be made as the official languages of the Centre, as such

constructive approach alone will be a permanent solution to the language issue. The DMK also insists that all speedy steps should be taken according to law by the Government of India, to declare Tamil as the language of the Courts, including the High Court. The DMK tries to get Thirukkural declared as the National Book. The DMK also insists that opportunity should be given to write all the examinations in Tamil, conducted by the Union Public Service Commission.

Self-Respect and Inter-caste Marriage

The DMK is very sincere in upholding the Dravidian practice set by Periyar. One of the major sociological changes introduced through the Self-Respect movement was the Self-Respect marriage system, where by marriages were conducted without being officiated by a Brahmin priest. Periyar had regarded the then conventional marriages as mere financial arrangements and often caused great debt through dowry. Self-Respect marriages encouraged inter-caste marriages and arranged marriages to be replaced by love marriages. It was argued by the proponents of Self-Respect marriage that the then conventional marriages were officiated by Brahmins, who have to be paid for and also the marriage ceremony was in Sanskrit which most people did not understand, and hence were ritual and practices based on blind adherence.¹

Social Justice

The current trend in the sphere of social justice reveals certain demands made by the DMK. It insists on the Central Government to bring necessary amendments in the Constitution for the removal of 'Creamy Layer' concept from reservation for Backward Classes. It tries to take steps to implement 69 per cent reservation in Tamil Nadu without any impediment by expediting the case pending in the Supreme Court and trying to get an appropriate judgment. It expects the Central Government to amend the constitution so as to enable the State Governments to decide the quantum of reservation to SCs/STs, BCs and MBCs based on the size of their population. It insists on the Central Government to implement 27 per cent reservation in admission of students in the Central Government-run IITs and other educational institutions and in the

appointment of teachers as per Mandal Commission's recommendation. It also insists on reservation in private sector and extension of reservation in such of those Government and Public Sector Undertakings where reservation has not been implemented so far.²

Priesthood for Non-Brahmins

It is unfair to discriminate one's community as a qualification for performing poojas for God at places of public worship. Based on this ideology a Government Order has been issued declaring that Hindus of all communities may become Archakas in Hindu Temples if they possess the required qualifications and necessary training. On this basis four Saiva Archaka Training Institutes have been started in Tamil Nadu at Madurai, Palani, Thiruchendur and Tiruvannamalai and Vaishnava Archaka Training Institutes have been started at Chennai and Srirangam. Totally 207 students including 34 Scheduled castes students, 76 backward Classes students, 55 Most Backward Classes students have completed the one year "Junior Archaka Certificate" course and have received the certificates.³

Due Place for Tamil in Temples

All the Tamil Savants had extolled in their enchanting verses in Tamil only the praise of God in temples where they visited. Thirumandiram, Devaram, Thiruvagasam, Nalayira Divyaprabandam, Thirupugazh etc., rendered by the Savants have helped for the growth of the Tamil language. The DMK government has taken several steps to fulfill the wishes of the public and devotees to Worship in Tamil in the temples and to make Tamil reverberate in the Holy shrines forever. Many Religious discourses and Music recitals are organized to be performed in Tamil. To perform Archana for the deities in Tamil, "Archanai Potri" books have been published. To encourage the Archakas performing Archanai in Tamil, prizes have been announced.⁴

State Autonomy

When the United Progressive Alliance Government was formed at the Centre after 2004 Parliament Elections, due to the insistence of DMK, the Central Government appointed a Commission headed by Justice

Poonchi in 2007, as a part of the Common Minimum Programme, to redefine the Centre-State relations for devolving more rights on the States. The DMK Government setup an Expert Committee and sent suitable replies and recommendations to the Commission on behalf of the State Government. In 1969, the Government setup an Expert Committee under Justice Rajamannar for reviewing Centre-State relations in fulfillment of the last wish of Annadurai. The DMK had been constantly urging that the Centre should take up the recommendations of that Expert Committee for full discussion. The DMK also insists that these recommendations and the recommendations of Justice Sarkaria Commission appointed by the Centre in 1983, besides the recommendations given by Justice Venkatachaliah Commission in 2000 should be considered for the amendment of Constitution in order to give more autonomy to the States.⁶

Sri Lankan Tamils

The DMK has been, for a very long time, giving its voice and agitating continuously for a proper and congenial atmosphere to be created for the Tamil People who have been living in the neighbouring Sri Lanka from time immemorial to enjoy a peaceful living with dignity and self-Respect, with all the Constitutional and political rights and protection guaranteed to them. As early on 29-1-1956, in the General Council Meeting of the DMK held at Chidambaram, in accordance with the instructions of Annadurai, Karunanidhi proposed the Resolution demanding protection of rights of the Sri Lankan Tamils which was seconded by Thiru Ponnambalanar.⁷

The DMK organized a massive strong Rally of five lakh people in Chennai on August 24, 1977 to focus attention on the problems of Sri Lankan Tamils and made the world comprehend the sentiments of Tamils.⁸ After the dissolution of the DMK Government on 31-1-1976,⁹ the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi spoke in the Chennai Beach Meeting on 15-2-1976 that Karunanidhi was responsible for straining the relations between India and Sri Lanka. He immediately replied, "If that was the reason for the dissolution of the Government, the DMK would be proud of it."¹⁰

Karunanidhi was arrested on September 15, 1981 on the Sri Lankan Tamils' issue by the then ADMK Government.¹¹ Condemning the arrest, on 16.9.1981 behalf of the DMK a very big Rally was conducted in Chennai, in which eight lakh people participated.¹² This Rally made the world turn its head towards the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils.¹³ On 10-8-1983, Karunanidhi and Anbazhagan resigned their membership of the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, urging the Central and State Governments to pay adequate attention to the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils.¹⁴

A new organisation called Tamil Ealam Supporters' Organization (TESO) was formed on May 13, 1985 to support the cause of Tamil Ealam People in Sri Lanka, with Karunanidhi as its Chairman and Anbazhagan, K. Veeramani, Pazha Nedumaran and Ayyanan Ambalam as Members.¹⁵

On 30-3-1990, in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, a question was raised as to why Karunanidhi, as Chief Minister, did not go to receive the IPKF, which arrived from Sri Lanka. While replying in the House, he read out a letter written by Prabakaran on the conduct of the Indian Army in Sri Lanka in 1988 and explained that he did not receive the IPKF, as it attempted to crush the Tamils in Sri Lanka, though the DMK had all respects for the Indian Army; the Army could not be supported when it erred, though it deserved all reverence.¹⁶

Even after the War had ended in Sri Lanka, the DMK has been democratically agitating and demanding for Justice to be rendered to Ealam Tamils at least now and for guaranteeing protection of their life and peaceful living. The DMK has been condemning in stronger terms the massacre of innocent Tamils committed by the Rajabakshe Government in the war in Sri Lanka; flagrant violations of Human Rights; War crimes in total disregard to the International Law; Sexual onslaught on Tamil Women and brutal killings and merciless butchering of Children and Old People.¹⁷

The DMK has been continuously insisting that the Government of India should take all necessary steps to find a lasting political solution, devolving equal rights and equal share in administration to the Sri Lankan Tamils, as in the case of Sinhalese. Further, it urges that the Government of India should take effective steps

to prevail upon the Sri Lankan Government to take determined action required for peaceful living of the Ealem Tamils.¹⁹

Conclusion

In other words the ideological orientation of the DMK in broad perspectives can be conceptualized as follows: Protection of Tamil language and culture, Rationalism, Non-Brahmin

welfare, Casteless society, Gender equality, Social justice, Federalism and State autonomy, and Pan-Tamil Movement. These issues have been historically addressed by the DMK in three dimensions as social, cultural and political movement, electoral politics and governance and public policy.

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CHILD MORTALITY AND HEALTH: TRENDS IN TAMIL NADU AND GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

B. Pramila

Childhood is very important as it has impact throughout the life of an individual, and it determines the growth and development of the child. However, due to various reasons right to life is denied to children all over the world. The death of children under – five is due to many factors, such as lack of health services, poverty, women education, differentials of urban – rural areas, malnutrition, etc. Child Mortality Rates is considered as the important indicator of quality of life and socio – economic conditions of a country. Child mortality refers to the death of children between birth and before attaining the age of five in a given year per 1000 live births. Child Mortality includes Prenatal, Perinatal, Neonatal, infancy and Under – 5 mortality. Prenatal mortality is child death before birth, Perinatal is known as child death before one

week of birth, Neonatal is child death before 28 days of birth and infancy is the death of child before 1st birthday. Neonatal and Post Natal Mortality are the components of Infant mortality. Under - 5 refers to any deaths from birth to the 5th birthday.

The objective of this paper is to study the situation of Child Mortality in Tamil Nadu from 2007 to 2017, and to examine the determinants of Child mortality, especially child health with the available data from the Census Reports, Sample Registration Surveys, Reports of the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India UN, UNICEF, WHO, National Family Health Surveys, Public Health and Preventive Medicine, etc.

TABLE – 1

BIRTH, DEATH AND INFANT MORTALITY RATES IN TAMIL NADU-SRS (Sample Registration Survey)

YEAR	TAMIL NADU						INDIA					
	RURAL		URBAN		INFANT MORTALITY RATE		RURAL		URBAN		INFANT MORTALITY RATE	
	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rural	Urban	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rural	Urban
2007	16.0	8.0	15.5	6.3	38	31	24.7	8.0	18.6	6.0	61	37
2008	16.2	8.2	15.8	6.3	34	28	24.4	8.0	18.5	5.9	58	36
2009	16.5	8.5	16.0	6.6	30	26	24.1	7.8	18.3	5.8	55	34
2010	16.0	8.2	15.8	6.9	25	22	23.7	7.7	18.0	5.8	51	31
2011	16.0	8.1	15.7	6.4	24	19	23.3	7.6	17.6	5.7	48	29
2012	15.8	8.2	15.6	6.4	24	18	23.1	7.6	17.4	5.6	46	28
2013	15.7	8.1	15.5	6.3	24	17	22.9	7.5	17.3	5.6	44	27
2014	15.5	8.1	15.4	6.3	23	16	22.7	7.3	17.4	5.5	43	26
2015	15.3	7.6	15.2	6.0	22	16	22.4	7.1	17.3	5.4	41	25
2016	15.1	4.3	15.0	3.8	20	14	22.1	12.4	17.0	7.4	38	23
2017	15.0	7.6	14.9	5.9	19	14	21.8	6.9	16.8	5.3	37	23

Source: Director of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Chennai, Sample Registration Survey, and the Office of the Registrar General of India.

Table-1 provides the trend in IMR in Tamil Nadu and also at the nation level from 2007 to 2016.¹ There has been a significant decline in infant mortality rate. From the table it is understood that the child death rate and the infant mortality rates are relatively high in the rural when compared to the urban areas. As far as under-five mortality rate is concern, in the rural areas of the state it was 23 and in urban areas it was 15 in 2016 (p.164) to the national statistics of 43 and 25.

The infant mortality rate in Tamil Nadu according to NFHS-4 is estimated at 20 deaths before the age of one year per 1000 live births, down from the NFHS-3 estimate of 30, the

NFHS-2 estimate of 48, and NFHS-1 estimate of 68.² In Tamil Nadu, all infant and child mortality rates are lower for girls than boys. In fact, 1 in 34 boys die before the age of five, compared with 1 in 42 girls. Children born to mothers under age 20 and age 30-39 are more vulnerable to death during infancy than children born to mothers in the prime childbearing ages (20-29 years). Infant mortality is 23 per 1000 live births for teenage mothers and 27 per 1000 live births for mothers age 30-39, compared with 19 for mothers age 20-29.³

Table - 2 gives district wise details on infant deaths, still births and maternal deaths in Tamil Nadu.⁴

TABLE –2

DISTRICT - WISE INFANT MORTALITY RATE IN TAMIL NADU (2015)

Districts	Infant Deaths	Still Births	Maternal Deaths
Chennai	1712	1077	62

Kanchipuram	233	97	22
Thiruvallur	38	86	1
Cuddalore	273	127	5
Villupuram	356	295	14
Vellore	908	762	44
Thiruvannamalai	220	74	8
Salem	754	314	62
Namakkal	104	106	2
Dharmapuri	387	160	8
Krishnagiri	106	189	9
Erode	139	149	6
Coimbatore	572	282	30
Tiruppur	63	217	7
The Nilgiris	35	17	1
Tiruchirappalli	522	362	29
Karur	17	63	3
Perambalur	62	33	1
Ariyalur	34	24	1
Pudukkottai	88	101	3
Thanjavur	780	235	32
Nagapattinam	37	40	1
Thiruvarur	143	79	12
Madurai	1368	547	98
Theni	292	177	15
Dindigul	86	262	6
Ramanathapuram	185	251	2
Viruthunagar	160	199	2
Sivagangai	48	60	3
Tirunelveli	637	385	14
Thoothukkudi	236	176	10
Kanyakumari	148	102	7
Tamil Nadu	10743	7048	550

Source: Director of Public Health and Preventive Medicine (Civil Registration System), Chennai.

It is alarming to note that among all the districts in the state, the district of Chennai leads in terms of infant deaths, still births and maternal deaths followed by Madurai and Vellore districts. Karur, ariyalur, Thiruvallur and Nagapattinam

Districts fare good as far the statistics on infant deaths, still births and maternal deaths.

HEALTHCARE

Death of children under – five is due to many factors such as lack of health services, poverty, women education, differentials of urban – rural areas, malnutrition, etc. However, lack of health care is the major factor responsible for

high mortality rate in children. Table - 3 provides the details on child death at different stages in the State. Health care is important not only during Pre-Natal, Early- Natal, Neo-Natal Periods, but also very important to protect children from various diseases. Medical care in the rural areas are not adequate compared to urban areas.

TABLE – 3

NEONATAL, EARLY NEONATAL, PERINATAL, STILL BIRTHS AND CHILD MORTALITY

Year	Tamil Nadu			India		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Neo- Natal	11	14	8	23	27	14
Early Neo-Natal	8	11	15	18	21	10
Peri-Natal	11	15	7	23	26	15
Still Births	3	5	2	5	5	4
Child Mortality	19	22	17	37	42	25

Source: The Office of the Registrar General of India and Director of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Chennai.

In India, evidence of child health inequalities exist along several dimensions. There are huge differentials across states and socio-economic groups in terms of health outcomes, access and utilization of health services. Disparities in health services are explained not only by disparities in utilization of services, but also by the differential pace of economic and social development, differentials in the distribution of the benefits of development and the inadequacy of the public health care systems to deliver equitable health services.

An estimated 6.3 million children under the age of 15 years died in 2017 out of which 5.4 million were under the age of 5 and 2.5 million of those children died within the first month.⁵ The leading causes for under-5 mortality are Preterm birth complications, health issues and Malnutrition. Child survival is a field of public health concerned with reducing child mortality.⁶ In developing countries, child rates related to respiratory. In Tamil Nadu 3 percent of children under 5 years had symptoms of acute respiratory infection, overall 8 percent of children under 5 years had diarrhea, and other childhood diseases.⁷

Malnutrition is one of the main cause for child mortality.⁸

Maternal Mortality Ratio represents the most sensitive and key indicator of women's health and their status in the society. The Government of Tamil Nadu desires to ensure that all women go through the pregnancy and its outcome with equity, respect, dignity and social justice through better access to quality maternity and child health services especially during pregnancy, child birth and post-partum period. The district wise details are discussed in Table 2.

MALNUTRITION

Children in India are vulnerable to malnutrition because of low dietary intakes, infectious diseases, lack of appropriate care. During National Family Health Surveys all children under -5 years of age were weighed and measured to assess the nutritional status. In Tamil Nadu, the deaths due to malnutrition are 93, 88 and 63 in the years 2013, 2014 and 2015 respectively. Percentage of stunted, wasted and underweight children are 27.1, 19.7 and 23.8 are recorded in the year 2015-2016.⁹ Every

country and the respective governments have made every possible effort to tackle down the prevalence of underweight children. According to World Health Organization, 43 percent of Indian children are underweight.¹⁰

FINDINGS :

- Child death rate and the infant mortality rates are relatively high in the rural when compared to the urban areas.
- Infant and child mortality rates are lower for girls than boys.
- Child mortality rate is high with children born to teenage and old age mothers compared to mothers of prime childbearing age between 20-29.
- Health care plays a significant role in reducing child mortality.
- Antenatal visits and Postnatal care are important to reduce child mortality.
- Vaccination of children is very important to protect them from diseases like Tetanus, tuberculosis, diphtheria, polio, pertussis and measles.
- Breastfeeding also play an important role in combatting childhood diseases.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

In 2005, Government of India launched National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) on 12 September 2000 to improve the availability and quality of accessible healthcare, especially for those residing in rural areas with accent on the poor women and children.¹¹ The major goals of the mission are to reduce the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) and improve universal access to public health services.

Tamil Nadu's performance in health sector has improved significantly over the past decade. The State has witnessed improvements in primary and secondary care facilities through the establishment of several professional medical teaching institutions, and significant improvements have been made in the higher secondary and tertiary care facilities.

The effective implementation of NRHM, and the State Health System Project (SHSP) with the support of the World Bank and State

government, since 2005,¹² have contributed significantly in improving the quality and quantum of services delivered through public healthcare facilities in the State.

The budgetary provisions for public healthcare delivery system has steadily increased and in 2015-16 this was Rs. 8245.41 crores.¹³ Strengthening of Primary Health Centres (PHCs) and Health Sub Centres (HSCs) – during 2005-2015, about 200 new PHCs are built with adequate infrastructure using NRHM funds.¹⁴ Maternity Benefit Schemes to protect women during pregnancy and provide them pre-natal health care.

Maternal and Child Health Coverage under Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) component of NRHM, including provision of 24x7 delivery services, ensuring availability of emergency obstetric care and setting up of NICUs, have been designed to improve Maternal and Child Health (MCH).¹⁵ Muthulakshmi Reddy Maternity Benefit Scheme also played a significant role for maternity care.

The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) programme provides nutrition and health services for children under the age of six years and pregnant and breastfeeding women, as well as preschool activities for children between 3-5 years. These services are provided through community based anganwadi centres. Sixty-one percent of children under six years have received services of these kind through anganwadi centres.¹⁶

According to the S R System Bulletin, the overall mortality rate of children below five years in Tamil Nadu came down from 20 per 1000 live births in 2015 to 19 in 2016, reflecting the decline nationally.¹⁷ In 2015, there were 43 deaths per 1000 live births in the country. This was brought down to 39 in the succeeding year. In addition to the decline in child mortality, its maternal and child health indices – has been bridging the gender gap between boys and girls. In 2017, infant mortality rate for Tamil Nadu was 16 per 1000 live births. Infant mortality rate of Tamil Nadu fell gradually from 35 per 1000 live births in 2007 to 16 per 1000 live births in 2017.

Tamil Nadu has one of the very low MMR among the major Indian States. In 2013-14, Tamil Nadu reports 727 Maternal deaths

amounting to a MMR of 68 per 10000 live births. In 2011, there was four point difference between the mortality rates among boys and girls. In 2014, the scale tilted in favour of girls. However, the state lost its momentum and the scale swung back in favour of boys in 2015. The then Director of Public Health K. Kolandaswamy said the reduction in the gender gap is a process that has began a decade ago. J. Kumutha, expert advisor to the state government on child health under the National Health Mission, said officials are striving to bridge the gap. Although the 2016 report was encouraging for public health officials in the state, some numbers remain a cause of concern – 71.7% of infants death continue to happen at the neo-natal stage, with 53% happening in less than five days.¹⁸ There was also a chasm between the number of children saved in rural and urban areas. While under – five mortality rate stood at 15 in urban areas, it was 23 in rural areas. The state has come out with a slew of

initiatives in the last four years, including setting up a network to mothers and their infants through the facilities under the health and social welfare departments.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, as far as Child Mortality is concerned it is happy to note there is gradual improvement in the state from the past decade. The measures taken by the government are appreciable. However, it should not be forgotten that disparity in residence and gender still exists in acquiring medical care and in few districts in the state the Child mortality and maternal mortality are still very high and alarming. If the schemes are properly implemented at the grassroot levels and periodical surveys are done in terms of neonatal, postnatal and maternity care, it will be easy to bridge the gap and child mortality could be easily reduced.

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MYSORE - FRENCH RELATIONS DURING THE REIGN OF HAIDER ALI

D. A. Prashanth

The relationship between the kingdom of Mysore and the kingdom of France is an important area of historical importance. If these contacts which started during the days of Haider Ali and continued throughout the period of Tipu Sultan had become mutually fruitful, the 18th and 19th century history of subcontinent would have been different.

Haider Ali gained de-facto control over Mysore in 1761A.D. He was responsible for transforming Mysore from a small principality of the southern of present Karnataka into a vast kingdom of South India with the military help and technical advice of the French.

On the Indian side, several powers, notably Mysore wanted French intervention to make themselves free from the British influence. Initially, the French wanted a formidable alliance of the Nizam, Mysore, Marathas, Travancore and also Delhi. The question before the French Government was first to assess whether there was possibility of a comprehensive alliance in India against the East India Company. And if any possibility¹ existed, how a French naval and military operation could take place in order to deal a decisive blow to the English in the sub-continent. Information reached Paris from various sources including those officers who served in India during the Seven Years War. Along with these many French civilians, who were acquainted with Indian politics, sent reports on the conditions of the Indian states and suggestions for alliances with Mysore, Hyderabad, Lucknow and Delhi.

As in the case of America, in India also, it was decided to send special agents to conduct enquiry and send reports. Palebot de Saint Lubin who was initially in the army of Lally in 1757-62² came back as an intelligence agent to Mysore³ in 1766-1769 and returned to Pune in 1777. Lubin⁴ was active during the early days of Haider Ali's rule. Another special agent was Montigny who was in Surat, Agra, Hyderabad and Goa. In order to co-ordinate the work of the intelligence agents, Governor of Chandranagore sent Visage and other agents to Delhi.

As they did in North America, the French decided to reinforce the Indian states by sending

volunteers, officers and engineers under civilian cover. They even allowed the French soldiers to join the Indian princes under the pretence of desertion. By 1770 an office headed by Marechal de Camp Baudoin was in charge of these operations. Under this programme Col. Hugel and his Hussars stayed in Mysore to provide military training and technical advice there.

In order to have any future military or naval operations it was necessary to have upto date maps of the Indian coasts. Therefore, in 1777 Lafitte de Braissler, a French Engineer sailed along with Admiral Tranjoly in his flagship De Brilliant and prepared maps of Eastern coast of India, till Pegu, Ache, Sumatra and Nicobar Islands. In 1778⁵ he extensively mapped Malabar Coast. The purpose was to improve the existing naval maps, so that the French could keep a naval squadron in the Indian Ocean. This could be one with the assistance of Mysore or other Indian rulers.

However, on many occasions, the French civil and military leadership failed to act on time. In 1778, Admiral Tronjoly arrived on the Indian waters with a squadron of D'orves. This was an attempt to keep a balance of naval strength between the French and the English. In February 1781, D'orves made demonstration in the Coromandal coast, but did not come to the help of Haider Ali who wanted 800 gunners and marines to crush General Coote near Cuddalore. The French Admiral D'orves even refused to blockade⁶ Gen. Coote by Sea, while Haider Ali was attacking on land. Piveron de Morlat, who headed the negotiations with D'orver on behalf of Haider Ali, was extremely critical of him. It was a historic opportunity to eliminate the British power in South India.

In the meanwhile preparations were going on in France to send a strong squadron and an army to India. Bussy was to be the commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces⁷. Bussy wanted 8000 troops and 10 million livres. He was given 4000 troops from France and to set another 4000 from Mauritius. He received 5 millions in cash and bonds for 5 millions drawn on the Dutch East India Company. The king of France instructed Bussy that France had no

territorial ambition in India and that all the territories recaptured from the British would be returned to their legitimate rulers⁸. Since Bussy was expected any time at Ile de France and was supposed to follow up the first French military detachment to India with all his forces, the French officer Duchemin, who had only a small army under his command was instructed not to fight the British before the arrival of Bussy and his army of 8,000. Duchemin was put in-charge to negotiate and draft a Treaty with Haidar Ali for military alliance with Mysore. But these efforts did not succeed immediately because the Wakil (Lawyer)⁹ of Haidar Ali posted at the French camp, was infact working for the English. The French Admiral Suffren was¹⁰ in the meanwhile chasing the English navy near Ceylon and fought a major action at Providien on 12 April 1782¹¹. However on 30 April at Batticoala (Ceylon) he received ministerial orders to return to ille de France and wait for Bussy. He however decided to disobey, the order because it was suicidal to leave the Indian waters when the British army was still around. Other French officials, Piveron de Merlat and Moissac had informed him that only his naval victories would help in preventing a break up in the Mysore-French relations.

The naval actions of Suffren had tremendous impact on Haidar Ali. Therefore Suffren decided to come back to the commercial coast and Nabob Haidar Ali agreed to the meeting which took place at Cuddalore from 26th to 29th July 1782. According to the available information, the men were greatly impressed with each other. On 28th July de Launay, Commissioner General of Bussy had arrived at Cuddalore. He informed about Bussy's arrival at Ile de France. He also informed Haidar that Bussy would soon reach India with reinforcements and he delivered a letter of Bussy which contained the paragraph of Louis XVI's instructions to Bussy. The French objectives¹² were read out in the Durbar in the presence of the representatives and Wakils of the Indian powers accredited to Haidar Ali. On 1st Aug. 1782 Suffren's forces sailed from Cuddalore. On 26th he landed his navy at Trincomale in Ceylon which captured the city. On September 3, 1782 Suffren had another battle with the Royal Navy. Peynier had disembarked 1400 soldiers and arrived on 29th July 1782¹³. Unfortunately almost 1032 of them were critically ill due to an

epidemic. Bussy wrote that 448 of his soldiers and officers had died of the epidemic. Bussy himself was sick for a couple of weeks. It was only by December 1782, Bussy could reach India with 2275 sick soldiers. This was a great disappointment for Bussy, because he wanted to command at least 10,000 soldiers. In July 1782, when Duchemin fell ill¹⁴, he gave command of the army to Hoffelize. Hoffelize was informed by Piveron that Haidar Ali had great respect for the French and he was waiting for Bussy for a joint operation against the British. Hoffelize immediately offered all his assistance to Mysore. Haidar immediately asked him to train his infantry according to the French pattern. This training was not something new¹⁵. Ever since Dupleix detached some French military instructors to Haidar Ali, for more than a quarter century, the training programme went on smoothly.

Haidar Ali had promised Suffren that he would wait for Busy near Cuddalore. When Piveron left for Cuddalore he learnt of the disaster of the battle of the Saints in which part of the French fleet was destroyed.

There was a second tragedy at Soulanges in April 1782, while bringing 4000 men in 4 ships of the line and several other transports to help Bussy and Suffren. He also learnt about Bussy's own illness.

It was here that they learnt about the epidemic and about Bussy's own difficulty in leaving the Ile de France. On the top of these tragedies, Haidar himself fell ill seriously. There French physicians, Rousseau Rochard and Noel (Surgeons of the French army) attended him. But Haidar was against undergoing a surgery for his stomach ailment. And when he finally agreed, for a surgery, it was too late. Nabob Haidar Ali died at 8.30am on 7th Dec. 1782. The French officials under the leadership of Piveron took a historic decision to keep the news of Haidar's demise a top secret in order to prevent any coup within the kingdom to capture power. Tipu was away in Malabar with his army. Piveron assured the Mysore authorities that the French army was backing Tipu without any reservation. The French moved their forces till Jinji and stayed¹⁶ there till the arrival of Tipu from Malabar on 28 Dec. 1782. Tipu thanked the French profusely for their timely help.

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EXISTENCE OF TAMIL PEASANTS IN THE PROGRAMMES OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DURING GANDHIAN ERA

S.P. Prem Singh Muthubalan

During the first three decades of the establishment of Indian National Congress, it neither passed any resolution nor put forth any definite economic and agrarian programme.¹ During this period Congress had been an elite body dominated by the professional middle classes mostly from the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay.² At the end of First World War, there was change in the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the nationalists had begun to champion the agrarian causes.³ The new era of Indian National Congress started towards the close of the second decade of twentieth century. Reason for this change was the entry of M.K. Gandhi. From this period the agrarian tenet of Congress was raising considerably.⁴ Gandhi initiated the process of transforming it from the organisation of the elitist to that of the masses.⁵ After his arrival a large number of rich to marginal farmers joined the Congress.⁶ Gandhi familiarised himself with the peasants of Champaran in Bihar and Kheda in Gujarat where the two revolts occurred under the leadership of him against the injustice of indigo planters and the land revenue collectors respectively.⁷

During this period Gandhi was unknown to the people of Tamil Nadu. He neither conducted any Satyagrahas nor had any disciples in that part. In 1919 the Congress survived in Tamil Nadu as a small political club of wealthy upper-class people. The Congress was overshadowed

by the Justice party up to end of second decade of twentieth century.⁸ But it succeeded in mobilizing the youth, women, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the urban and rural artisans, peasants, workers, merchants, capitalists, and a large number of small land holders⁹ of Gujarat, the United Provinces, Bihar and the Andhra region of Madras.¹⁰

Nearly a decade from 1920 the Indian National Congress was not firm in its policy concerned with the problems of peasantry. Some of its leaders like N.G. Ranga made attempts to organize the peasants in certain parts of Madras Presidency. However, their organizational work among the peasantry was not fully appreciated by other Congress leaders. During this time Ranga felt that the peasants should be organised within the Congress not separately.¹¹ In 1920 Gandhi stressed that the peasant's assistance is much needed to attain swaraj. During this time the Congress also understood the latent power of the peasantry.¹²

Non-cooperation Movement:

In July 1920 a committee headed by Gandhi drafted the non-cooperation plan which conceived triple boycott of government run courts, colleges and councils.¹³ On 4th September the agenda of Gandhi secured sufficient support from the Congress special session held at Calcutta.¹⁴ This Session considered and approved the proposal of the

non-cooperation movement.¹⁵ Gandhi had captured the attention of the Indian National Congress through this Session.¹⁶

In December, the annual session of the National Congress, held at Nagpur which confirmed the resolution already passed at the special session of Calcutta.¹⁷ Further the Session propounding the non-payment of taxes, impressed the peasants who responded instantly to this movement.¹⁸

The non-cooperation movement was initiated in 1920 after the strenuous endeavours of Gandhi.¹⁹ He toured several places and addressed numerous public meetings for the support of the movement.²⁰ The rural masses, already politicized by the tireless efforts of the regional leaders were brought into the orbit of National Movement.²¹

Gandhi undertook a tour of Madras for propagating the ideas of non-cooperation among the youth of Madras Presidency. The tour had its desired effect. According to the government report, Gandhi created a tremendous enthusiasm and attracted enormous crowds wherever he went.²²

C. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurthi and E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, were the important leaders of the non-cooperation Movement in Tamil Nadu. During the Movement temperance campaign was conducted in many parts of the Madras province especially in Madurai.²³ The anti-liquor agitation of Tamil Nadu (July 1921) was a spontaneous move by the common people and was then taken up by the Congress.²⁴ In the Madras beach meeting held on 12th August 1921, Gandhi declared that non-cooperation (Khilafat) is a just and religious doctrine; it is the inherent right of every human being and it is perfectly constitutional.²⁵ Chris Baker has opined that the non-cooperation in the Madras presidency was 'nothing more than a few attacks on liquor shops by zealous advocates of temperance, and some scuffles involving the police with forest tribesmen'.²⁶

Participation of Peasants in the Vedaranyam march:

The annual discussion of the Congress was held in Lahore in December 1929 under the presidentship of Nehru.²⁷ During this time

Gandhi had decided to protest against salt tax based on Salt Act 1882.²⁸ Salt Sathyagraha was a part of the civil disobedience movement. On 12th March 1930 Gandhi marched to Dandi with his followers to break the salt laws.²⁹ This movement quickly spread throughout India.³⁰

The radical leaders of the Congress utilized this peasant unrest for Congress campaign. Other leaders also kept in touch with the equally disgruntled landlords and moneylenders.³¹ No tax, no rent and forest satyagrahas of several provinces were merged with this movement to redress economic grievances of the peasants.³² The growth of peasant organisations wielded considerable pressure on the Indian National Congress.³³

The Gandhi's Dandi march was followed by Rajagopalachari (Rajaji), the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee President, along with T.S.S. Rajan and others.³⁴ Rajaji addressed several meetings during this period at Thanjavur, Mayavaram and other places in Thanjavur District.³⁵ The Vedaranyam march began on Tamil New Year's Day on 13th April 1930. Nearly hundred Tamil volunteers under C. Rajagopalachari set out Vedaranyam to offer Salt Satyagraha against Madras Salt Act.³⁶ In the beginning neither the people of Thanjavur district participated in the march nor did they show any practical sympathy with it.³⁷ The volunteers mostly participated from the other districts, viz., Madurai, Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli.³⁸ J.A. Thorne, the Collector of Thanjavur, warned that anybody who gave assistance to the Congress group would be punished.³⁹

The shortest route to Vedaranyam was not followed by them. It had taken sixteen days to reach the destination. They went to Kumbakonam on the 20th Morning where they were accommodated in the house of V. Panthulu Iyer, a leading and influential mirasdar, a staunch Congressman, Ex-M.L.C and a member of the working committee of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee. After five days they reached Thiruthuraipoondi where they were warmly welcomed by Ramachandra Naidu, a wealthy and influential landlord of the place. After passing 22 miles finally they reached Vedaranyam on the 28th evening. The next day was observed as a day of fast and prayer. Rajaji

was convicted two days later on 1st May and imprisoned in Vellore jail.⁴⁰

The participation of Tamil Nadu peasants in the Vedaranyam march was quite impressive. The government arrested nearly 350 participants at the end of the march but it did not enlist the persons' status except the leaders. The available records provide a general list of persons.

It is clear that the representation of peasants in the Tamil Nadu Congress

Committee was not getting much importance during the cited movements of Indian National Congress. While the spontaneous peasant movements occurred on the lines of caste movements. Some instances were Tiruchirappalli, Lalgudi taluk peasant agitations against Brahmin landlords. In the latter they rack rented the Pallar tenants.⁴¹ In Ramanathapuram district, the agrarian protest was in the form of clashes with dominant castes.

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GENESIS OF THE PURE TAMIL MOVEMENT IN TAMILNADU

G. Premkumar

The pure Tamil movement was a purist movement started by Maraimalai Adikal¹ (1876-1950) to rid Tamil writing of the various non-Tamil especially of Sanskrit words, which have gained currency in ordinary usage. Tamil egalitarian ideas were partly rediscovered by nineteenth century Christian missionaries, and they left their impress of the unique antiquity of Tamil language, literature, history and culture of the Natives. It made the natives to realise that their mother tongue was in no way inferior to the North Indian Sanskrit. It widened the scope of the in-depth study of the languages, literatures, history and cultures. Moreover, it asserted the superiority of the Tamil language and stressed that it is free from the influence of any other language. Considering these characteristics of the Tamil language, a few learned scholars came forward to purify Tamil of its alien influence. This resulted in the form of a movement, which its founder called as 'Taniitamil movement' in Tamil language which means 'Pure Tamil Movement'. In this paper an attempt is made to trace the factors which contributed to the genesis of pure Tamil Movement.

The Influence of Missionary Writings

Certain statements by European missionary scholars like Percival, Winslow, Caldwell, Pope and others kindled a sense of pride among Tamils about their heritage. The enthusiasm and thrill with which the European savants presented the salient features of Tamil language, literature, antiquities and religion also instilled in these Tamil scholars a notion of uniqueness about their past glory and set them apart from other races and peoples of India, especially the Brahmin community (broadly identified as Aryans)²

Rev. P. Percival was the Professor of Vernacular Literature at Presidency College, Madras during 1860s and collected nearly 5000 proverbs and edited them. Thus he laid the

foundation for linguistic research.³ Following in his footsteps Winslow, an American born Missionary scholar who settled in Madras and published a Dictionary in 1862. He is well-known to the Tamil world through his Dictionary. In his research work, he said that while all the vernaculars of India had been enriched by Sanskrit, that wonderful language has borrowed from the Dravidian group of which Tamil is the oldest⁴. It also strengthened the ideas of Percival about the glory of the Tamils.

An outstanding scholar among the Christian Missionaries, Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell (1814-1891) had strained his every nerve to resurrect Tamil from the dustbin. Caldwell is considered in Tamil Nadu as a prophetic scholar, the memory of whom in Tamil Nadu has been very sacred to the Dravidologists. It was he who resurrected and coined the word Dravidian to mean all the South Indian Languages. He studied them deeply to many years so that he could announce to the world authoritatively that the Dravidian languages did not originate from the Aryan family or do not belong to that family that their origins should be discovered somewhere else⁵.

Caldwell's thesis dispelled the darkness that satisfied the antiquity of Tamil and its family and dismantled the hegemony of Sanskrits, that it was the mother of all the world language, awakened the world of scholarship to Tamil studies and helped to remove all the prevalent fallacies about the Dravidian family of languages⁶. In his studies he showed the relations that prevailed between Sanskrit and the Dravidian group of Languages. He without any prejudice made it known that Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam had borrowed a lot of words from Sanskrit. As far as Tamil is concerned he said that it functioned independently. It is very difficult to avoid the impact of Sanskrit on the functioning of Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, but Tamil

has independent standing and requires no support of Sanskrit. In his analysis he first of all spoke about purity of the language. Then he emphasised the ancient glory of Tamil of all the Dravidian languages¹⁰. According to him Tamil is the classical and well matured language.

Caldwell's rare discovery, resurrection and his installation of Tamil on the high pedestal really startled the world of scholarship. But after sometime the Tamil world got awakened to the realities and started to continue the path identified by this great linguist¹¹. The immediate impact of his writings and findings on Tamils was the redemption of Tamil from the hegemony of any alien dialect, hence Pure Tamil Movement.

Another very leading Tamil Missionary scholar was G.U Pope (1820-1908). He worked as a Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu at the University of Oxford from 1884 to 1896. He translated Tirukkural, Tiruvacagam and Naladiyar in to English¹². His translation of the sacred Kural, the first of its kind into English with all its couplets, numbering a total of 1330, is considered as an example of his command of the subject matter in Kural.

Conceptualisation of the Dravidian Idea by Prof. Sundaram Pillai

The European missionaries, particularly Dr. Robert Caldwell and Dr. G.U Pope, opened up the flood gates of Dravidian studies which in fact led to the rediscovery of the Dravidian past. The rediscovery of the Dravidian antiquity and history, language and literature culture and thoughts, in turn, led to the Dravidian awakening. Influenced by the missionary zeal and enthusiasm of westerners Professor P. Sundaram Pillai¹⁶ conceptualised the Dravidian idea. He gave the rediscovered idea a shape, inner meaning and the coverage. As an ardent admirer of the Tamil language, its literatures and culture, Prof. Sundaram Pillai rose above the petty linguistic prejudices of South Indian, i.e. the Tamils, Telugs, Kannadigas and Malayalees, and gave them a new common bond of union on the geo-physical (regional), racial, linguistic and cultural grounds. The Tamizh Thaivazhthu (invocation of mother Goddess) of his famous drama Manonmaniyam (1891) reverberates this common bond of union¹⁷. It makes a clear demarcation of the land of the Dravidians as the

South of India being occupied by the race speaking a family of language.

Further, the author compared the works both in Sanskrit and Tamil and asserted that Tamil works are superior in their imagination morality piety, social justice and relevance. For instance, he said that those who knew the Kural well would never accept the laws of Manu, which discriminates between different castes and prescribes differing moral codes and justice. Likewise, he said that those who are captivated by the enthralling Tiruvacagam would not waste their time in chanting the vedas²⁰.

De-sanskritisation

In the days of C.J Beschi (1680-1747) the need to preserve Tamil was felt. He criticised excessive Sanskritisation in children's theological literature²³. Therefore personal names were de-sanskritised. A wrong impression was created that it all started with Swami Vedachalam calling himself MaraiMalai Adikal²⁴. Even in the 16th century Fr. Henriques signed his name as Andrikku Pathiriyar²⁵. Robert DeNobili (1577-1656) translated his name in the spoken Tamil usage of the elite of his age in to Thathuva Pothakar²⁶ and Fr. Beschi called himself Veeramamunivar²⁷. In conformity with the literary tradition of that era. Prof. V.S. Manickam considers professor Vi. Ko. Suryanarayana Sastri (1870-1903), a British scholar of high repute, who lived in the beginning of the 20th century, as the forerunner of the Pure Tamil Movement²⁸. He thereby advocated the independence of Tamil, particularly in his Tamil book. A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages. Prof. V.S. Manickam observes that the Professor himself in his zeal for pure Tamil, in his last days, changed his Sanskrit name 'Surya Narayana Sastri' in to Tamil name 'Parithimar Kalsignar'²⁹. Getting inspired by Prof. Parithimar Kalsignar's spark, Prof. Marai Malai Adikal spearheaded a movement for purifying Tamil of its Sanskrit bias and preserving the pristine purity of Tamil.

Early Influences of MaraiMalai Adikal

Before launching the Pure Tamil Movement, Swami Vedachalam had a preparatory period during which he had the benefit of learning and discussing matters with active and eminent personalities like Prof. Sundaram Pillai, Nallasami Pillai and Prof. Surya

Narayanasastri, who were propagating the ideas concerning the antiquity and cultural self-sufficiency of the Dravidians. It is probable that there were also other influences that shaped Swami Vedachalam's ideas³³. He published his first book in 1898 with the opening lines of Tirukkural. From, then, on a stream of varied publications in Tamil and English came out from his prolific pen. In 1902 the Adikal started a monthly journal viz Gnanacakaram. In the first issue itself he started to trace the origin of Tamil. He gave a lecture in the anniversary at the Madurai Tamil Sangam on 24 May 1904. It attracted the audiences who again invited him for the fourth anniversary of the sangam. There after he met the Tamizh Thatha U.Ve.Saminatha Iyer on May 26, 1906 in its fifth anniversary. The TamizhThatha (grand old man of Tamil) had all appreciation for the efforts of MaraiMalai Adikal³⁵.

Conclusion

The process of Dravidian awakening was not a systematic attempt on the part of the Tamils to purify their language and culture from alien influence. It was the spontaneous outcome of the rediscovery of the greatness of ancient Tamil classics in comparison with the North Indian works. The spontaneity was revealed in the outpourings of those connoisseurs of Tamil Language, literature, history and culture. This Dravidian awakening cumulatively brought into existence the Pure Tamil Movement. It is indeed interesting to speculate on its timing when we recall the fact that the Justice Party³⁹officially called at the beginning, South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF), which came into being from 1916 onwards. The organisation announced its birth with the publication of the 'Non Brahmin Manifesto' and proclaimed its aim to promote and protect the political interests of the non-Brahmin caste Hindus.

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A CRITICAL STUDY FOR THE DELAY IN THE ENACTMENT OF 73RD AND 74TH AMENDMENT ACTS IN FREE INDIA

C. Priyalakshmi

Introduction

India is a largest democratic country in the world. The success of democracy only lies in the devolution and decentralization of the powers to the local bodies. Indian modern system of Panchayat is based in part on traditional Panchayat Governance on the vision of

Mahatma Gandhi that "gram swaraj" and in part by the work of various committees to harmonize the highly centralized Indian governmental administration with a degree of local autonomy.¹ The result was intended to create greater participation in local government by people with more effective implementation of rural and urban

developmental programmes. The new Constitution of India stresses the need of the Panchayat Raj system in India. But due to the internal and external problems of India, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments came into force only after the 1992. These Acts are the major sources to provide the Constitutional status to the villages and gram sabhas.

Constitutional Backgrounds

Due to the external and internal problems of India there was a long gap prevailed in between 1947 to 1992 for giving Constitutional status to the Local Bodies. However, it is noteworthy that several legislations of provincial governments on Panchayati Raj carried over to the Post-Independent scenario were legislated between 1947 and 1950 (i.e. prior to the adoption of the Constitution) All of them provided for Panchayats by and large co-terminus with administrative units like the Village, Taluk and District. The provincial governments jealously guarded their interests by providing powers to the collector to supersede the decisions of apex level district bodies. Since 1992, local governance in India takes place in two distinct forms that is urban and rural. The urban localities covered in the 74th Amendment to the Constitution, have Nagar Palika which derive their powers from the individual state governments. But the powers of rural localities have been formulated under the Panchayati Raj system, under the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution.

While distributing powers between the Union and the States, the Article 40 of the Indian Constitution (Directive Principles of State Policy) vested local bodies and Panchayati Raj as a subject with the states but did not further elaborate on the relations between the states and this third tier form of government. Because Article 40 of the Constitution is an important authoritative affirmation and impetus for the laws in states under general guidance of union government.² Many measures were taken by states to bring their laws in conformity with Article 40 of the Constitution. In the states, where no law existed to provide for Panchayats, no new laws were passed. By 1951 – 52 there were over 70,000 Village Panchayats functioning in the country.³

Main causes for the Delay

From the 1920s to 1947 the Indian National Congress had been emphasized the idea of all India Swaraj, and organized movements for independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. But the spirit of devolution of power to grass level was completely neglected as a result. There was no consensus among the top leaders regarding the status and role to be assigned to the institution of rural self-government; rather there were more focused on independence of nation.

While Gandhiji favoured village Swaraj and strengthening the village Panchayat to the fullest extent but on the other end, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar opposed this idea. Because Ambedkar believed that the village represented regressive India, a source of oppression. The model state had to be build safeguards against such social oppression and the only way that it could be done through the adoption of the parliamentary model of politics.⁴ But finally the view of Mahatma Gandhi only optly came into reality after many effective measures.

During the drafting of the Constitution of India, Panchayati Raj Institutions were placed in the non-justifiable part of the Constitution, the Directive Principles of State Policy, as Article 40. The Article read "the state shall take steps to organize village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to functions as units of self-Government". However, no worthwhile legislation was enacted either at the national or state level to implement it. But since 1950, the major landmark in the evolution of Panchayati Raj system in India have been launching of Community Development Programme and National Extension Service, (1952), appointment of Balwantrai Mehta Committee (1957), introduction of three-tier system of Panchayati Raj, appointment of Ashok Mehta committee (1977), reform efforts by union-state governments and the Constitutional Amendments. All the above committees recommended that local self-government should be constitutionally recognized, protected and preserved by the inclusion of new chapter in the Constitution.

For the first four decades of the independent India, since the adoption of the new Constitution, Panchayati Raj Institutions have travelled from the non-justifiable part of the

Constitution to one where, through a separate Amendment, by which a whole new status has been added to their history.⁵ The suggestion of giving Constitutional status to the Local Bodies was opposed by the Sarkaria Commission, but the idea, however, gained momentum in the late 1980s especially because of the endorsement by the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who introduced the 64th (now 73rd Amendment) and 65th (now 74th Amendment) Constitutional Amendment Bills in 1989, on August 8, with his vision of "power to the People".

The Parliamentary Debates and Proceedings

In a nutshell, we can say that the establishment of community development blocks in rural India marks the beginning of the process of empowerment of citizens of India in 1952. The Balwanthrai Mehta Committee in 1957, the Ashok Mehta Committee in 1977 and the Sarkaria Committee in 1986 advanced this process through debates, but with varied conclusions. The concept of district planning was a major step in further pushing the debate on decentralization.

Rajiv Gandhi's Period

The 64th (now 73rd, Amendment) and 65th (now 74th Amendment) Constitutional Amendment Bills recommended some major structural changes in local governance, to ensure the functioning of local bodies as democratic units and result in greater participation of the people at the grass roots in decision making. It thus reduced the role and control of politicians at the state level in local governance, which was seen as a threat to political control by leaders in the state legislature. The rationale behind the decentralization process in India was explained by the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, while introducing the earlier 64th and 65th Amendment Bill in 1989, although his main emphasis was on the Panchayat Bill but the Nagar Palika Bill came as its companion piece. According to him, "the irregular and uncertain elections, the wide gap between the people and the implementing authority were the main reasons that had ignited the need for decentralization in governance."⁷

During the debate in Rajya Sabha regarding the Bills of Panchayat Raj and Nagarpalika began on 14th August, 1989,⁸ many states which were led by the opposition parties

including the opposition party leader L.K. Advani opposed the Bill.

After forceful deliberation on the 64th and 65th Bills the motion was put to vote. There were 83 Nays (No's) and 157 Ayes (Yes), there short of the requirement of two-third majority of the total of 240 members present and voting as a result the motion was announced defeated. Apart from the parliamentary debates, there was also an ongoing public debate. Eminent jurists wrote in the newspapers to enlarge the scope of the Bill so that the Panchayat could also function as the village judiciary with power to release bonded labourers and against discrimination of Dalits and women.⁹

V.P. Singh's Period

After the general elections in 1989, the National Front coalition formed the Government under the leadership of Prime Minister V.P. Singh and affirmed its intention to strengthen the federal structure through Panchayati Raj, as it was part of its manifesto. It asked the Law Minister to prepare an integrated Bill instead of two separate Bills. V.P. Singh also indicated its intension to introduce a new Panchayat Bill in the Parliament with a view to create a new work of democratic self-government institutions all over the country. It favoured grant of greater powers to Panchayat Raj Institutions and wanted their involvement in the formulation of plan as well as their implementation. Prime Minister V.P. Singh had appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of S.R. Bommai. In his report, the committee appreciated the Amendments for making the Panchayats and local bodies' effective units, but also proposed a few alterations.¹⁰

Later in September, 1990, the then Law Minister introduced the Bill in the Lok Sabha which was not substantially different from the drafts of Rajiv Gandhi. Here also Article 40 of the Constitution was the source of inspiration. Moreover, the Bill recognized the same statement of objects, reasons and inadequacies as the last draft (including the absence of regular elections, prolonged suppression, inadequate representation of the weaker sections, insufficient devolution of powers and lack of financial resources).¹¹

This time the Amendment Bill added a new part titled "Local authorities", covering both the

municipalities and Panchayats. Though the Bill was framed like former draft a few new provisions were appended. The important provision contributed by the V.P. Singh Government was to recognize the Gram Sabha as the General Assembly. It also incorporated the provision of proximity between the people and their representatives. These Gram Sabhas (two or more) would constitute Panchayats at the village level comprising the elected representatives from territorial Constituencies. Apparently, the state Governments were at liberty to decide on two or three-tier set up at other levels. But unfortunately, before the Bill could be introduced in Parliament for consideration, the Mandal issue had aggravated the situation followed by agitations on the Babri Masjid issue. Consequently, the BJP withdraw its support and the V.P. Singh government was defeated by 346 votes to 142.

P.V. Narashima Rao's Regime

P.V. Narashima Rao came to the power in June 1991 he introduced the Panchayati Raj and Nagarapalika Bill in September 1991. It was in the form of two separate Bills, the 72nd (now 73rd) Amendment Bill for the rural local bodies and the 73rd (now the 74th) Amendment Bill for municipalities. The two Bills got final approval only after the 15 months gap by the joint Select Committee of the Parliament. Finally the committee passed Bills as the 73rd and the 74th Amendment Bills in the month of December, 1992.

The redrafting of the Amendment Bills continued as two separate exercises, pursued by two separate Ministers. On September 16, 1991, Sri Venkataswamy and Smt. Shiela Kaul¹² separately introduced the 72nd (now 73rd) and 73rd (now 74th) Amendment Bills in the Lok Sabha, towards the end of the monsoon session, on 16th September 1991. Both rural and urban ministers referred the two Bills needs to two separate Joint Committees of both Houses of Parliament. The motion was concurred in Rajya

Sabha on 21 December 1991.¹³ There were no objections on the provisions of reservations and direct elections from territorial Constituencies for the 73rd Amendment Bill. However, the Joint Parliamentary Committees recommended direct elections at all levels.¹⁴

On 23rd December the Rajya Sabha approved the two Bills without much debate.¹⁵ Narashima Rao pushed for and obtained a consensus on what was feasible. The Bills were passed, which required ratification by half of the states in accordance with Articles 73rd and 162 of the Constitution, as the Amendments sought collision between the Union and States on the exercise of executive power. The Amendment Acts were ratified and were renumbered as 73rd and 74th Amendments.

Both 73rd and 74th came into force in throughout India on April 23, 1993 and December 22, 1993 respectively. In April 1993 the President gave his assent to the same. The state governments were asked to align the laws of Panchayats and municipalities in accordance with the amendments by April, 1994. Interestingly, the process of decentralization was implemented more effectively in the States where non-Congress Governments were ruling after it was passed by a Congress Government led by Narashima Rao (example: Kerala's Left Front Government)

Conclusion

The present study draw to conclude that the several circumstances that led to the delay in the enactment of 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts. We have keenly seen and come across several circumstances which were led to the delay in the enactment of 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts due to drafting deficiency of Indian Constitution with non-justifiable part of Article 40, forming of many committees with more inadequate recommendations and time consuming in defective debates of Parliamentary Houses.

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MOB LYNCHINGS ON THE RISE: THE UNABATED FEAR AND VIOLENCE THAT HAUNTS INDIA TODAY

P. Priyadarsini

Mob Lynchings are so common in India today and the fear it creates in the minds of people continues unabated. Due to malice politics, the life and liberty of the people are being infringed upon everywhere. It involves a group of violent people attacking a person, on the lines of religion, caste based discrimination and targeting of a particular community. This paper intends to examine the increasing role of mobocracy in silencing the minorities and the so called 'others' of the society. Myths and Real life incidents from time immemorial have seen the power of the mobs attacking the poor and the marginalised sections of the societies.

The recurrence of Mob killings in history would frighten anyone by the excruciating pain it inflicted upon the victims. It has found expression in the numerous plays and novels written in different times. The death of Farkhunda Malikzada, a 27 year old woman in Afganistan in 2015 sent shivers down our spines. She was attacked by an angry mob for being not religious and the police who initially tried to protect her and disperse the radical mob, but were overwhelmed by the mob's number and fury.¹ Khalid Hossaini, a very famous Afgan author wrote that he felt depressed that a defenseless woman was beaten to death by a mob of men. Her body was dragged and burned in the bed of a dry river.² He lamented for the fact that it did not happen in a remote conservative village in Afghanistan but in Kabul, an urban city

embodying what passes for progressive thoughts in Afghanistan. Way back in 2007, Hussaini had written a novel, *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, in which the protagonist Mariyam who got arrested by the Taliban was stoned to death. The novel speaks a lot about the suffering of women during the Taliban regime.³

The word lynching which is used for mob killings originated in the US in the mid-18th century. Lynching is a pre-meditated extra judicial killing by a group. It is most often used to characterize informal public executions by a mob in order to punish an alleged aggressor or to intimidate a group. It is often conducted with a display of a public spectacle for maximum intimidation.

In the US, lynching of Afro Americans became frequent in the re-construction era (1863-1877). Abraham Lincoln's emancipation of slaves had set free the blacks with a lot of civic rights. The white supremacist vision that intended to preserve the traditional cultural standards and elitism of the whites was at loggerheads with the emancipationist vision which sought total freedom for Afro Americans.⁴

It would be interesting at this juncture to enquire about the history of violence in our own country.⁵ The view that Indians are culturally non violent and our culture promotes peaceful coexistence does not stand up for historical

scrutiny. There are ample evidences of enormous cruelty against demons and outcastes in *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. Wasn't *Shurpanaka*, the demon mistreated by Rama, the *Maryadapurushothama* for her innocent proposal? The epic says the His brother *Lakshman* chopped off her breasts and nose which left *Shurpanaka* embarrassed and humiliated. Characterising Indian culture as intrinsically peacable is thoroughly incorrect as we find our epics and scripture being totally unfair to *shudras*, women and downtrodden. Political violence in Ancient India written by the prominent historian Upinder Singh delves into the concept of nonviolence myth associated with ancient India. Singh argues that during the national movement Gandhi and Nehru helped to create a myth of non-violence in Ancient India that observes a troubled complex heritage.⁶

However it seems to be strange that there is indeed no word for lynching in most Indian languages. This is in spite of the fact that in India the marginalised always had a tough going and were ghastly lynched even for very small crimes. Harsh Mander writes that Dalits have been lynched for growing a moustache, riding a horse or even building a two story home.⁷ He also writes that single women have frequently been lynched through centuries, branded as witches. Nowadays lynchings in the name of cow vigilantism is so common that it creates a fear psyche in the minds of all. Though it targets legal cow smugglers, but in some cases even licensed cow traders have swelled in the last couple of years. A total of 63 cow vigilante attacks had occurred in India between 2010 and 2017.⁸

Cow protection groups are gangs who patrol highways and roads at night, looking for trucks that might be smuggling cows across the state borders.⁹ These gangs are unorganised and are hard to control when it comes to the display of violence and anger¹⁰. Christoffer Jafferlot writes that the *Gau Rakshaks* do the jobs for some state governments. By letting vigilantes harass the minorities openly they keep majoritarian feelings satisfied.¹¹ They even were provided police uniforms to do such heinous crimes. After all the people's will is beyond the law; it is the law. This is something the judiciary has started to internalise as shown by courts factoring the religious sentiments of the people (of the majority to be precise) in some of their

decisions. The 2015 *Dadri* Mob lynchings, 2017 *Alwar* mob lynchings and a lot more of the same type where the minority got targeted bear testimony to the patriarchal, feudal mind set of the powerful majority. The total undermining of laws in the Mohammed Akhlaq case at *Dadri* and the Pehlu Khan case at *Alwar* has truly resulted in the collapse of the constitutional laws.

It would be of utmost interest at this juncture to enquire about lynchings in our own state of Kerala too. Experts say that only a specific section of people are targeted – Dalits, migrant workers, transgender People and women. Only those who belong to the above mentioned list or those who are from the lower strata of the society are victimised by mobs in this so-called progressive and 100% literate state. It has now become the norm in Kerala to blame migrant workers or tribals or transgender people or Dalits if something goes missing in any locality. Manik Roy from west Bengal was lynched to death for a silly allegation – stealing a hen. In 2018, a tribal man Madhu was lynched to death for stealing food in Attappady in Palakkad district.¹² This incident triggered national outrage as the event went viral with the culprits themselves boasting the video of lynching in the social media. The rise of violence is a reflection of lawlessness and loss of moral quotient in the society and the recent trend has baffled social scientists. It is alarming to know that Kerala has reported the highest number of mob violence with respect to its population.¹³ An apparent atmosphere of impunity for attackers with the social media encouraging criminal elements to take law into their own hands has led to the increase in the lynching rates in the state.

It is the duty of the state to ensure that the machinery of law and order functions effectively in maintaining peace, so as to preserve our quintessentially secular ethos and the pluralistic social fabric in a democratic set-up governed by rule of law. The state has to act positively and responsibly to safeguard and secure the constitutional promises to its citizens. The crowd is of a general perception that if judiciary and police administration cannot provide them justice, they should own it by themselves even if the person has committed a minor offence such as theft. Reviving the lost trust and faith of the people in judiciary and police system may help

to lower such horrendous crimes. It would be possible to an extent if lynching cases are dealt without politicising it. If India wants to be a progressive country, it need policy

implementation that curtails mob lynching from its roots. An act that strictly punishes the culprit will only help to uphold the pluralist and secular ethos of the nation.

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RADICAL AND RATIONALISTIC IDEOLOGIES IN SNDP YOGAM – A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Dr. O.C Promod

The 19th century Travancore witnessed many superstitious customs and rituals in society. Untouchability was a great problem in the entire Hindu community and the Brahmins were the only community skipped from it in India during those days. The system was introduced for the sake of minority group of Brahmins in society and crores and crores of majority class lower community suffered much in this system. It is a funny thing that, most of the lower class was not ready to occupy powers from Brahmins. It is the victory of Brahmin community to mould a lower-class society for the betterment of upper class community in the erstwhile Travancore region. The educated Brahmins also orally taught to the un-educated lower class that, it is sin to behave in manner-less to the upper class Brahmin community, because they are associated with supreme god!! By the system, each and every Hindu class have to maintain a specified distance from other communities. A king (if he is non-brahmin) shall maintain two feet from Brahmins, while *Nairs* 3 feet from them. *Ezhavas* maintain 12 feet and *Pulayas* keep a distance of 54 feet and *Parayas* 64 from the Brahmins.¹ Another funny thing is that, most of them were happy, because most of them were superior among their lower classes. A dress code was also prescribed depending on the status of community. Education was restricted on the

lower class and they had no right to enter their temples. Lower classes were taxed heavily on various accounts.

On this context, the *Sree Narayana Darma Paripalana yogam (SNDP)* was organized in 1904 on the grace of Sree Narayana Guru and his disciples. He had made verbal struggles against the prominent upper class sections in society during those days. To criticise the Hindu texts, were not only sin, but also a punishable crime in Travancore area during those days. Therefore nobody was ready to questioning the existing rules in society. Narayana Guru was the first person questioned the existing caste rules in the erstwhile Travancore. He strongly opposed the *Chaturvarna* system in Hindu society.² That is why Narayana Guru is considered as the father of social reform movements in Kerala. He raised his voice against the predominance of the Brahmins in all spheres of life and he worked for the establishment of a classless and casteless society.³ He was born in an Ezhava family at Chempazhanthi in the erstwhile Travancore state. Ezhava community was a leading Hindu lower class community at Travancore region. After the formation of SNDP, Narayana Guru gave shelter to the all other lower class communities, who were even the lower status in social strata than Ezhavas. But SNDP was

always on the hands of Ezhava community and SNDP leaders were also unofficially the spokesmen of all other lower class. The members of Ezhava community and other lower class considered inferior to Ezhavas had no right to wear *dhoties* (long plain cloth) below their knees and not allowed to cover-up their breasts/bosoms by using blouse or shirts and not allowed to wear nose-studs or other precious ornaments. Sree Narayana Guru was the greatest revolutionary in Kerala society and his teachings resulted major socio-religious reforms and also had repercussions in the various aspects of social life like art, literature, education, religious practices, dress, manners, etc. He came from a community, which was totally outside the four-fold varnas of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Shudras.⁴ The *Sudras* never got chance to the better education and the Hindu philosophy never accepted it. Criticizing and questioning of *Sruthies* and *Smrities* were not possible and it was not only a sin but also a punishable crime in accordance with the existing Hindu laws. But the introduction of missionary school of Europeans paved the way for development of education from Manglore in the north and to the Kanyakumari in the south.⁵

The entries to the temples were restricted only to the upper class community on those days. Therefore Narayana Guru consecrated a *Siva* idol at Neyyattinkara near Trivandrum in 1888, which was a revolutionary step ever in the history of Travancore.⁶ The consecration of idols were the right of upper class Brahmin community and by questioning the aspect, Guru had done a revolutionary step in the religious history of Travancore. While upper class questioned the matter to Guru he simply told them that, he was consecrated only the Ezhava *Siva*, not the Brahmin *Siva* and he also permitted all other communities to make worship at the temple. On the wall of the temple it is seen that, *this is the ideal house, where all live in full fraternity without distinction of caste or prejudice of creed.*⁷ Afterwards he had appointed some Ezhava priests in the temple and given instruction to start a school nearby the temple irrespective of considering their gender or creed. Weaving has been the traditional profession of Ezhavas and Guru encouraged establishing a weaving mill nearby the temple.⁸ He had denied other bad demon worship like *chathan*, *Badra Kali*, *Chamundi*, *Marutha* etc and discouraged

killing of cocks, consumption of arrack and black-art. In the next annual year of Aruvippuram idol consecration, Sree Narayana Guru consecrated another idol at Kunnumpara near Kovalam at Trivandrum. On the request of devotees, he had consecrated at Mannanthala (Trivandrum), Kulathoor, Vakkom, Murikkumpuzha in later years.⁹ In total Guru consecrated nearly 100 idols in different temples in south India.

In 1904 Narayana Guru presided a meeting of Ezhavas at Paravur in Kollam district. Guru had taken strong stand against the evil practices such as *Thalickettu*, *Tirandukuli*, *Pulikudi* etc and encouraged modern marriage alliance among Ezhavas. On 7th and 8th January 1905 the second annual meeting of SNDP yogam held at Kollam under the president-ship of Dr. Palpu. In addition to agricultural and industrial exhibition, Guru asserted that the superstitions in all forms should be discouraged and encourage all forms of virtues in religion.¹⁰ The funny thing is that almost all leaders in every religious community strongly oppose all type of superstitions in society. But they cannot separate which one is belief or which one is superstition? Most of the superstitions of others are the mere belief of the believers. Opposing superstition is in fact the destroying their own religion in other aspect. Even though Guru and his followers preached against *thalickettu kalyanam*,¹¹ some of the members in Ezhava community continued their rituals by neglecting SNDP yogam. On the context in one instance, Guru reached at a house at Karimkulam near Neyyattinkara, Trivandrum, where the parents of a girl planned to conduct *thalickettu kalyanam* on that day. Guru directly advised the parents and their close relatives attended there and Guru himself announced that the programme is cancelled and given fruits and flowers to the girl. *Tirandukuli*, *Pulikudi*, *Poligamy* and *polyandry* were discouraged by Guru at every context.¹²

Meanwhile the ideology of radicalism developed in SNDP yogam and the people became aware of *Aham Brahmasmi* and *Tatwamassi* from Guru¹³. At the context, while the construction of Adwaita Ashrama at Aluva became over, Guru consecrated 'nothing' at there. It was a revolutionary step not only among Ezhavas but also in the history of Kerala. Sree Narayana Guru was also the strong upholder of

Adwaita philosophy¹⁴. Even though the esteem of Adwaita philosopher, Saint Sankaracharya crossed the boundaries of Hinduism, nobody dared to criticise him except Sree Narayana Guru. Guru opined that, whoever even the God discouraged a *Sudra* for studying Vedas, we cannot accept it any instance. One caste, One Religion, One God to man was the slogan of Sree Narayana Guru, which asserted the oneness in humanity irrespective of caste, creed, religion, gender etc.⁵ SNDP yogam engaged itself in the laudable efforts of eradicating untouchability and voicing the fundamental human rights of the working class. These efforts actually paved the way for many of Guru's followers to accept later the Marxist interpretation of socialism as their most acceptable ideal.¹⁶ Narayana Guru's sanyasi disciples are Sivalinga Swamy (Nair), Bodhananda (Ezhava), Sree Narayana Chaithanya (Nair), Swami Amritananda (namboothiri), Swami Govidananda (Ezhava), Swami Dharma Teertha (Nair), Swami Ananda Teertha (Shenoy), Swami Sakaranda (Ezhava), Swami Guru Prasad (Thiya), Swami Vidyananda (Ezhava), Swami Atmananda (Ganeke). Sanyasins are never considered to belong to any caste or tribe. The Guru even gave sanyasa to an English man by name Ernest Kirk. The Guru advised Kirk to continue in his western mode of clothing and to retain his own Christian name. In the Ashram the Guru took young boys from among the so-called untouchables, particularly from the *Pariah* and *Pulaya* communities, and made them chant the Upanishads, offer worship in the temple and cook and serve food to the residents and visitors at the Sivagiri Mutt.¹⁷ A world religious conference was convened by SNDP yogam in 1924 at Adwaita Ashram, Aluva. It was the first one ever in the history of India. The representative of different religion had delivered their messages there. The message of Sree Narayana Guru was the essential one and he pointed out that all religions are one and there is no need to quarrel each other. He also added that the doctrines of all religions will be taught to the proposed school at Sivagiri.¹⁸ Sahodaran Ayyappan was one of the notable disciple of Sree Narayana Guru had taken so many drastic measures against casteism and social evils in society. By the grace of Guru he had started Sahodara movement aimed to inter-religious marriages. He had good contact with the lower

class community including that of Pulayas and he had directly participated and associated with inter-caste dining with them and became outcasted from Ezhava community and known as 'Pulayan Ayyappan'. Ayyappan had a major role to develop radical and revolutionary thinking in Keralas. Keralites heard about socialist revolution through the Russian revolutionary V.I Lenin and Sahodaran Ayyappan. Vykam satyagraha (1924) was started by T.K Madhavan who was an another disciple of Sree Narayana Guru. It was a *satyagraha* of lower class community demanding to give the freedom to walk on the road nearby Vykam temple. Sree Narayana Guru, Gandhiji, Mannath Padmanabhan, E.V Ramaswami Naikkar from Madras, Akalidal leaders from Punjab etc were actively participated in it. Eventhough the satyagraha failed to achieve its aim, but it eventually get permission to temple entry in 1936.¹⁹ During the time of Gandhi's visit to Sivagiri Ashram, Gandhiji enquired a doubt to Guru. The doubt was connected with caste system and Gandhi asked to Guru that, all leaves in trees are not alike as if, the argument of caste Hindu may be true. In reply Guru finely answered that, leaves may be different, just like human beings, as humans are different in their physic, but when we take the juice of leaves, the tastes are same in every manner. Just like the leaf juice, all virtues are same in all human beings.

The nature of consecration of idols of Sree Narayana Guru can be seen differently in different periods. In 1888 he had proved and challenged that all person has the right to consecrate any idol irrespective of considering his colour, creed, religion etc. Guru never believes in idol worship but, the consecration of Siva idol at Aruvippuram in 1888 has considered a revolutionary step in the religious history of Kerala. In later years, he never uplift the ideology, but consecrated mirror as idol at Kalavangodam in Alappuzha and written the Sanskrit word of 'Ohm'and a lamp at Karamukku, Trissur and announced that 'let light radiate'. It is interpreted that light is knowledge and darkness is the evils in society. He never consecrated any idol at Adwaita Ashram, Aluva and given the ideological stress of *Aham Brahmasmi* at there.²⁰ In 1917 he asserted to the public that do not encourage the establishment of temples. Schools should be considered as temples and raise money to establish number of

schools and the main temples should be the schools in every aspect. Guru preached 'to be an intellect by acquiring better education'. The advice of Guru became fruitful when one of his disciples R Sanker became the Education Minister of Travancore and implemented to establish number of schools in different part of the state. He allotted number of schools to SNDP yogam along with other communities. Guru used religion as a tool for gathering a society and temple acted an auditorium for the public. He insisted the society to be clean both in body and mind while enter in to the shrine. But gradually he knows the fact that the temples are separating the society on the basis of caste. Finally he found that better education is the solution to evict communal divisions and asserted that don't give money to construct temples and it is the wastage of money. In another context Guru asserted that sufficient water flowing bathrooms are necessary to the public than the temple ponds. He also stressed that there is no need of elephant and crackers during the time of festivals, because it is the wastage of money and he had suggested that money from temples can be utilized for the poor in society. At this juncture he also raised a slogan that, 'whatever be one's religion, it is enough if the individual becomes good'. After the submission of Ezhava memorial, the government of Travancore instructed to start school for Ezhavas, but there is no provision added that the Ezhava students can also admit in other schools. The situation is that, Ezhava students could not study along with other students. The Nair community openly opposed the entry of Ezhavas in schools and which led to violent clashes between two communities and many such incidents occurred in Kollam district. ²¹ Whenever the superior communities stood against the entry of Ezhava students in schools, Sree Narayana Guru led a silent revolution against the system and gradually Ezhava students became permitted to study in all other schools irrespective of caste or creed. ²²

The higher cadre officer posts in Travancore government were handled by Brahmins of others states. Even though there were number of educated Malayalees in the state, the post Diwan and other prominent cadres were reserved to the outsiders. No Malayalee was earning the monthly salary of even Rs.500 and no Ezhava in Travancore state service earning more than Rs.5 per month. The people of

Travancore prepared a memorandum signed by 10037 people and submitted the petition to the royal government in 1891. Dr. Palpu, the disciple of Sree Narayana Guru signed in it as the third person. ²³ Kerala Brahmins, Nairs, Ambalavasies, Christians, Ezhavas etc. duly signed in the petition. The memorandum became known in history as 'Malayalee Memorial' ²⁴. Even though the Travancore royal family was belonged to the Hindu community, they never gave any facilities to Ezhava community. The denial of educational facilities and government jobs to Ezhavas were common in Hindu kingdom. If anybody converted to other religion, they may get all facilities and other virtues. The educated Ezhavas were numbered as 25,000 but nobody got a government job with the salary of Rs.5 or more per month. Therefore Dr. Palpu made a memorandum in 1896 and 13,000 Ezhavas signed in it and submitted to Sreemoolam Thirunal, the then ruler of Travancore and the memorandum became known in Kerala history as 'Ezhava Memorial'. At the same time, the Ezhavas got facilities to study and work in neighbouring kingdoms. The Travancore government neglected the Ezhavas, even though they had given an alert in the form of a memorandum. In 1913 the Diwan of Travancore defended the government reluctance to employ Ezhavas in certain government departments on account of their caste. He added that, if too many Ezhavas are taken, the work may be obstructed as they could not enter all places freely such as temples, Brahmin houses and the like. ²⁵ That is why we can conclude that the caste based social setup is the evil in Travancore society. Dr Palpu put up these matters to the British parliament with the help of his friend Barrister G.K Pillai. The matter noticed in British Common Assembly and the atrocities on Ezhava communities by the forward class in Travancore became an issue in different dailies in England and India. The humiliating news compelled the Travancore authorities to open their blind eyes towards Ezhavas and became ready to change their policies in near future. ²⁶ Dr. Palpu's family in three generations themselves faced such atrocities from the Travancore government. Even though Palpu's father was an educated, but never got an employment in Travancore government. Even though Palpus's elder brother was a BA degree holder, but never given any government job in Travancore. Palpu himself not allowed

studying medical degree at Travancore, even though some of his lower ranks in marks received such opportunities here. After his completion of medical degree from Madras, his application for job was not considered at Travancore due to communal issue. Dr. Palpu's son Natarajan (later Nataraja Guru) was also a well educated trained post graduate, but doors were closed on him.²⁷

In 1932 Travancore government introduced some administrative reforms, which were against the Ezhavas, Christians and the Muslims. They boycotted the elections held in the state. Thus they made a Joint Political Congress and demanded reservation in state service. On 11th May 1935 an Ezhava leader named C Kesavan addressed a public meeting at Kozhencherry and strongly criticised the inhuman policies of government. He became get arrested and imposed sabotage on him and imprisoned for two years. It provoked the agitators and spread the strike to the nearby areas also. The government finally surrendered before the agitators and approved their demands and Public Service Commission became constituted in 1936¹ The organized victory of SNDP yogam, tempted other communities to form their own organization on the pattern of SNDP yogam. Thus different community based organization came into existence in Travancore-Cochin and Malabar areas. The social movement banked heavily on rationalist and egalitarian world views in providing a radical critique of caste which had a remarkable impact on other castes. Thus Sadhu Jana Paripalana Yogam formed in 1905 by Ayyankali of Pulaya community in Travancore. Vala Samudaya Parishkarini Sabha in 1912 by Karuppan, Darma Paripalana Sangam, Nair Service Society in 1914, Yoga Kshema Sabha in 1908 etc. Guru's ideas of temperance were also concerned with the social and economic improvement of the Ezhava and other backward communities. The identification of Ezhavas with liquor further strengthened the movement of Narayana Guru.²⁸ Guru declared that, 'Liquor is poison and it should not be manufactured, served or drunk. The toddy tapper's body will stink, his clothes will stink, his house will stink, and whatever he touches will stink.' Due to the influence of the Guru and the consistent work of T.K Madhavan and Sahodharan Ayyappan, a number of people stopped drinking and toddy shop agents and

toddy tappers relinquished their profession. As a result of their activities, in 1922 the number of auctioneers was less than the total number of shops and therefore the government suffered a loss of four lakh rupees from the items of Abkari.²⁹ Though Ezhavas are prominent number in Hinduism, the forward class humiliated them in every aspect in social strata. They could not enter the temples and considered them as untouchable. Public roads leading to temples were blocked on them but even pigs, dogs and cattle can easily enter the road. Likewise, during the time of festivals in temples like *Trissur Pooram* the Ezhavas and other untouchables, who were living on the road-side, were required to vacate their houses to avoid pollution to the procession which carried the idol of God with the retinue of the Brahmins and other upper caste Hindus.³⁰ Naturally the backward communities felt these disabilities as humiliating and seriously affecting their self-respect. These matters became an issue among Ezhavas and other downward classes. The funny thing is that, those who desire to convert to other religion are freed from these inhuman atrocities on the basis of caste. Wide discussion developed among these lower class communities and a big group among them decided to convert to other religions to skip from injustice in Hinduism. The challenges of Christianity and Islam already a threat to Hinduism and they became alert in the current situation. Other Hindu organizations joined hands with each other and informed the serious situation to the Travancore government created by SNDP leaders and other backward communities. The forward Hindu groups initiated steps on war-like basis to console lower class and started to reinterpret the Hindu Sastras. They convened broad Hindu meetings and encouraged inter-caste dining and never opposed inter-caste marriages. The leaders of different communities initiated efforts to change the attitude of the members of their castes towards those castes which had traditionally been held inferior to them.³¹ As a result the Travancore government decided to open the place of worship of Hindus (temples) through a Temple Entry Proclamation in the year 1936.³²

It is very sad to announce that, our history is biased well and even the prominent Indian historians are concentrating into some specified areas. Most of the time, the history of south were neglected or not noticed or studied well. One or

two sentences may be enough to prove this argument. In 1923 Rabindranath Tagore, the great poet of India desired to meet Sree Narayana Guru and informed the matter to Sivagiri Mutt and thus the permission granted to him and he spent some hours with Guru. Afterwards Tagore opined that, "I have got many chances to visit many countries and talked with many saints and leaders around the world. But proudly admit that, I never seen such a person with high spirituality and never seen another person equal to Sree Narayana Guru".³³ C.F Andrews, an English by birth but spent his time for the national movement of India with other nationalist leaders and achieved the name '*deenbandhu*' recalls that, "I saw God in the form of a human being, and the divinity is seen at the southern part of India and his name is Sree Narayana Guru."² The great Gandhian Acharya Vinobha bhave opined that Sree Narayana Guru is one of the incarnations of India. Gandhiji addressed Guru as His Holiness Swami Sree Narayana Guru and Sir C.P Ramaswami Aiyar, the Diwan of Travancore opined that, Guru was a messenger of God, because before the temple entry proclamation and the abolition of social evils and ending of caste discrimination, Guru worked hard to end the practise in the state of Travancore. He always stood for social harmony and universal brother hood.³ Sree Narayana Guru was the great opposer of religious conversion even though Ezhavas faced atrocities from upper class Hindus. He opined that in every religion good and bad people can be seen.

Basically all religious aspects are good, but its preachers are thinking differently. On the context he opined that, 'whatever be one's religion, it is enough if the individual becomes good'. When flow of lower classes Hindus to other communities Guru choked such flow and saved Hinduism forever. If he permitted the flow, the entire lower class in Hinduism in Travancore-Cochin area may merge with other religions. But the pity thing is that, Sree Narayana Guru is not considered as a prominent one in the heart of upper class Hindus even today. It is true that the people are blinded with their casteism and they cannot admit a lower class figure in their minds. But Guru became the leader of majority class marginalized people in Kerala. The historians of north India has given much importance of Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj and its leaders. The thing is that the SNDP and its activities influenced much of the people compared to those organizations in north India and Guru became the leader of more than 20 lakhs people and he directly or indirectly consecrated more than 100 temples within a short period of two decades by challenging the upper class Hindus and he insisted people to start educational institutions, industries by the side of temples. It was a revolutionary step initiated by Guru but ignored by the upper class in Hinduism. The early historians were the representatives of upper class and deliberately neglected Sree Narayana Guru in all aspects. But the truth will shine well and one day the whole world will consider Sree Narayana Guru and his teachings in hearts.

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1. Pulayas were considered as untouchables in the past and today they are in SC category. Ezhavas are belonging to OBC category at the present situation. Even though Nairs are come under sudra category in *chaturvarna* system, but they are considered as forward class in the present context. The Brahmins used the Nair ladies to satisfy their lust in the past days and it was considered as a prestige to the Nair family. Naturally Brahmins considered Nairs as superiors even though they are actually hailed in sudra family.
2. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *Irunda Yugam: Kerala Guruvinu Mumbu (Mal)*, Kerala Kaumudi Sreenarayana Directory, Thiruvananthapuram.2009.p.45
3. KKN Kurup, *The intellectual movements and anti-caste struggles in kerala*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Vol. 55 ,New Delhi.1994, pp. 673-677
4. Dr. S Omana, *Sree Narayana Guru*, Critical quest, New Delhi.2005.p.16
5. *Ibid*.p.45
6. Prof. D Damodaran Namboothiri, *op. cit*. p.460.
7. Field visit of Researcher on 13.10.2018
8. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit*.p.57
9. *Idem*.
10. T.P. Sankarankutty Nair, Dr. Palpu, The pioneer ezhava social reformer of kerala, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Vol. 40 ,1979., pp. 841-848
11. Temporary child marriage function, but the relation between the child-couples may not last long. When they grown-up they have to seek another life partner in their life.
12. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit*. pp. 63,64
13. According to Hindu philosophy, the divinity of *Brahmam* is also seen to all living beings. Some of the human beings are searching for god everywhere in the world, but one Hindu philosophy specifies that no need for searching god to anywhere because, the divinity of god is seen in everybody themselves.
14. Saint Sankaracharya was the propagator of Adwaita philosophy in Hinduism. According to the philosophy, there are two Brahmins in universe-Aham and Param.

- Aham can be seen inside of a living beings, while param can be seen outside of a living beings. Aham Brahma can be seen inside of everyone, but Param Brahma can be on the direct custody of supreme God. According to Adwaita philosophy, Aham and Param are not two but only one and all are the part and parcel of influencing a human life.
15. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit.* p.67
 16. Dr. S Omana, *op. cit.* p.19
 17. *Ibid.* p.20
 18. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit.* p.68
 19. Manu S Pillai, *The Ivory throne-Chronicles of the house of Travancore*, Harper Collins Publishers, Noida. 2015. pp.141-147 & 394-396
 20. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit.* p.87
 21. Prof. D Damodaran Namboothiri, *op. cit.* p.446
 22. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit.* p.94
 23. *Ibid.* p.96
 24. Prof. D Damodaran Namboothiri, *op. cit.* p.443.
 25. Proceedings of the Sree Mulam Assembly, 1913, p.163
 26. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit.* pp.98,99
 27. *Idem.*
 28. A Ayyappan, Social Revolution in a Kerala village: A study in cultural change, Bombay, 1965, p.154
 29. Prof. D Damodaran Namboothiri, *op. cit.* p.473
 30. Mitavadi, November 1918, Vol.6, No.11, p.26
 31. Prof. D Damodaran Namboothiri, *op. cit.* pp.483,484
 32. Manu S Pillai, *op. cit.* pp.400-405
 33. Nedumkunnam Gopala Krishnan, *op. cit.* p.421

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY ADOPTED BY INDIA FROM 1947 TO 2015 – AN OVER VIEW

R. Rajeshwari

INTRODUCTION

Education holds an important place in the history of India right from the ancient time onwards. In ancient times, India had the Gurukula system of education in which the student stayed along with the Guru for long years in his place by doing all the activities of the teacher. This taught the disciple not only the essence of education but also the entire things which would be practised in the life. This created a strong bond between the teacher and the student and Guru taught everything the child wanted to learn from Sanskrit to Mathematics and Meta physics. The most important achievement in this system was that it leads to perfection of state and mind of man because it laid emphasis on discipline and punctuality. All learning was closely linked to the nature and to life and not confined to memorizing some information. There was perfect autonomy in the education system. Access to good education depended not on wealth but on talent. Some of the best known universities in India are Ancient *Nalanda, Takshashila, Kanchipuram* and so on.

The Modern school system was brought to India; including the English language originally by Lord Macaulay in the 1830s. Now the teaching method underwent a drastic change. Teaching was confined to classroom and the link between nature and persons slowly diminished. The Uttar Pradesh Board of High School and Intermediate Education was the first Board set up

in India in the year 1921. Several boards were established in the later years in some of the states. In 1952, the Constitution of the Board was amended and it was renamed as Central Board of Secondary Education.

Education in the Post Independent era

Education has been given a great value by the great leaders of the Indian National Movement. Gandhiji formulated the scheme of education which harmonise intellectual and manual work. Many other leaders made a great contribution to national education before independence. In the post- independence period a major concern of the Government was the improvement in the educational policy for the progress and security of the country. In 1952 Universal Education Commission and the Secondary Education Commission were formed. Again in 1964 the Education Commission was formed with a view to enlarge the scope and pattern of education. The general policies and principles of all levels and aspects were discussed. Thus National Education Policy emerged in the course of these discussions.

National Policy on Education

The Indian Government had introduced various programmes to solve the illiteracy in the country soon after its independence in 1947. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's first education minister envisaged strong central government control over education throughout the country

with a uniform educational system. The Government established the University Education Commission (1948-49) and the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) to develop proposals to modernise India's education system. For the development of high quality scientific education system institutions like IIT was introduced during Nehru period. In 1961, the Union Government formed the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) was formed which would advise both the Union and state government on implementing educational policies.

This policy was formulated by the Government of India for the promulgation of education in the country irrespective of caste, and region. The first NPE was promulgated in 1968 by Indira Gandhi and the second by Rajiv Gandhi in 1986. The first policy on Education called for a 'radical restructuring' and equalise educational opportunities in order to achieve national integration and the socio-economic development. Language learning became more important in order to avoid social stigma among the people. Moreover the policy also called for education spending to increase to 6% of the national income.

In May 1986 during the tenure ship of Rajiv Gandhi a NEP was introduced on education giving more 'emphasis of the removal of disparities and to equalise educational policy'. This policy laid emphasis of Indian Women, Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste communities. It called for a 'child centred approach' in primary education and launched Operation Blackboard to improve primary schools nationwide. Another hallmark of this policy was the Open university system with the Indira Gandhi National Open University, which had been created in the year 1985. Moreover this policy recommended for the creation of rural university model on the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi to promote economic and social development in India.

The 1986 NEP was modified in 1992 by Narasimha Rao Government. This policy aimed to promote national progress, a sense of citizenship and culture and to strengthen national integration. It laid emphasis on the need for a radical reconstruction of the education system, quality improvement in all levels giving much attention to science and technology and

cultivating values among the educated and the masses. The policy emphasized on enhancing education for physically challenged students, early childhood care and education. It focussed on **Common Minimum Programmed** which envisaged common entrance examination on all India basis for admission to professional and technical programmes in the country.

Sarva Shiksha Abhayan or SSA (Education for all Movement) was introduced by former Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, This Programmed aimed at the universalisation of elementary education as mandated by the 8th Amendment to the Constitution of India making free and compulsory education to children between the ages of 6 to 14. However it had its roots back to 1993-94 when the District primary Education Programme was launched. This covered nearly 272 districts in 18 states of the country. However there was a criticism from the people that this DPEP impact on children was less impressive especially among the girl children. Thus **Right to Education Act** (RTE) came into force on 1 April 2010 believing that it would give necessary legal force for SSE implementation. This programme made an attempt to provide an opportunity for improving human capabilities to all children through provision of community owned quality education in a mission mode. With the passage of RTE Act, changes have been incorporated into the SSA approach and norms. Convergent and integrated of educational management was the pre-requisite for the implementation of RTE law. Moreover a National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary level (NPEGEL) was launched for the improvement of girls education in India.

Rashtriya Madhyamika Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) was launched in March 2009 for the improvement of secondary education in public schools throughout India. This scheme includes a multidimensional research, technical consulting, various implementations and funding support. The main aim is to provide universal education for all children between 15-16 years of age. This also aims to remove gender, socio-economic and disability barriers and to provide universal access to secondary level education by 2017. This scheme had under taken various programmes which falls under four major categories which includes Quality improvement,

Information Communication technologies, Access and equity. Despite the increase in the number of secondary schools, there are regional disparities and gender gaps in existing condition.

Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA) is a scheme for development of higher education in India initiated in 2013 by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. This aims at providing strategic funding to higher educational institutions throughout the country. Its main target is to raise the gross enrolment ratio to 32% by the end of XII Plan in 2017. Rusa funds are provided by HRD directly to the state and UT Governments. The state government disbursed the funds to the individual institutions. The amount of funding to states would be made on the basis of critical appraisal of state plans for higher education plans. The amount of funding from the central government will be 65% of the total grants and 35% will be contributed by state /UT as their share. One of the core ideas of RUSA is to ensure adequate availability of quality faculty in all higher educational institutions by creating an atmosphere in the higher educational institutions to devote themselves to research activities. Another aim is to improve equity in higher education by providing adequate opportunities of higher education to SC/ST and socially and educationally backward classes, promote inclusion of women, minorities and differently able persons.

The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) is currently developing National Education Policy 2015-16. The Government of India Would like to bring out a New Education Policy to meet the changing dynamics of the population's requirement with regards to quality education, innovation and research aiming to make India a knowledge superpower by equipping its students with the necessary knowledge and skill. The main objective of NEP 2015 is to formulate a new education policy for the country through an inclusive, Participatory and holistic approach. The 33 themes identified for the discussions are divided under the two heads of school education and higher education. For school education the themes includes improving learning outcomes, extending outreach of secondary and senior secondary education, strengthening of vocational education, reforming school

examination system, accelerating rural literacy, improving teacher education, reforming school examination system, accelerating rural literacy, improving teacher education, promotion of language and comprehensive education. For higher education the themes are governance reforms, ranking of institutions and accreditation, quality of regulation, roles of central institutions, improving state public universities, integrating skill development, promoting online and technology enabled learning, addressing regional, gender and social disparities, cultural integration, private sector partnership, internationalisation, industry engagement to link education to employability, research and innovation.

CONCLUSION

Education is the most powerful component to develop the children and build the future. Today there is an undue importance on knowledge oriented education, which pays attention to the intellectual growth of the student. Education has an immense impact on the human society. It is through education that knowledge and information is received and spread throughout the world. The Quality of human of a nation is easily judged by the number of literate population living in it. This is to say that education policies is a must if a nation aspires to achieve growth and development and more importantly to sustain it. And in today's world, the role of education has become even more vital, and is an absolute necessity for economic and social development of any nation. The National Education Policy, 2019 is out in the public domain, drawing inputs from the T.S.R Subramanian Committee report and the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), the K.Kasturirangan Committee has produced the policy document. The policy aims to universalize the pre-primary education by 2025 and provide foundational literacy for all. It proposes new curricular and Pedagogical Structure, with 5+3+3+4 design covering the children in the age group 3 to 18 years. Suggestions of the National Education Policy will play a critical role in the transformation of the Indian education system it is expected to help India in reaping its demographic dividend. However, the Draft National Education Policy has certain sore points that need to be relooked as for the benefit of teachers and students alike.

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“A NEW NOTE ON THE WESTERN GANGAS AFFINITY WITH TAMIL KINGDOMS AS A VASSAL OF THE RASTRAKUTAS AND THE CHOLA CONQUEST OF GANGAVADI (817 A.D TO 1024 A.D)”

V. Raju

The western Gangas ruled the province of Gangavadi 96,000 for nearly six and half centuries, that is from fourth to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. and were one of the illustrious rulers of south Indian History. From the inception the western Ganga dynasty was closely associated with the Tamil Nadu politics. They served as an appendage of some imperial powers. The dynastic struggle of the Cholas, the Gangas and the Pallavas and the rise of great empires of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas were in one way or other influenced by the geography of this region. So there is no wonder that the Pallavas, the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas often relied on the loyalty of the Western Gangas to strengthen their position.

Beside the western Ganga main line there was a collateral line which came to power in the beginning of the 9th Century A.D. They also actively participated in the affairs of the Tamil Country and contributed much to the consolidation of the imperial cholas.

The present paper is an endeavour to establish western Ganga's affinity with Tamil Kingdoms as a vassal of the Rashtrakutas and the impact of that relationship on the overall politics of this region.

Rajamalla Satyavakya I (817 A.D - 837 A.D):

Rajamalla Satyavakya I succeeded his uncle Sivamara Saigotta to the throne of Western Ganga in the main line in 817 A.D.¹ He was the son of Sivamara Saigotta's brother Vijayaditya.² When Rajamalla came to the throne he inherited a Kingdom considerably shrunk in size. The Rashkutas had a good part of the Western Ganga Kingdom under their suzerainty. The condition of the Gangavadi at the time of his accession needed great strength and energy to

regain its lost glory. He found confusion and Chaos in the Rashtrakuta Kingdom during the early years of Amoghavarsha I's reign and made over the kingdom in favour of him. He entered into an alliance with his neighbour Nolambas. Rajamalla Satyavakya I gave his daughter Jayabee to the Nolamba prince Polachora and himself married a grand-daughter of Nolamba simhapota.³ In alliance with these Nolamba Kings Rajamalla, Satyavakya I overthrew the Rashtrakuta yoke and rescued his country. This is stated in an inscription as "Vishnu in the form of a boar rescued from the earth from the infernal regions".⁴ The Kreregodi Rangapura Grant⁵ refers about the successful termination of the Rashtrakuta overlordship from Gangavadi as the Kingdom lost in the less skilful hands of Sivamara saigotta being regained by Rajamalla. The Goddess of sovereignty sad owing to the seizure by the Rashtrakuta King was once again made cheerful by auspicious anointment and adornment of good qualities by Rajamalla."

Ereganga - Deva (837 A.D. – 890 A.D.):

Rajamalla I was succeeded by his son Nitimarga I in 837 A.D. He was also known as Ereyanga or Eregang Deva and his other titles were Ranavikramayya⁶ and Permannadi.⁷ The Kudlur grant called him as Nitimarga Konganivaram-dharmamaha-rajadhiraja paramesvara.⁸

The notable achievement of Nitimarga I was a great victory over the Vallabha army at Rajaramudu, which is to the north of Kolar.⁹ The vallabha army which fought with Nitimarga I was identified with the army of Rashtrakuta King Amoghavarsha I, 868 A.D. was the date of battle.¹⁰ The Keregodi Rengapura plates indicate the allies of the Rashtrakutas, the pallavas, the

Kuru, the Magadha, the Malava, the Chola, the Samvalla and the Chalukya Kings.¹¹

This battle was described in the Kudlur grant as "in the rainy season of a terrible battle fought at Rajaravadi accompanied with initial rain drops of arrows shot from the bow, lighting of fierce sword dark clouds of infuriated elephants, high winds of horses and streams of blood, this eminent king defeated with ease his powerful enemies. The vallabha army terrible with towering elephants and horses which was commanded by the Pallavas, the Rashtrakutas, the Kuru, the Megadha, the Malavas, the Cholas, the Samavalla and The Cha-lukya Kings and others, he caused to fall down in battle together with the tears of their wives.¹²

Finding it futile to continue the war with Nitimarga I, the Amoghavarsha I concluded a peace treaty with Western Gangas. This treaty was sealed by a marriage between Butuga I the son of Nitimarga I and Abbalabba, the daughter of the Rashtrakuta emperor, Amoghavarsha I.¹⁴ Butuga's wife is called as Chandra-bbalabba in the Gattavadi plates.¹⁵ The another daughter of Amoghavarsha I called Sankha was given in marriage to the Pallava King Nandivarman III.

The hostile relation of Nitimarga I with the Pallavas of Kanchi, in his early period came to light by the battle of Rajaramudu. We are not aware that the victory of Nitimarga in the Rajaramudu battle caused any superior influence over the Pallavas. Butuga I, the son of Nitimarga I and the Pallava King Nandivarman III became co-brothers by marrying two daughters of the Rashtrakuta King Amoghavarsha I. This exhibited the cordial relation between the Pallavas of Kanchi and Western Gangas in the last days of Nitimarga I.

Rajamalla Satyavakya II (870 A.D. – 907 A.D)

Rajamalla Satyavakya II the eldest son of Nitimarga I was the next successor who ascended the throne in 870 A.D.¹⁶ The Husukuru inscription¹⁷ says that Butuga I or Butarasa was Yuvaraja under his elder brother Rajamalla satyavakya II. Butuga I was governing the Kongaland and Pannad provinces.¹⁸ Butuga I continued to hold this charge till his death in 886 A.D. The glory of Rajamalla's reign was nothing but the achievements of his brother Butuga I.

Butuga I was praised in the Keregodi Rangapura plates as "the harasser of the pallava family by his prowess.¹⁹ This was the period when the pallavas and the pandyas came into hostile contact with each other in Tamil country. Till the important battle at sripurambiyam in 880 A.D., it was a continuous struggle between these two leading powers for gaining supremacy in the south. Srimara I was the contemporary Pandyan ruler of Rajamalla II. Nandivarman III occupied the throne of the Pallavas of Kanchi. The Western Gangas had dynastic ties with the Pallava rulers. Butuga I and Nandivarman III married Chandrabalabba and Sankha, the two daughters of Amoghavarsha I respectively.²⁰ It was therefore, not surprising to find the Western Gangas figuring in the Kudumukku²¹ battle on the side of the Kanchi ruler Nandivarman III. Nandivarman III²² and Butuga I were defeated in this battle by the Pandya King Srimara I. Srimara I assumed the title Parachakra Kolahala due to commemorate this victory.²³

The last day of Butuga I witnessed a success over the Pandyas of Madura. Nirpatunga Varman, the son of Nandivarman III Succeeded to the throne of Kanchi. Butuga I and his nephew Nripatungavarman jointly carried a war against Srimara. The defeat of Srimara Pandyan was stated in the Bahur Plates as "The army of the Pallavas which on a former occasion sustained defeat at the hands of the Pandyan King was by the grace of this King Nripatungavarman, able to burn down hosts of the enemies together with the prosperity of their Kingdom on the bank of the river Ariciti.²⁵

After the death of Butuga I in 886 A.D., his son Ere-yappa or Nitimaraga III become Yuvaraja under his uncle Rajamalla Satyavakya II²⁶ Ereyappa was associated with his uncle in the government.

Nitimarga II (908 A.D. – 920) A.D):

Nitimarga II, the nephew of Rajamalla Satyavakya II came to the Western Ganga throne after a long period of apprenticeship as Yuvaraja in 908 A.D.²⁷ The Kudlur grant of Marasimha² called him as Nitimarag Kongamivaram – Maharajadhi – Raja Paramasvara and Komaravedenga³.

The Rashtrakuta – Western Ganga conflict was revived during the reign of Nitrimarga II⁴. A Virakal at Karbail in Nagamangala taluk refers

Nitimarga's war with the Rashtrakuta King Ballaha Krishna II.³⁰ Nitimarga II was defeated and the Rashtrakuta overlordship was imposed on Gangavadi.

Another threat to Nitimarga II's reign was the challenge of Mahendra, the son of Nolambhadhiraja Polakhora and Jayabbe, the Ganga Princess. He was the Viceroy of Kirutore Province.³¹ He challenged the overlordship of Western Gangas. Begur Virakal, now in the Bangalore Museum, recorded that Nitimarga II slew the Nolamba King Bira-Mahendra in the battle at Tumbepadi.³² Nitimarga II, thus, saved his kingdom and assumed the title Mahendrantaka.³³

Parantaka I Chola was the contemporary of Nitimarga II. He put an end to Pallava supremacy and established their own suzerainty over the disintegrated Pallava dominions. A part of the Ganga Kingdom, probably the portion about the present Kolar District, was under the control of Parantaka I Chola.³⁴ The administration of this region was carried out by the Banas. Suddenly Parantaka I uprooted the Banas and conferred the Bana sovereignty on the Ganga Prince Prithivipati II and entitled him as Hastimalla.³⁵ The Cholas did not interfere in the affairs of the main line of the Western Gangas.

Nitimarga II married Jakabbe, the daughter of Chalukyan king, Nijagali.³⁶ Nitimarga II appears to have more than one wife. The Buraganhalli Virakal states that Mahadevi as his elder queen.³⁷ Of the three sons of Nitimarga II, the reign of the eldest son Narasimha was very brief and uneventful. Then he was succeeded by his brother, Rajamalla III.

Rajamalla III (920 A.D. – 937 A.D.):

Rajamalla III came to the western Ganga throne after his elder brother Narasimha-Deva. The Sudi Plates,³⁸ identified him as Nitimarga Konganivarman-dharma-maharajadhiraja Paramesvara. He was also known as Kachcheya-Ganga, which means the quarrelsome or fighting Ganga.³⁹ The Kudlur grant of Marasimha describes the famous victory of Rajamalla III in the Kottamangal battle as "slaying foot soldiers with his arrows, horses with his sword and elephants with his single-scent elephant. King Rajamalla conquered and put to flight the Anniga in the famous Kotamangal battle, and taking pity

on the trembling enemy, took him under his protection."⁴⁰

The Anniga referred in the grant was identified with the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III.⁴¹ Rajamalla III successfully overcame the Rashtrakuta suzerainty. No records give information about Rajamalla III's affinity with the Tamil kings. The period of Rajamalla III was a colourless one for our field of interest.

Butuga II (937 A.D. – 960 A.D.):

Butuga II was the brother and successor of Rajamalla III. He slew his brother Rajamalla III and obtained the Western Ganga throne.⁴² The other names of Butuga II were Butayya, Nanniya, Gunga and Ganga Gangaya.⁴³ The Sudi plate states that he married, Amoghavarsha III's daughter Revaka.⁴⁴

The matrimonial alliance renewed the cordial relation between the Western Gangas and the Rashtrakutas. After the death of Amoghavarsha III, his son Krishna III ascended the throne of the Rashtrakuta empire. Butuga II helped Krishna III or Kannara to save the throne for himself from Lalleya, the rival for the Rashtrakuta throne.⁴⁵

When Butuga II was on the throne of the western Gangas, the Rajaditya Chola was in charge of Tondimandalam. Rajaditya Chola consolidated his father Parantaka's conquests in Banavasi and other places. This gave displeasure to Krishna III and he decided to attack the Chola kingdom. As a result of Krishna III's desire, a war broke out. Krishna III along with Butuga II met the Rajaditya Chola army at Takkolam near Arkonam in 947 A.D.⁴⁶ Butuga II rendered a great service to the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III in the battle at Takkolam and slew the Chola crown prince Rajaditya in the battle field.⁴⁷ The victorious Rashtrakuta King Krishna III occupied the Tondaimandalam and besieged Tanjavur, Kanchi and Nalkote.⁴⁸ Krishna III was efficiently assisted by Butuga II in these campaigns. So Butuga II received Banavasi 12,000 province as a reward for his praiseworthy service in these campaigns.⁴⁹

The share of Butuga II in the battle of Takkolam had historical importance. The effect of the Takkolam battle was ruinous to the extreme and the Cholas took some years to come up from that effect.

Marasimaha (960 A.D. – 973 A.D.):

Marasimaha was the last great ruler of the Western Gangas line. He ascended the Western Gangas throne in 960 A.D. after the death of his father. From the inscriptions, we know that Marasimha bore the titles Calad-Uttaranga, Dharavatara, Jagadekavira, Jagadekvavira, Gangara Simha, Gangovarjra, Ganga Kandarpa, Nolamba Kulantaka, Ganga Chudamani Vidhyadhara and Muttiy Ganga.⁵¹

During his reign Marasimha led a successful expedition against Gujjare or Gujarat King on behalf of Rashtrakuta King Krishna III. After his victory Marasimha assumed the title Gujaradhiraja.⁵² Then Marasimha defeated Vajjala, the younger brother of Patalamalla, the ruler of Banavasi and captured all his possessions.⁵³ He also fought against the western Chalukya Prince Rajaditya.⁵⁴ Inscriptions state that Marasimha led a large army against Nolambas and destroyed them.⁵⁵ This expedition of Marasimha gave him a title Nolamba Kulanataka.⁵⁶ The last days of Marasimha had made extensive conquests in the south as far as Tanjavur.⁵⁷ During his reign, the Kingdom of the Western Gangas extended as far as the river Krishna and included the Nolambavadi 32,000 Gangavadi 96,000 the Banavasi 12,000 and other provinces.⁵⁸ Marasimha was the last great ruler of the Western Ganga dynasty.

Rajamalla Satyavakya IV (947 A.D. – 985 A.D.):

Marasimha was followed by Rajamalla Satyavakya IV in 947 A.D. He was the eldest son of Marasimha. An inscription states that Rajamalla Satyavakya IV assumed the title Jayadekavira.⁵⁹

When Rajamalla Satyavakya IV came to power, the important feudatories of the Western Gangas were setting up independent rule in their dominions. Panchaladeva was the Governor of Puligere and Belvola which comprised thirty villages. In 975 A.D. Panchala-Deva called himself as Mahasamantadhipati and set an independent rule.⁶⁰ Rajamalla Satyavakya IV directed his Minister Chaundarya to subdue the rebel government. Chaundarya successfully

carried out the task and killed Panchala – Deva in the battle field in 975 A.D.

The rebel policy of Panchala-Deva was followed by another feudatory who was known as Mudu Rachayya. This rebel went a step further than Panchala-Deva and assumed the titles chala-deka Ganga and Gangarabanta. He besieged the Ganga capital to capture the throne of the Western Gangas. First Chaundarya's brother Nagavarma was sent to subdue the rebel feudatory. But he was repelled and killed by Mudu Rachayya. Then Chaundarya himself met Mudu Rachayya in the battle Bageyur and killed him.⁶¹ For this service Chaundarya was honoured with the title Samara Parasurama.⁶² Rajamalla was assisted by his Minister Chaundarya in the administration as well as in the battle field.

Rakkasa Ganga (985 A.D. – 1024 A.D.):

Rajamalla Satyavakya IV was succeeded by his younger brother, Rakkasa Ganga in 985 A.D.⁶³ He was the governor of Baddoregere when his brother Rajamalla Satyavakya IV was the ruler of Gangavadi. He ruled the Gangavadi as an independent ruler till the conquest of the Cholas in 1004 A.D.

The rising power of the Cholas under the energetic Rajaraja I and his valiant son Rajendra I gave a death blow to the Western Ganga dynasty. In 1004 A.D. Rajendra I the glorious son and general of the King Rajaraja I conquered Gangavadi along with Nolambavadi and Tadigaipadi.⁶⁴ The imperial Cholas of Tanjavur put an end to the Western Ganga dynasty which held sway for nearly seven centuries in the Gangavadi 96,000 province.

The last ruler of the Western Ganga dynasty Rakkasa Ganga had matrimonial alliance with the Pallavas of Kanchi. Thus the ancient glorious dynasty was brought to an end by the Cholas of Tanjavur.

Though the Western Gangas had a long affinity with the Tamil Country, from the second half of the 4th century A.D. to the beginning of the 11th century A.D. did not influence the Tamil society in any manner.

References

1. **Epigraphic India**, Vol. III, p.182.
2. **E.I.**, Vol. VI, p.61
3. **E.C.**, Vol. XI, Si. 38.
4. **E.C.**, Vol. IV, Yd. 60.
5. **M.A.R.**, 1919, Para – 66.
6. **E.C.**, Vol. IV, Yd. Yd. 60, and **M.A.R.**, 1919, Para – 67.
7. **M.A.R.**, 1909-10, Para – 60.
8. **M.A.R.**, 1921, p.20.
9. **E.C.**, Vol. X., Kl. 90.
10. M.V. Krishna Rao, **Op. Cit.**, p.79.
11. **M.A.R.**, 1919, Para – 67.
12. **M.A.R.**, 1921, pp.20-21.
13. **E.C.**, Vol. XII, Nj. 249.
14. **M.A.R.**, 1919, p.30.
15. **E.C.**, Vol.III, Nj. 385.
16. **E.I.**, Vol. VI, p.68.
17. **E.I.**, Vol., p.68.
18. **M.A.R.**, 1919, Para-68.
19. **M.A.R.**, 1921, p.21.
20. Kudumukku – identify with the modern town Kumbakonam
21. **M.A.R.**, 1907, p.6.
22. M.V.Krishna Rao, **Op. Cit.**, p.85.
23. B.Lewis Rice, **Op. Cit.**, p.44.
24. K.A. Nilakanta sastrī, **The Pandiyan Kingdom**, p.75.
25. **E.C.**, Vol. IV, Hg.103
26. **E.I.**, Vol. VI, p.69
27. **M.A.R.** 1921, p.21.
28. Komara Vendenga means “a wonder among Princes”.
29. **M.A.R.**, 1914-15, Para – 65.
30. **E.C.**, Vol. III, Md. 14
31. **E.C.**, Vol. IX, p.7 and **M.A.R.**, 1906, Para-21.
32. **E.C.**, Vol. III, Ng. 35.
33. C.Hayaadana Rao, **Op.Cit.**, p.665.
34. **S.I.I.**, Vol. II, p.387.
35. **M.A.R.**, 1921, p.21
36. **M.A.R.**, 1914-15, Para -78.
37. **E.I.**, Vol. III, p.183.
38. **E.I.**, Vol. III, p.183,
39. **M.A.R.**, 1921, P.21.
40. **E.I.**, Vol. V. P.191.
41. **E.I.**, Vol.p.70, **M.A.R.**, 191, p.21 and **E.C.**, Vol. III, p.5.
42. **E.C.**, Vol. IX, p.7.
43. **E.I.**, Vol. III, p.183.
44. **Ibid.**
45. **E.C.**, Vol. IX, p.7.
46. **M.A.R.**, 1921, p.22.
47. C.Hayavadana rao, **Op.Cit.**, p.671.
48. **E.I.**, Vol. VI, p.57.
49. **E.C.**, Vol., II, p. 59.
50. **E.C.**, Vol. II, p.119.
51. **Ibid.**
52. **E.C.**, IX, p.7
53. **E.C.**, Vol. II, p.119 and **E.C.**, Vol. III, p.5.
54. **E.C.**, Vol. IX, p.7.
55. **E.I.**, Vol. IV, p.280.
56. B.Lewis Rice., **Op. Cit.**, p.47.
57. **E.C.**, Vol. II, p.201.
58. **E.C.**, Vol. XI, Hr.1 (Hiriyur) and **E.I.**, Vol, V, p.372.
59. M.V.Krishna Rao, **Op.Cit.**, P.110.
60. **Ibid.**
61. Hayavadana Rao, **Op. Cit.**, p.687.
62. **S.I.I.**, Vol. Ins. No.40, **S.I.I.**, Vol. II, Ins. No.2, 4 and 57 and **M.A.R.**, 1919, Para-76.

COLONIAL DESIGN : THE MISSION OF NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT FOR POWER AND POSITION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY

S. Ramesh

The paper attempts to highlight the role of colonial British administrators and missionary scholars in creating and pushing a non-Brahmin community with Dravidian identity in claiming bureaucratic power in the Madras Presidency during the early decades of the Twentieth Century. Indeed, the British administrators of Madras Presidency were successful in distinguishing Brahmins from Non-Brahmins in their rules and regulations.¹ These distinctions had an important impact when they began to

access to resources or power. Successive Madras governments were especially keen to use the state machinery as a device to reflect or represent the population they governed. ²In August 1919, an order was issued. It stated that the time would appear it is desirable to obtain in the administrative machinery of this country the services belonging to all various large sections of the community in India and it is impossible to do this unless special facilities are offered to Panchamas and other backward classes.³

Previous Madras governments had realised since the late Nineteenth century, the lower castes needed positive discrimination programmes in the realm of education because they were concerned by the over-representation of Brahmins in the administration.⁴ The classification they used was to have long-term effects. The Education Department divided first the Hindus into Brahmins and 'other Hindus' in 1870, then into Brahmins and 'Hindus not Brahmins' in 1874, into 'Brahmans, Vaishyas, Shudras and other Hindus' by the early 1880s, and, by the turn of the Twentieth Century, the classification had simply become Brahmin and non-Brahmin.⁵

This dichotomous categorisation was internalised by the low castes which were included among the 'non-Brahmans'. They realised that by presenting themselves as 'non-Brahmans' they would form a large, influential group. Again, this new identity was over-determined by the quest for empowerment. This qualitative change was evident from the Non-Brahmin Manifesto. This text marked the formation of the Non-Brahmin movement in Madras.⁶ Among the 40.5 million people, only 1.5 million were Brahmins. Regarding their position in 1913, out of 128 District *Munsifs*, 93 were Brahmins. The same preponderance of the Brahmins prevailed in the University, in the assembly and in the Congress. Out of fifteen representatives of the Madras Presidency Congress to the All India Congress Committee, there was only one non-Brahmin. The Brahmins had taken almost complete possession of the Congress. The non-Brahmins' political interests as compared with those of the Brahmins, had materially suffered because they did not maintain proper organisation for protecting or promoting their common interests. Hence the formation of the Justice Party took place by the promoters of the Non-Brahmin Manifesto.

The Justice Party used the British mapping of Indian society, based on the division into Brahmins and Non-Brahmins for affirmative action programmes. These positive discrimination policies developed a common sense of purpose among low castes who had not previously collaborated but now they had to defend shared interests. The castes in question were not the lowest, however: Dominant castes like the Vellalas and the Kapus and merchant

castes (mainly Chettiars) were at the helm, namely those groups ranking below the Brahmins who were eager to supplant them. This common aim became an even stronger motivation when the British implemented a new reservation policy in the Legislative Councils.

The preparation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1917-1918 helped the Justice Party to consolidate its social base since it could make representations to British officials on behalf of Non-Brahmins. Interestingly, this category was not used systematically from the outset. In the memorandum that the Justice Party presented to Montagu in December 1917, there was a strong plea to grant Non-Brahmins a quota in the legislature and in all the branches of the administration. But the party did not rule out separate representations being given to the five Non-Brahmin groups, the Balija Naidus, the Pillais (a sub-caste of Vellalas), the Mudaliars (also a Vellala sub-caste), the Chettis and the Panchamas (Untouchables).⁷ The Montagu – Chelmsford Report that was published in 1918 eventually denied a communal representation to all groups except Sikhs and Muslims but Non-Brahmins sought to influence the drafting of the Government of India Bill which was to implement the reforms. At this juncture the Justice Party considered only Non-Brahmins as a relevant category, thereby trying to subsume all sub-groups. K.V. Reddi Naidu, a Kapu, presented a memorandum before the Joint Select Committee in charge of finalising the Bill in London by endowing this administrative category with a strong separate identity. He exposed a basic racial difference that separated Brahmin from non-Brahmin. The former were Aryans and the latter were Dravidians.⁸ Both notions - Non-Brahminism and Dravidianism were then coterminous in the discourse of the Justice Party.

The Justice Party's claim was accepted by the British and therefore Non-Brahmins were granted reserved seats in the Government of India Bill. However, in April 1920, Lord Chelmsford received a Memorandum protesting against the reservation of only 28 seats out of 65 for the Non-Brahmins in the Legislative Council of Madras. Again, the signatories emphasised their caste and ethnic differences in justifying their claim. They viewed that the Brahmins were

differed from the non-Brahmins in caste, manners, customs and interests and even in personal law in some respects. The former were Aryans and the latter are Dravidians and thus they differed in race. In the past the Brahmins had practically monopolised all or almost all the seats in the Local and Imperial Legislative Councils. The disabilities under which the Non-Brahmins had been suffering were fully set out in the Memorandum which K.V. Reddy prepared and submitted to the joint Select Committee on Government of India Bill.⁹

During the 1920 election campaign, the leaders of the Justice Party requested all non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency to immediately organise, combine and carry on an active propaganda so as to ensure the return to the reformed Council of as many non-Brahmins as possible.¹⁰ This tactic yielded dividends since the Justice Party came first in the elections and formed the government thanks to the sympathetic attitude of the British.

The First Communal Government Order, in 1921, asked the chiefs of all administrative services, the collectors and the district judges, to issue every six months a list of their recruits classified in six categories, Brahmins, Hindus non-Brahmin, Christian Indians, Muslims, Europeans and Anglo-Indians and others.¹¹ From the second half of 1921 onwards, a readjustment started as the administration recruited 22% of Brahmins, 48% of non-Brahmin Hindus, 10% of Christian Indians, 15% of Muslims, 2% of Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 3% of others. In 1922, a Second Communal Government Order extended these quotas to all services and to all promotions.¹² In 1928, new quotas were established in the administration, due to the passing of the Third Communal G.O. by S.Muthiah Mudaliar.¹³ Nearly 42% for non-Brahmins, 17% for Brahmins, 17% for Muslims, 17% for Anglo-Indians and Christians and 8% for the Depressed Classes whose leaders had claimed that they were left out by the previous quotas.¹⁴

The commitment of the Justice Party's governments confirmed that the hunt for empowerment was one of the driving forces sustaining the Non-Brahmin movement in Madras. The positive discrimination helped forge a coalition among a wide array of castes. However, the Panchamas were left out by the

Justice Party as soon as it gained power.¹⁵ On the other hand, though limited, this coalition was more solid, because Dravidian identity acted as a cementing force. Thus 'social change occurred based on pragmatism and utility rather than the existence of ideology or the extent to which that ideology was believed in by members of society.¹⁶ Such distinctions between ideas and beliefs on the one hand and material interests on the other are not really relevant. In the case of Dravidianism and Non-Brahminism, both dimensions are intermingled and reinforced each other. The hunt for empowerment had been the most powerful driving force behind the mobilisation of Non-Brahmins but their movement was sustained by the emotional appeal of their ethnic Dravidian identity. Politicians certainly instrumentalised the Dravidian stock but identified with it at the same time. The fact that the hunt for power was a basic motivation behind the demand for reservations was made unambiguous in 1917 by one of the founders of the Justice Party, T.M. Nair who said that the non-Brahmins claimed their social, moral and political rights, and share of government appointments, not because they thought that government appointments would transform the Non-Brahmin communities into the most prosperous of mankind, but because government appointments would carry with them political power, of which. As lords of the soil and inheritors of noble traditions, they must have their legitimate share.¹⁷

This discourse obviously showed that, while empowerment was a priority motive of the Justice Party, such a transfer of power was legitimate because Non-Brahmins were Dravidian sons of the soil.¹⁸

The Non-Brahmin Element in Tamil Congress

The rise to power of the Dravidian/Non-Brahmin movement obliged the Congress to democratise itself more significantly than in most other regions of India. As everywhere else, the party was dominated by Brahmins until the 1930s.¹⁹ This Brahminical domination was the main reason for the exit of non-Brahmin Congress activists like Naicker in the 1920s. In the 1930s Congress leaders began to realise that the Justice Party and the Self-Respect Movement were forces to be reckoned with, and they made attempts to incorporate even the lowliest groups under their leadership.²⁰ They focused on the

Untouchables as usual. But the Party was also able to attract low castes like the Maravars who were considered as being almost a Criminal Caste by the British²¹ and Nadars. The rise to power of Kamaraj epitomized this new accommodating attitude of the Congress party. Kamaraj, who had joined Congress when most of the Nadars regarded the party as Brahmin-dominated, was offered the chance of contesting successfully on a Congress ticket to the Legislative Council in 1937 and was elected President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Council in 1940. No other regional branch of the party had such a low caste leader at the helm at that time. These developments attracted Nadars to the Congress Party in large numbers.²² However, C. Rajagopalachari, a Brahmin, remained the towering figure of the Congress of Tamil Nadu. He became Chief Minister in 1937 and again in 1947 but Kamaraj succeeded him in 1954. At that time, Brahmins represented only 5% of the

MLAs, as against 17.2% in 1937,²³ which means that in the early 1950s, the representation of the Brahmins in the assembly was almost proportionate to their share of the population. In contrast to what had happened in most of the rest of India, the Congress had accompanied a dynamic of democratisation in Tamil Nadu.

Thus Tamil Nadu had evolved of a pattern of low caste mobilisation of which ethnicisation and empowerment were the key terms. This pattern was engineered by the Colonial British administrators for their political gains which were hampered by the Brahmin dominated public life and the Congress organization. In fact, the non-Brahmin bureaucracy was the creation of the British colonial administered to undermine the influence of the Brahmins in Madras politics and in the national movement which was in full swing in 1920s

End Notes

1. Irschick, Eugene, F., *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s*, Madras :Cre-A, 1986, p. 23.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
4. From 1892 to 1904, 15 out of 16 recruits to the State Civil Service were Brahmins, as were 77 out of 140 deputy collectors and 15 out of 18 deputy judges in 1912 (Irschick, Eugene, F., *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism, 1916-1929*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, p. 223). This preponderance of Brahmins in the administration resulted from their over-representation in the University. In 1913, even though they represented only 3% of the population, Brahmins accounted for 72% of graduates in Madras University. (P. Radhakrishnan, 'Backward Class Movements in Tamil Nadu' in Srinivas, M.N., (ed.), *Caste - Its Twentieth Century Avatar*, Delhi: Viking, Penguin India, p. 368).
5. Irschick, Eugene, F., *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s, op. cit.*, p. 24.
6. Hardgrave, Robert, L., *Essays in the Political Sociology of South India*, New Delhi: Usha Publications, 1979, p.15.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
9. The Humble Memorial of the Nan-Brahmins of Madras, 23 April 1920.
10. Justice, 29 March 1920.
11. G.O.No. 613, Public Department, 16 September 1921.
12. Rajaraman, P., *The Justice Party , A Historical Perspective, 1916-37*, Madras : Poompozhil Publishers, 1988, pp.256-257.
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14. These quotas benefited mostly the non-Brahmin elite. Its first critics, therefore, were the Untouchables. In 1923, M.C.. Rajah led a delegation before the Madras Government to protest against the neglect of the Depressed Classes by the Justice Party in the distribution of posts in the administration. He claimed a quota of 30%, and while he did not win the case the 'Depressed Classes' were added to the categories used so far. (Radhakrishnan, P., *loc.cit.*, p. 115).
15. Irschick, Eugene, F., *Politics and Social Conflict in South India, op. cit.*, pp. 188 and 192.
16. Irschick, Eugene, F., *Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s, op.cit.*, p. 260.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
18. The rise of the Justice Party could be explained by at least two factors: on the one hand the resentment of non-Brahmins vis-a-vis the Brahmins' domination of the administration and the emergence of a non-Brahmin elite suffering from acute frustration because of this state of affairs and, on the other hand, the fact that the work of Robert Caldwell, J.M. Nallaswami Pillai and V. Kanakasabhai Pillai on the origins and nature of Dravidian civilization had met with a large, and growing, readership among first generation college-educated non-Brahman caste Hindus (Rengaraju, G., *Colonial Design and Dravidian Awakening in Tamil Nadu*, Chennai : Pavai Publications, 2006, p.xiii).
19. Irschick, Eugene, F., *Politics and Social Conflict in South India, op.cit.*, pp. 268 and 273 .
20. Irschick, Eugene, F., *Tamil Revivalism in 1930s, op. cit.*, p. 145.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

22. Hardgrave, Robert, L., *Politics and Social Conflict in South India, The Political Culture of a Community in Change*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969, p. 190.

23. Saraswati, S., *Minorities in Madras State: Group Interests in Modern Politics*, Delhi: Impex, 1974; Baker, C.J., 'The Congress and the 1937 Elections in Madras', in *Modern Asian Studies*, October 1976, p. 586.

THE POLITICS OF SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS : THE CASE OF COLONIAL MALABAR

C. Ratheesh

"If textbooks are treated as a vehicle for education. The living word of the teacher has very little value. A teacher who teaches from textbooks does not impart Originally to his Pupils. He himself became a slave of text books and has no opportunity or occasion to be original. If therefore seems that the less textbooks there are the better. It is for the teacher and his pupils."

Gandhi – 1939

The school textbooks play a vital role in shaping the outlook of young generation. It is this generation which determines fate of the state. Moreover, the school textbooks play a vital role in spreading the ideology of state among the children and it is an Integral Part of the Political System. As a result, Most of the states enforce its ideology among the People through the school curriculum and text books. How did the colonial government manage the school text books in Malabar? Answer to this question will help us to understand the way in which colonialism was intervening in the everyday life of the People in India to accomplish its goals.

The Europeans in Colonial India, constructed a notion of the 'other', to describe oneself as 'enlightened' Meant that someone as 'Savage', to describe oneself as 'Modern' meant that someone is 'Primitive' or 'backward'. It is one of the British ideologies of creation of doubleness. As the British defined themselves as 'British' and thus as 'not Indian' they had to make of the Indian Whatever they choose not to make of themselves. Thomas Smith has argued that the 'God has given the English responsibility to inhabit and reform,'¹

The word 'text' stands for written words, usually given some kind of authority. For literary scholars, A 'text' is a work of literature, for historians, a 'text' is a historical document.²

Number of textbooks were increased by implementation of Printing Mechanism. Printing in India dates to a sixteenth century, when the Portuguese set up the first printing press on the subcontinent. Missionaries needed printing for evangelical purposes. The east India company promoted printing to prepare and preach its regulations, train civil servants and for the benefit of British orientalist scholars. The Calcutta school book society. Set up in 1817 and committed to supplying standard school text at cheap rates to elementary Vernacular schools, also had many of its publication printed at the Mission Press.⁵

The colonial intervention through the school textbooks in Malabar is underlining the importance of 'language of power'. The state represented by the British and the local landlordism forced the student to study prescribed textbooks which stood for upholding the privileges of the rolled in India and Malabar.

Lord Macaulay described that, the former Indian empire was always looked upon as something unnatural and alien. 'The strongest of all political anomalies.' The Missionaries of English civilization in India stood openly for a policy of assimilation. Britain was to stamp her image upon India.⁷

Colonialism produced public spaces in the form of educational institutions as schools, colleges etc. Henry Lefebvre's idea of 'Production of Space' is noteworthy in this context. What was the strategy behind the formation of educational institutions in colonial India/Malabar? How did it contest with the existing school system in India/Malabar? The modern school was unfamiliar to the people and the caste and religion based education system was challenged by the colonial system through its schools.

Through the work '*History textbooks in India*', K.N. Panikkar, speaks, all governments of

India, beginning with the colonial role have been alive to the importance of textbooks as a means to ensure their future interest by hegemonising the young. Taking keen interest in the nature of instruction they tried to shape the text books according to their ideological feeds.⁹

The British had set up textbook committees in the beginning of their rule, and these committees laid down guidelines for the preparation of textbooks and to orient their character to compliment the colonial world view. It helped the interest of the colonial rule by crafting the textbooks, in conception and content to fulfill a legitimising role for colonialism. The textbooks carried in them the political purpose of creating consent in the mind of the subject. Basically, the colonial education was looked upon essentially as an instrument for bringing the 'natives'¹⁰ under its hegemony.

Through the article, *text books and education culture*, Krishna Kumar, who express the roots of colonial education in British India, and its policy developments. The roots of the text books centred curriculum can be traced to the nineteenth century, especially the decade following 1835, during which colonial policies in education took shape. The colonized Men is made to look at himself from the point of view of the coloniser and which helped through a transformation of identity. Colonial education serves a major role in this transformation. Through this article Krishna Kumar detailing about in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. English colonial roles took many important decision on the education policy of India. Such as, the government took a new system of education under state control. Second, the aim of the new education system would produce a class of Indians,¹⁴ acculturated in English life style, attitude and perception, the teaching of English would be a means of this acculturation. English as the study of culture and not simply the study of language.¹⁵

The History debate and school text books in India: a Personal memoir by Romila Thapar,¹⁶ an article which deals the politics of school text books especially on History text books, and how it works in a silent and invisible ways. Through in the 1960s, and 70s NCERT produced a series of text books as new in its standards. Written by some of the eminent historians of the time, Bipan Chandra, Satish Chandra, R.S. Sharma, Romila,

Thopper, the attempt of the new way of looking at the past. Who criticised colonial and communal stereotypes and presented a history that was secular and national. One of the article of Neelendra Battachary, related to the school text books, discussed that, the new text books of the 1960s had some objectives. The first and most one is to decolonized the text. Existing text books often borrowed uncritically from the writings of colonial officials like Alfred Lyall and Vincent Smith and offered students reading of the past shaped by colonial stereotypes and assumption. These colonial accounts. Presented Indian society in a backward and stagnant society, dominated by the caste system and by barbaric practices. Politically them was no sense of order, no laws, and no rational government. India was a country of death, malaria and smallpox. Only with the canoing of the British did everything change, law and administration were established, a rational and efficient system of governance was set up, courts were instituted, and the economy began to grow.¹⁷ These are the main colonised feature of school text book in colonial India, as locally in colonial Malabar. Who taught this kind of selective information through the minds of students, for controlling the upcoming subjects of the state.

The new text book treated as a different way of narration of history, that the pre-colonial past was a history of fluxal change, development and dynamics, technology and economy. Market and trade, agriculture and crafts all showed a linear process of growth. The new text books opened its politics that, the colonial rule was a tragic time of decline and impoverishment, backwardness, deindustrialisation and agricultural backwardness.¹⁸

As part of research in Malabar, the imposing at the British National Antham in the front page of our text books is a classical example to explain how the text books was used as a tool to legitimate the colonial intervention. The national anthem of the period started with 'God save our gracious king, long live our noble king, God save our king' and it ended with, 'God save us all.' The student was forced to understand the greatness of the British King and his responsibility to respect him as his god.

In a Malayalam school text book of 1934, an article entitled *Innathe Vidyalayavum Nammude Yuvakkalum* written by R. Iswara

Pillai, stated clearly the utility of text book in perpetuating colonialism in India. The lessons were taught in English and thus, the native language became irrelevant as a medium of communication. Finally, R Iswara Pillai commented that the education was to be

challenged by the new youth to defeat colonial system in India. In the context of colonial Malabar, with the state's keen interest in shaping the text book committees in the beginning of their rule to orient the character of the children in the country.

End Notes

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SERANMADEVI GURUKULAM ISSUE: A TURNING POINT OF PERIYAR'S LIFE

G. Ravi

The beginning of the twentieth century Brahmins played vital role in every part of life. The Provincial Congress Madras Presidency also under the control of them like Salem Vijayaragavachari, Rajaji, Satyamurthy, etc. Therefore the Non Brahmins criticized the attitude of Brahmins and began a political party which was known as Justice Party. The growing support of Non Brahmins towards Justice Party, bewildering the Congress leaders. Hence they gave some importance to non Brahmins in congress. Rajaji gave supported E.V.Ramasamy latterly known as Periyar while Satyamurthy supported K.Kamaraj. Periyar and K.Kamaraj sincerely worked to promote congress in next level. Periyar tried to improve social setup rather than political activities.

He stressed the need for communal representation and insisted that a provincial congress conference should be held at Erode wherein a resolution on communal representation should be passed.¹ During the years 1919 to 1925 he continuously fought vigorously for communal representation. His demand for passing resolutions on communal representation was rejected in the Congress sessions of 1919 (Tiruchi); 1920 (Tirunelveli); 1921 (Tanjore); 1922 (Tiruppur); 1923 (Madurai) and 1924 (Tiruvannamalai)².

Though this issue forms part of a political issue, it has to be discussed at length for its importance. It is worthwhile to know the event that happened in the Provincial Congress held at Tirunelveli in the year 1920. S. Srinivasa Iyengar was in the chair. In collaboration with V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Periyar. Drafted a resolution demanding communal representation in the government service. When this resolution was proposed at the session the Brahmin leadership set about threatening the party³.

They made Diwan Rama Rao to declare categorically that if that particular resolution was passed then all Brahmins would resign from the Congress Party en masse. But the Periyar and his non-Brahmin supporters did not yield to that threat. Then the Brahmins assembled and after long deliberations they decided to table an amendment. The amendment as proposed by Rajaji replaced the words "Percentage" by "Adequate representation". They convinced Periyar that both the words had got the same meaning. It was complained by him that they had manipulated the resolution in such a way that the hands of Muslim members also were raised when the amendment was put to vote.⁴

In the above Conference the resolution which had been adopted by the subjects

committee with a majority of six votes, was eventually turned down in the final stages by the Chairman of the Conference S. Srinivasa Iyengar who characterized the resolution as one 'detrimental to national unity'.⁵

In January 1925, Periyar. Received certain complaints from the students of Seranmadevi Gurukulam including one from the son of O.P. Ramasami Reddiar (a later Chief Minister of Madras) about the enforcement of separate dining among Brahmin and non-Brahmin boys.⁷ There was a storm of protest against such discriminatory practice from the non-Brahmin members of the Congress as well as from those who had donated liberally for the establishment of the institution. Periyar could no longer remain an idle spectator of the scene. Being answerable to the various interest which had helped the establishment and running of the Gurukulam, it was time for him to intervene and to do something to set things right. A committee constituted to investigate the allegations also learnt that V.V.S. Iyer himself had given permission to two Brahmin boys to dine separately on the insistence of their parents.⁸ Popular resentment arose and since V.V.S. Iyer was running institution on communal lines, it was demanded that either he should return all the donations received from the Tamilnadu Congress and non-Brahmin members or he should agree to change the character of the institution. V.V.S.Iyer's supporters pointed out that inter dining was not in practice either in society or in educational institutions run by the government. So they maintained that in the absence of such a custom in society it would be senseless to beg that the Gurukulam alone should implement inter dining among its students. Although Periyar and Varadarajulu Naidu had differences of opinion on various political questions, they held identical views on the Gurukulam issue. Periyar made a speech at Salem in April 1925 about this affair.

Gandhiji's interference in the Gurukulam issue also did not solve the problem. Gandhiji advised that the two Brahmin students should be allowed to dine separately, as it had been agreed to already but in future no such restrictions should be encouraged or imposed in the Gurukulam.⁹ Apparently the meeting with Gandhiji failed to satisfy the parties concerned. Periyar. and Varadarajulu Naidu gave vent to

their feelings against the Gurukulam and what they considered to be Brahmin dominance in Tamil society, through the columns of their Tamil Papers "Kudi Arasu" and "Tamil Nadu" respectively. T.V. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar who was considered by his contemporaries to be a more balanced person than either Naidu or Periyar. appealed to Iyer to change the character of the institution from Seranmadevi to another centre.¹⁰ But V.V.S.Iyer not merely turned a deaf ear to this but also criticized him for lending support to malicious campaign in Tamil Nadu.¹¹

The situation grew increasingly tense and called for some more drastic action. Some efforts were made at the Tamil Nadu Congress annual meeting to settle the issue of jurisdiction over matters concerning a private institution. Nonetheless Varadarajulu Naidu who did not fully succeed in raising the Gurukulam issue at the Congress meeting held on 29 April 1925 succeeded in limiting the agenda specifically to the question of inter dining .

At the conclusion of his presidential address he moved a resolution which expressed the regret of the Tamil Nadu Congress at having paid five thousand rupees to the Gurukulam.⁷ But his resolution failed to get the approval of the Committee. Rajaji moved a resolution which said that the internal management of the Gurukulam should be left to the people who run it but that the pupils of the institution should dine together without discrimination.¹² This resolution of Rajaji was also not approved by the committee. Finally S. Ramanathan's resolution which recommended that the gradations of merit based on birth should not be observed by any organization participating in the national movement was approved and V. Thiagaraja Chettiar of Devakottai, Ramanathan and Periyar were appointed to help the Gurukulam to implement this principle.¹³ Out of twenty six members nineteen voted for it and seven against it. Rajaji, Rajan, Vijayaraghavachariar, K. Santhanam, Dr. Swaminatha Sastri and N.S. Varadachari (all Brahmins only) opposed the resolution.¹⁴ This confirmed the belief of Periyar that the Brahmins whether traditionalists or progressives, were essentially communal in outlook. At this time a censure motion which was moved against Varadarajulu Naidu condemning him for endangering national unity by promoting communal ill-feeling in Tamil Society was

rejected but it helped to widen the split with the Tamilnad Congress.¹⁵

In his capacity as the Secretary of the Tamil Nadu Congress Periyar refused to pay the balance amount of Rupees Five Thousand due to Gurukulam until and unless the common mess system advocated by Gandhiji was practised. V.V.S. Iyer and his band of associates, therefore decided to get the money without Periyar's knowledge; and they succeeded in doing so. They got the cheque from the joint secretary K. Santhanam, a Brahmin. This also made Periyar to declare an "all-out war" on the Gurukulam. M. Baktavatsalam criticized Varadarajulu Naidu only.¹⁶ But this incident developed a deep animosity in the heart of Periyar and hastened his decision to quit the Congress.

In the Conjeevaram Conference of the Tamil Nadu Congress in 1925, he therefore, decided to get his most-disputed resolution passed at any cost. His endeavour in this proved to be his last attempt to remain in the Congress. Periyar. believed that since the All India Congress Committee at the Patna session in September 1925 had given a mandate to the Swaraj Party to carry on the work inside the Central Legislature and Provincial Councils on behalf of the Congress, the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee would take a decision on the Patna resolution.¹⁷

When the resolution of Council entry was taken up for discussion S. Ramanathan insisted that the allied question of communal representation should also be discussed at the same time. Thereupon the Committee considered the resolution put up by Periyar demanding proportional representation on the basis of population strength for the non-Brahmin communities.¹⁸ The resolution failed to gain support from the members of the subjects committee, who rejected part 'A' of the resolution but adopted part 'B' in a modified form.¹⁹

As Periyar, was not satisfied with the conciliatory move, he informed the committee

that he would again bring up both parts of the resolution at the main session of the conference itself.

Thiru. Vi. Ka. who was the President of the Conference suggested that Periyar might do so provided part 'A' of his resolution won the support of 25 delegates. In the meantime Srinivasa Iyengar had withdrawn his resolution as he considered that it was this resolution which motivated Periyar. To urge his policy of communal representation. It was expected that in the light of this new development he would not make an issue of it. Nevertheless he decided to stick to his decision.²⁰ The lack of consensus among the various non-Brahmin groups led to the defeat of Periyar's resolution. At the instance of Periyar. a meeting of the non-Brahmin delegates attending the conference was held at the Kamakshi Theatre in Conjeevaram under the President ship of T.A. Ramalingam Chettiar, a former Just cite. After a prolonged discussion at this sitting of the meeting a general resolution requesting the Tamil Nadu Congress to put up for the next general election, candidates 90% of whom should be non-Brahmins of this 33 % should be from the Depressed Classes.²¹

The practical minded politicians both in the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin groups of the Tamil Nadu Congress were aware of the prevailing mood among the followers of Periyar. But they failed to move the Congress machinery to take positive step to suggest a solution for this communal problem. Periyar felt that the Brahmin leaders on account of their vested interests were opposed to any measure that sought to improve the political fortunes of the non-Brahmin community.

Further he felt that this communal representation was the much needed arrangement for the development of the country and for the unity and equality among the people. So he quit from the congress party and began self – respect movement through this movement he came to limelight of Tamilnadu.

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CONNECTION BETWEEN SOUTH INDIA AND MITHILA: A STUDY

S.K. Rijul Midde

Mithila has an important place in the history of Indian Civilization. Mithila, the country of the Maithilas (Videha, Tirabhukti or modern Tirhut) is the name for the tract lying between 25°28' and 26°52'N. lat and between 84°56' and 86° 56'E.long. It is bounded on the north by the Himalaya and on the east, south and west by the rivers Kosi, Ganga and Gandaki respectively. It Comprised the present districts of Champara (East & West), Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Sitamari, Samastipur, Madhubani, Katihar, Saharsa, Purnia and Begusarai and the Terai under Nepal lying between these districts and the lower ranges of the Himalaya.¹

The association of the Karnatas with South India can be traced back to the Pala Inscription (8th-12th century C.E) which leave no doubt that they originally belonged to the south.²Like his counterpart in Bengal,³ Nanyadeva, (1097-1147 C.E)ruler of Karnata dyanasty In Mithila is called *Karnatakulabhushana* and *Karnatakshatriya* in the Mithila tradition. The Senas (11th -13th C.E.) are also known as the *Karnatakshairiya* from verse IV of the Madhainagar grant and the Naihati grant of Ballala sena(1160-1179 C.E)⁴ the Sena ruler. It can be safely assumed on the basic of this grant that some Karnata officials actually acquired political power and set out independent kingdoms for themselves.

We know that the storming of the capital of the Parmara king Bhoja-I (1010-1055 C.E.) and the destruction of the Kalachuri king Karna by Somesvara I(1040-1069 C.E.) facilitated the path for Karnata domination in the north Indian

Politics. The Karnatas of Mithila hailed from the Deccan in the wake of Chalukya invaders, Somesvara I and Vikramaditya VI(1076-1126 C.E).⁵ Vikramaditya VI's son Somesvara III is described as having placed his feet upon the heads of the kings of Andhra, Dravida, Magadha and Nepala.⁶ Their Emergence in north Indian Politics ushered in a new epoch. The destruction of the Parmaras by the Chalukyas is supported by the Basahi Plate of Govindacandra Gahadavala⁷ of KanaujThe dyanasty of Kanauj, Mithila and Bengal were the direct results of the Chalukya invasions of north India. R.C.Majumdar has rightly observed that, "the deluge of the Karnata invasion ushered in three new dynasty at Kanauj, Mithila and Bengal".⁸

The frequent mention of the Karnatas in Pala inscription leaves no doubt that they were employed by the Palas as important official and they took the advantage of the situation when the supreme authority became weak. The Karnata invasion from the south helped in realization of their ambition. Aca, a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI is represented to have conquered large territories for his master. The Tamil poem *Kalingattuparanai*, describing the Chola conquest of north Kalinga and gives a long list of peoples who paid tributes to Kulottunga, The Chola⁹ king(1070-1118 C.E.). The Conquest included Vanga, Vangala and Magadhas. It was about this time that Karnatas were also heading towards this region. The Pala territory which included Mithila seems to have been invaded by these two groups southerners and Rampala might have sought an alliance with the Colas for

securing support against the common enemy, i.e. the Karnatas.¹⁰ Sandhakara Nandi's *Ramcharita* suggests that "Varendri was successfully guarded against the Karnatas". While Aca carried arms into Bengal, the Palas¹¹ had to face two rising Karnata Chiefs, viz., Vijayasena in Bengal and Nanyadeva in Mithila.

Another important theory put forward by a set of scholars is that the Karnatas were merely the results of the revival of the eclipsed Karnata power in Magadha.¹² The supporters of this theory believe that Rajendra Chola Gangaikonda had a powerful imagination and grasp of the political situation of North India and he made a bid for supremacy in that part. The Tirumalai Inscription and inscription no.44 at Kolar¹³ give the achievements of his conquest in the following words: ".....attacked Vangaladesa from which Govindacandra fled and took the territory where the monsoon never ceases".¹⁴ He is said to have defeated Mahipala.¹⁵ A critical study of the contemporary records shows that the Chola conquest did not affect in any way the political condition of Bengal and Neighbouring countries. M.Ramakrishna Kavi believes that the Rastrakuta were the Karnatas and after their decline in 970 C.E. in the south, they moved towards the north. Though Mr.Kavi fails to give any plausible explanation for the so-called migration of the Rastrakuta from south to north. If the view about the Rastrakutas' expansion in the north be accepted, it is quite likely that Karnatas moved along with the Colas and when further strengthened by the fresh Chalukya invasion, they asserted their independence in the last decade of the eleventh century of the C.E.

Kshemesvara's *Canda-kausika* says that Mahipala of the Pala dynasty defeated the Karnata Raja who had invaded Bengal.¹⁶ The MSS is dated 1331 and refers indirectly to a contest between Mahipala and the Karnatas. The Chalukyas of Kalyana were at this period rulers of Karnata but none of the contemporary inscriptions of Chalukya sovereigns refer to any conflict with Palas. R.P. Chanda is of opinion that Karnatas were soldiers who were known to have invaded Mahipala's kingdom.¹⁷ H.P.Sastri believed that the people defeated by Mahipala might have been connected with those Karnatas who are believed to have established later on in Bengal and Mithila. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to be precise with

regard to the time as to when those Karnatas first settled in Bihar and Bengal. The series of Southern invasions of northern India may have quite possibly been responsible for the regular inflow of Karnata settlers in Bihar and Bengal. The fresh wave of *Karnatakendu* Vikramaditya IV only gave them impetus to stabilize their position as independent rulers after the local central authority had become weak.¹⁸ and incapable of keeping in control the forces of disintegration.

The reasonable view seem to be that before the Palas could take advantage of the difficulties of the Kalachchuries, the Palas had to face an invasion from the Chalukyas of Karnata.¹⁹ The earliest raid of the Chalukyas must have taken place before 1053 C.E.²⁰ Another important Chalukya expedition was taken towards Vanga and neighboring countries at the close of the eleventh century.²¹

The commentary on Bharata's *Natyasastra* reveals to us that he was called *Karnatakulabhushana*. K.P. Jayaswal believes that this name is only a Sanskritised form of Dravidian 'Nanniya' meaning affectionate.²² Nanniya, Nanyupa other such names of Nanyadeva are known to us from traditions current in Mithila and preserved by such traditional writers as M. P.Jha in his *Mithilatat tvavimarsha* and Rasbehari Das in his *Mithiladarpana*. The Deopara inscription unmistakably calls Vijayasena a scion of the Karnata race and Nanyadeva is also mentioned therein. In the last quarter of the 11th century C.E., when the southerners were disturbing the political life of North India, the Karnatas gained a permanent footing in the eastern part of north India and carved out for themselves small independent kingdoms which were destined to play very important role in the following centuries.²³ Nanya or his ancestor seems to have asserted independence.²⁴ The Revolt must have coincided with the Chalukya invasion during the reign of Vikramaditya VI. Karnatas of Mithila have been referred to in epithets like *Karnatacudamani* in the Nepal.²⁵ inscriptions, *Karnatavamsodhava Karnatdhipa*²⁶ by Chandesvar, Kanadda speaking barons²⁷ from the Deccan, a southerner, in a recent Marathi²⁸ work and *Karnatakulalakshmi* in the Sena inscription.²⁹

As late as 1162 C.E Nepal is mentioned as a vassal state of Somesvara III in the Pattadakal stone inscription³⁰. The unstable condition of Nepal and surrounding area is well attested by number of epigraphs and Vamsavali sources. In view of all this it is Plausible to hold that "the forefather of Nanya established themselves as feudatory chiefs in Tirhut, on the border of Nepal, as a result of the successive raid by the great Chalukya prince to the foothills of the Himalayan range...and after the withdrawal of the strong Chalukyan arm, they rose to pre-eminence, broke off their allegiance and established themselves as rulers of Tirhut" Nanya was first ruler of this dynasty. S.Levi holds that Nanyadeva at first accepted service under some unknown king, and taking advantage of the weakness of the master, wielded sovereignty. It is a well-known fact that even the Pala rulers had appointed sufficient number of Karnata officers under them.

D.G. Ganguly is of opinion that Nanyadeva was an officer under the Pala and established a kingdom in Tirabhukti during the Kaivarta revolt. "A new danger" which confronted Rampala on the eve of his fight with Kaivarta Bhima, mentioned in the *Ramacharita*, may be referring to this incident.³¹ According to a tradition which id not to be rejected outright, Nanyupadeva, or more correctly Nanayapadeva founded in the year 1097 Simarouna, the ancient capital of the province of Mithila situated in the Nepal terrain, in the ruins of which statues and idols have been found.³² During the reign of Ramapala they took advantage of the weakness of the Palas and established an independent dynasty. The Karnatas ruled Mithila from 1097-to 1324-25 C.E.

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A.S. PONNAMMAL - A RENOUNCED ASSEMBLY MEMBER IN TAMIL NADU

C. Rouccoumany

Under the State Reorganization Act of 1956, the new Kerala state was formed with the exchange of few territories of Madras State.¹ The Madras State was renamed as "Tamil Nadu" on 14 January 1967.²

Tamil Nadu Legislature has recognized the services rendered by women wherever it is possible. This was clear when A.S. Ponnammal (1926-2015) who was elected to the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on seven occasions as a

candidate of various political parties. She was fondly known as 'Akka' (elder sister) in political circles and among colleagues in the Tamil Nadu Assembly.³

A.S.Ponnammal, born in 1926, was the former Member of Legislative Assembly from Nilakottai. When she was first elected on an Indian National Congress ticket from the Nilakotai Constituency, she was only 31 years. The name Nilakottai became the part of her identity as she represented the Reserved Assembly Constituency six times even though she lost the seat in the 1967 and the 1971 elections. She was continuously elected to the Assembly till 1996 though she changed her Constituency once and switched her political allegiance.⁴

In the Second General Elections for Madras Legislative Assembly of 1957, A.S. Ponnammal, has been elected as the Legislative member from the Nilakotai Reserved Constituency, Madurai District. Of the twenty four women contestants thirteen belonged to the Indian National Congress (INC), two from Praja Socialist Party, one from Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and seven independents. In that election, twelve were elected in which eleven belonged to the Congress and one from DMK.⁵ K. Kamaraj, a Congress leader was the Chief Minister of Madras State from 1954.⁶ He was continuously elected as the Chief Minister of Madras State in 1957 also. The number of women legislators in the Madras Legislative Assembly had increased from two in 1952 to thirteen in 1957. The ratio of women to men among those elected was 1:187 in 1952 and 1:16 in 1957.

In the Third General Elections for Madras Legislative Assembly of 1962, twenty three women contested. Of them, thirteen women were elected, eleven belonged to the Congress, one to the DMK and one to the Swatantra Party. A.S. Ponnammal was elected in 1962 as Indian National Congress candidate. The valid votes of

ELECTED MEMBER OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY FROM 1980 TO 1996

Name of the Candidate	Constituency	Year
Ponnammal, A.S., Independent Candidate	Nilakkottai, Reserved, Madurai District	1980
Ponnammal, A.S., Indian	Nilakkottai, Reserved, Madurai District	1984

elected women members in the Third General Elections, shows their awareness in the politics.⁷A.S. Ponnammal served as a Member of Madras Legislative Assembly from 1957 up to Fourth General Elections of 1967.

In the Fourth General Election for Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly of 1967, A.S. Ponnammal was defeated by A. Muniyandi, DMK party in the Nilakottai Constituency.⁸ In 1967, DMK, led by C.N. Annadurai became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, died in office in 1969 and V.R. Neduncheziyan, DMK party, took over as acting Chief Minister. In the Fifth General Elections for Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly of 1971, A.S. Ponnammal, NCO (National Congress Organization) party, from the Nilakottai constituency, was defeated by A. Muniyandi, DMK party.⁹

In the Seventh Legislative Assembly Election to Tamil Nadu in 1980, A.S. Ponnammal was subsequently elected to the Legislative Assembly as an Independent candidate in the Nilakottai (SC) Constituency.¹⁰ In that election, ADMK, won and its leader and incumbent Chief Minister, M.G. Ramachandiran was sworn in as Chief Minister for the second time.

In the Eighth General Election for Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly of 1984, A.S. Ponnammal was elected in the Nilakottai (SC) Constituency as an Indian National Congress candidate.¹¹ She served as a Member of Legislative Assembly in Tamil Nadu under the Ministry of ADMK leader, M.G. Ramachandiran (1984-87). Though the DMK party or ADMK party came to the ministry, as an Indian National Congress candidate, she was elected as the member of Legislative Assembly to Tamil Nadu in 1980 and also in 1984 and served up to 1989.

The following table shows her continuous services in different periods.

Congress	Madurai District	
Ponnammal, A.S., Indian National Congress	Nilakkottai, Reserved, Madurai District	1989
Ponnammal, A.S., Indian National Congress	Nilakkottai, Reserved, Madurai District	1991

Ponnammal, A.S., Congress Tamil Maanila Congress (Moopanar)	Nilakkottai, Reserved, Madurai District	1996
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Sources: Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report, 11th August 1980, Vol. VIII, No.1. xii; April 10th and 11th 1984. Vol. LXV. No. 1 & 2; Report

In the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh General Elections for Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, A.S. Ponnammal was elected as the Member of Legislative Assembly from the Nilakottai (SC) Constituency in 1989, and 1991 as an Indian National Congress candidate and in 1996 as a Tamil Maanila Congress (Moopanar) candidate,¹² under the Ministry of M. Karunanithi, (1989-1991), J. Jayalalitha, (1991-1996) and M. Karunanithi, (1996-2001).¹³

A.S. Ponnammal tirelessly served from 1989 to 2001, under various party leaders, even though she belonged to Congress party.

Social Activities

As a member of the Legislative Assembly, A.S.Ponnammal provided more facilities to the common people. Education is considered as a source of illumination which feed students from darkness to light. It is an important factor in shaping the personality of an individual and an important input of human resource development at each and every level. In Nilakkotai, there was no government college for women up to July 1998. All her strenuous efforts culminated into a great success when the Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi announced the inception of a new Government Arts College for Women in Nilakottai. With the generous contribution of Rs. 50,00,000/- by A.S.Ponnammal from her

on the Ninth General Elections to Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly 1989, Madras. 138; Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report, 9th September 1991, Vol. V, No.1. xxii; 27th August 1996, Vol. 15, No. 1. xxiv.

Constituency Development Fund and Rs. 50,00,000/- by the Member of Parliament C.Srinivasan, the foundation stone was laid. This college dawned in the year 1998-1999 as the result of the constant and continuous effort of the former MLA of the Nilakottai Constituency A.S.Ponnammal. Hundreds of village Women around Nilakottai, are getting higher education from this institution.¹⁴

A.S. Ponnammal was a very pleasant person and articulated well the requirements of her Constituency in the Assembly. In 2001, A.S. Ponnammal quit the Tamil Manila Congress and joined the Congress Jananayaga Peravai founded by P. Chidambaram as she could not get a seat in the 2001 elections. Subsequently she was not active in politics. From 1957 to 2001, she rendered a valuable services to the politics and especially to the Nilakottai Constituency. She died on 24th November 2015, at the age of 88.¹⁵

A.S. Ponnammal's 54 years ie., from 1957 to 2001, political career, is the best example for the present politicians. By her interest and involvement, her close identification and contribution in developing the society, she is always living in the minds Of the Tamil Nadu people.

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READING ROOMS AND NATIONALIST CONCIOUSNESS IN COLONIAL KADAPA DISTRICT 1858-1947

G. Samba Siva Reddy & A. Ramanjul Reddy

Introduction

Growth of education and press led to the establishment of reading rooms or libraries, though in a humble way initially, to cater to the needs of readership due to the growing interest of the people during the colonial political and national developments in the country. This was particularly so in the second half of the 19th Century and first half of the 20th Century in the backdrop of Indian nationalist scenano.

Origin of the idea for Starting Reading Rooms

The concept of reading rooms and libraries is not new to India. In fact, history of libraries is as old as civilization and human culture.¹ In the olden days, books in libraries were written on palm leaves, pieces of stones, clay tablets, pieces of cloth, wooden tablets, silver and copper plates, and pieces of animal skin. The sources available in the ruins of Nalanda, Taxila and other ancient cities and towns of India prove this.² This tradition survived through the Sultanate and Mughal times in various forms with an improved style and elegance as the time passed on.

With the advent of British administration in India, the libraries acquired more popularity as centres of knowledge. The British took several steps to systematise the entire administration, including the maintenance of libraries, in India. In course of time, they gave utmost importance to the development of libraries. This gave impetus to the modern libraries in India, including Madras Presidency,³ of which Andhra was a part till the latter's formation as a separate state in 1953.

In Andhra, the Paravasthu family of Visakhapatnam founded the first library in 1800. Though it was for a chosen few in the beginning, it was, later, thrown open to public and became Arsha Grandhalaya.⁴ Subsequently, the invention of printing in Telugu in 1806 and the publication of Telugu books from 1834 onwards gave fillip to the growth in the number of libraries in different parts of Andhra during 19th Century. As a consequence, James Thomas, a British Judge, established a Library at Rajahrundry in 1839. Every day, hundred members visited this library. Books were sent to readers in the villages located around Rajahmundry in order to educate the rural people. Books in English, Telugu, Tamil and Urdu languages were available in this library. This arrangement heralded the concept of public library in Andhra⁵ in all respects.

Inspired by these developments, the Bellary Club Reading Room was established at Bellary in 1863, the first of its kind in Rayalaseema of which Kadapa district is a part. Its main objective was to provide newspaper reading and debates on the general conditions of society of those times.⁶ This example provided inspiration to Kadapa district. As a result, the first reading room was started at Madanapalle, then in Kadapa district, in 1870 by a Christian Mission and it was named as American Arcot Mission Reading Room.⁷ However, the first reading room to have been started by local people in this district was the Jammalamadugu Jubilee Club (1881) at Jammalamadugu. The declared objectives of this Reading Room were to uplift the people in the field of 'Social Education'⁸ and to 'spread the information'⁹ among people about the library movement.

Subsequently, several Reading Rooms, Debating Clubs and Literary Associations came up at the places like Madanapalle, Jammalamadugu, Kadapa, Proddatur, Kadiri, Vayalpaduu, Pulivendula, Piler, Siddhavattam and Rayachoty during the second half of the 19th century.¹⁰ These libraries were started with the declared objective of providing amenities for Scientific, Literary, Moral, Mental, Social and Physical improvement of their members in particular and the public in general, besides providing reading material like newspapers, books, magazines and journals and conducting debates and seminars on the festival and other auspicious occasions.¹¹

Like majority of the ancient and medieval libraries, the modern Literary Clubs, Societies and Associations initially catered to the needs of only those who had membership in these organisations.¹² However, with the advent of the concept of Universal Library, these organisations were thrown open to all sections of the people.¹³ Universal Libraries came up in all districts, including Kadapa district, of Andhra Pradesh in the last decades of the 19th century, owing to the growing nationalist consciousness among the people. In Andhra, the first library of this kind was "Saraswathi Nilayam" of Visakhapatnam, started by Mantena Adinarayana Murthy, a school teacher, in 1886.¹⁴ Then it was the turn of Kadapa district, where "Saraswathi Vilasamu" was established in 1889 at Pulivendula.¹⁵ It is significant to note that these two early universal libraries were named after "Saraswathi" ¹⁶ (Goddess of Learning). These modern libraries were also called Free Public Libraries. They were started mainly to see that every citizen had free access to them, and the service of a library to the society would be a continuous process. Voluntary organisations and individuals, who wanted to do social service, and also some other private organisations played a key role in the establishment of such libraries in the last years of 19th century and the first half of 20th century.¹⁷ For instance, in Kadapa district, scholarly and public-spirited persons like Vedam Venkatakrisna Sarma, Bhadri Sitaramayya, K.Gundu Rao, Viruru Pitchaiah, Vellala Ramakrishna Sastry and Gullapalli Venkata Punnayya Sastry played a significant role for the spread of library movement.¹⁸ With the inspiration provided by

these developments, libraries were started even in small villages also, in addition to the taluk headquarters and small towns in the district. These factors are an indication of the growth of awareness in people about the utility of library.

Number of Reading Rooms/ Libraries at Different Periods

An analysis of the spread of libraries in different places at different periods in the Kadapa district will be an interesting study.

The introduction of adult literacy programmes also resulted in the growth of a number of reading rooms in Kadapa district. As in other parts of Andhra Pradesh, majority of the libraries and reading rooms in the district were started and strengthened by the efforts of private enterprise and voluntary associations or organisations. For instance, the Sri Ramakrishna Samajam and the Theosophical Society of Kadapa and the Arya Vysya Samaj of Proddatur did yeomen service to the cause.¹⁹ Particularly, the Sri Ramakrishna Samajam of Kadapa played a significant role during the first half of the 20th century.²⁰ It also sold books and photographs of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda to all sections of people, in addition to the regular library activities.²¹ This was obviously intended to remind the people about India's heritage thereby inculcating in them a sense of Indian nationalism. Every year, meetings were held under the auspices of this organisation on the special and auspicious occasions like the birth or death anniversaries of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda. Special cultural and spiritual programmes were arranged at every meeting. The Samaj started Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa Memorial Free Reading Room in 1910 at Kadapa. Several persons of repute were invited by the Samaj to give their speeches on puranic accounts of legendary character, apart from expressing their views on various issues facing the society. For instance, the President of the Ramakrishna Mission, Madras, Srimat Paramahansa Parivrajaka-charya Swami Sarvananda, and Sub-Editor of *The Hindu*, Madras, P.S. Sivaramayyar besides other persons of the district like N.Narasinga Rao, Advocate, Proddatur, A.Narayana Swami, H.S.A.M.Manjumiya Saheb, G.Venkata Ranga

Rao, and A.Narayanayya were invited to participate in the meetings held on 18, 19 March 1916. They spoke in Telugu, English and Urdu languages on different themes like religion, society and education, and spiritual, cultural and moral values. Thus, inter-district exchanges of views became a possibility through these libraries. Free food was provided to 500 poor people on that occasion. It was one of the earliest and important meetings conducted by the Sri Ramakrishna Samajam.²²

More meetings of that nature were conducted by it throughout the first half of the 20th century to enlighten the people and society as well.²³ The Nawab of Banaganapalli (now in Kurnool district) also visited the library of this Samaj on one important occasion and appreciated the efforts made by the management and members.²⁴ This library also started one voluntary organisation, namely, *Harijana Seva Samithi* (Society for service to Harijans) to do service to the Harijans in all fields.²⁵ This was followed by other Reading Rooms and Libraries of the district, such as AndhTa Bhashabhivardhani Samajam, Proddatur (1912),²⁶ Arya Vysya Reading Room and Library, Proddatur (1919),²⁷ Sri Sita Ramachandra Library, Vallur (1923), the District Board Library, Kadapa (1930-31),²⁸ Swatantra Bharat Library, Vemula (1940),²⁹ Pulivendula Reading Room, Pulivendula,³⁰ and Sri Bhavanarayana Library, Pullampet.³⁰

Meetings and the activities of these libraries influenced people of the district so much that many new libraries were started at different places. Political and national organisations such as the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Indian National Congress had an impact on the district in 1880s. The launching of socio-religious reform movement in the 19th century by Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu and the nationalist movements like the Vandemataram and Home Rule Movements (1907 and 1916-1918) in 20th century also turned the attention of the Andhras, including the people of Kadapa district, towards the nationalist movement.³² As a consequence, Telugu journalism flourished and the number of universal free public libraries increased substantially. At the same time,

establishment of public library system by the ruler of Baroda, Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, under the influence of William Borden, an American,³³ attracted many intellectuals and social workers of Andhra. Inspired by these developments, the educated elite of Kadapa district started many new libraries during the first half of 20th century. Several major panchayats like Nandaluru, Jammalamadugu, Badvel, Pulivendula and Rajampet also established libraries of their own between 1939 and 1947. The other types of libraries started in the district were *Grama Sangham* Libraries and the Co-Operative Libraries. The Sri Rama Krishna Library, Khajipet (1946) belonged to the former category while the Co-Operative Library, Venkataramaiah (Rajampet taluk) (1947) belonged the latter category. Among the municipalities of the district, the Proddatur Municipality established a library in 1947.³⁴

In addition to those mentioned earlier, several individuals from the cross section of society also contributed to the establishment of these libraries. Polepalli Venganna Sreshty,³⁵ Janamanchi Seshadri Satma,³⁶ Koppurapu Subbaiah Sreshty,³⁷ N. Narasimha Rao, D.Rajasekharam, Gadicharla Venkata Rao,³⁸ Boddapati Seshagiri Rao,³⁹ G. Venkata Sastry, Kantham Narasimha Rao, L.Venkataramaiah, S.Chennaiah, K. Ramaiah,⁴⁰ N. Ranga Raddy,⁴¹ and Kadapa Koti Reddy took lead in this activity.⁴² These leaders belonged to the middle and lower middle classes of society and came to have their own niches in the library and national movements at different stages in Kadapa district under the influence of the leaders like Ayyanki Venkataramanayya, Gadicharla Harisarvothama Rao, Pathuri Nagabhusanam, Velaga Venkatappayya, and Suri Venkata Narasimha Sastry of the provincial stature. A great leader, freedom fighter and social worker, Vavilala Gopala Krishnaiah, also toured many places like Rajampet, Rayachoty, Kadapa, Proddatur and Jammalamadugu in the district for the cause of the library movement. Prominent leaders of the district such as Janamanchi Seshadri Sarma, Vavilikolanu Subba Rao, A.K.Muni, V.Chithanandam, Vellala Ramakrishna Sastry and Parthasarathy accompanied him during the tour, thus enhancing the scope of awakening in the district.⁴³

Of all the factors that contributed to this movement, the influence of the *Swadeshi* and Vademataram, Home Rule, Non Co-operation, Civil Disobedience, and Quit India Movements was noteworthy.⁴⁴ Besides providing reading facilities, the publicity for Khaddar dress, promotion of music and other folk arts, installation of printing machines, conducting training camps for Scouts and Guides, re-organisation of national physical education activities and the regeneration of indigenous industries, establishment of co-operative societies and conducting national festivals also became a part of the library movement.⁴⁵ Under the influence of these nationalist activities, the strength of libraries increased appreciably. But during 1921-1924 the public attention was diverted completely towards political activities, and a number of the activists went to jails.⁴⁶ Hence, there was a minimum number of libraries in the district during the period. However, subsequently the momentum picked up once again as a result of the fast spreading nationalist consciousness⁴⁷ and the growth of nationalist movement.⁴⁸

Leaders and libraries of Kadapa district made sincere efforts for the promotion of library movement in the second half of 19th century. Even some of the English Officials contributed their mite in this direction. For instance, C.P.Brown (1798-1884), a great patron of Telugu literature, created library awareness about libraries in the people of Kadapa district by establishing his own library at Kadapa in 1826.⁴⁹

Financial Management of the Reading Rooms

All the reading rooms that were established under private enterprise were maintained by the subscriptions of their members and donations collected from different sections of the society.⁵⁰ In the beginning, they were started and strengthened by co-operation of the public without any help from the Government.⁵¹

This general scenario of the reading rooms is noticed in Kadapa district also. Data relating to the second half of 19th century could be collected from one of the libraries, the Pulivendula Reading Room, namely, Saraswata Vilasa Mandiram. It was established

in 1889. It was run in its own building worth about Rs.3000/-. Total subscribers for this library were 25 members and the total amount of monthly subscriptions was Rs.24/-. Its average monthly expenditure was Rs.18/-. It had an amount of Rs.200/- as reserve fund for its maintenance.⁵² Among the remaining libraries in this period, starting from American Arcot Mission Reading Room (1870), Madanapalle, down to the Kadapa High School Union (1896), Kadapa, majority of libraries had got their income from public subscriptions. But some of the libraries had got their income in the form of both endowments as well as subscriptions. For instance, Madanapalle American Mission Free Reading Room (1870), Madanapalle Library Union (1885), and Madanapalle Association (1892), all the three at Madanapalle, Vayalpadu American Mission Reading Room (1886) at Vayalpadu, Jubilee Club (1887) at Proddatur, Reading Room (1892), and Jubilee Literary Association (1896) both at Rayachoty got their income in the form of endowments and subscriptions. Their income through these means ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs.225 per annum. The reading rooms such as the Madanapalle American Mission Free Reading Room (1870) and the Field Games Association (October, 1892) both at Madanapalle, Vayalpadu American Mission Reading Room (1890) at Vayalpadu, Saraswata Vilasa Mandiram (1889) at Pulivendula, and Kadapa Literary Association (1882) at Kadapa had got better financial position with an annual income ranging from Rs.225 to Rs.400 when compared to other libraries. Some of the reading rooms like the Literary Association (1892) at Kadapa, Madanapalle Hindu Association and Madanapalle Association (1892) at Madanapalle, Pulivendula Association (1893) at Pulivendula, Proddatur Reading Room (1884), Proddatur Reading Club (1884/1895) and the Jubilee Reading Club (1885), all the three at Proddatur, Vayalpadu American Mission Reading Room (1886) and Vayalpadu Association (1896) at Vayalpadu, Rayachoty Association (1896) at Rayachoty, Literary Society (1887) at Pulivendula, and Reading Room (1889) at Piler were each maintained with an average income ranging from Rs.120 to Rs.196 per annum. All other libraries survived with

meagre and poor financial position during this period. In spite of the Government's indifferent attitude and the district's backwardness in the fields of economy and higher education, the number of libraries kept growing in the district at different times during the second half of 19th century. This was possible due to the commitment of people and the growth of public and nationalist consciousness in the people due to the influence of political and nationalist movements.

In the first half of 20th century also the British Government did not extend financial assistance to libraries.⁵³ On the other hand, it tried to curtail and even to stop the grants it had earlier sanctioned to many libraries.⁵⁴ It also watched, very keenly, the growth of nationalist consciousness among people and sensed a danger from it. So, it rejected the applications for recognition and grant-in-aid for libraries during this period. It further went to the extent of saying that the maintenance and administration of the libraries would not come under the jurisdiction of local self-governing bodies.⁵⁵

Many a time the Government stopped grants to libraries that used to subscribe for the nationalist newspapers. The visitors used to go to these Reading Rooms, wearing *Khaddar* (a coarse, hand-spun cloth) dress. But, on the contrary, the government used to sanction total grant to the libraries that were started by the Justice Party leaders who were pro-British.⁵⁶ The Government also framed many stringent rules and regulations in addition to the Madras Public Libraries Act of 15 August 1933 to collect cess from the libraries and to curtail the number of reading rooms.⁵⁷ But the leaders like S.Radhakrishnan,⁵⁸ V.S.Srinivasa Sastry,⁵⁹ Ayyanki Venkataramanayya,⁶⁰ *Desabhakta* Konda Venkatappayya,⁶¹ Sir V.S. Sivaswami Ayyar,⁶² Vavilala Gopala-krishnaiah⁶³ and V.Ramadasu Panthulu,⁶⁴ and the Andhra Library Association.⁶⁵

Types of Newspapers Subscribed

Reading room, by implication, procures reading material consisting of newspapers, magazines, journals, manuscripts and books according to the interests of the readers. The effect of libraries on readers has been positive from the Indian national point of view.⁶⁶

Similarly, newspapers are one of the effective channels of the reading room to publicise its activities.⁶⁷ A good newspaper or journal would radiate views and news effectively.⁶⁸ It is the most important means of general publicity. It comes as near to being read by everyone as any medium can.⁶⁹ Majority of the readers, irrespective of their age, begins evincing interest in public affairs and politics by reading newspapers.⁷⁰

Keeping this importance of the newspapers and contemporary factors in view, the reading rooms of Kadapa district subscribed for newspapers besides other types of reading material such as books and journals. In fact the main objective of the majority of the reading rooms was the promotion of reading habits of the public besides organising debates and lectures, and the improvement of scientific, literary, moral, social and intellectual matters of the public.⁷¹

The newspapers subscribed for were of different categories - linguistic, religious, caste-based, sectarian and nationalistic. Linguistic papers were again of different categories, such as uni-lingual i.e., Telugu or English; or Urdu or Tamil etc; bi-lingual i.e., Telugu-English, or English-Telugu, or Tamil-Telugu, and tri-lingual i.e., Telugu-English-Tamil, or Telugu-English-Kannada, or Telugu-English-Urdu. Religious newspapers concentrated mainly on religious aspects of the people and society. Caste-based papers were patronised by certain castes or communities, and they covered the issues relating to their respective castes and communities. Nationalist newspapers gave importance to the problems of all sections of the people and over the country. The papers were in different periodicities like Weeklies, Fortnightlies, Monthlies and Bi-monthlies.

Reading Rooms in the district subscribed for all types of newspapers during the period reviewed in this study. Details on the starting and the spread of newspapers and content thereof, as traced in the preceding chapter, prove this point. Among reading rooms of the second half of nineteenth century, the Saraswata Vilasa Mandiramu (1889) of Pulivendula subscribed for two Telugu newspapers and five English newspapers.⁷² During the first half of 20th century, the Vayalpadu *Swadeshi* Reading Room of Vayalpadu subscribed for three Telugu

newspapers and two English newspapers,⁷³ and Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa Memorial Free Reading Room of Kadapa subscribed for six Telugu newspapers and eight English newspapers.⁷⁴ Sri Ramakrishna Samajam of the same town subscribed for ten newspapers (both Telugu and English).⁷⁵ In 1912, another library, namely, Andhra Bhashabhivardhani Samajam of Proddatur purchased eight Telugu newspapers.⁷⁶ Yet another reading room was Sri Vagvadhunilaya Grandha Bhandagaramu of Nemalladinne of Jammalamadugu taluk. It subscribed for six newspapers. Gnanodaya Nilayamu of Railway Kodur (Rajampet taluk) subscribed for ten newspapers.⁷⁷

Among the newspapers so subscribed by reading rooms in the district,⁷⁸ there were weeklies and monthlies. For instance, of the papers subscribed by Saraswata Vilasa Mandiramamu of Pulivendula, two Telugu newspapers were weeklies,⁷⁹ while of the five English newspapers, three were monthlies and the remaining two were weeklies.⁸⁰ Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa Memorial Free Reading Room, Kadapa, subscribed for six Telugu newspapers, of which two were monthlies and the remaining four were weeklies. Of the total eight English newspapers subscribed by it, six were monthlies and two were weeklies.⁸¹ Andhra Bhashabhivardhani Samajam of Proddatur subscribed for eight Telugu newspapers, of which three were monthlies and the remaining five were weeklies.⁸²

The Vayalpadu *Swadeshi* Reading Room and the Kanyakaparameswari Reading Room (1908) of Vayalpadu subscribed for Telugu newspapers, the *Desabhimani*, the *Andhra Kesari*, *Andhra Patrika* and the *Krishna Patrika* and three English newspapers, *The Madras Standard*, *The Industry* and *The India*.⁸³ The Free Reading Room of Jammalamadugu subscribed for three English newspapers like *Swarajya*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and *The Hindu* in addition to Telugu newspapers.⁸⁴

Freedom Fighters of the district such as T.Chandra Sekhara Reddy (Mahadevapalli), Y.Adinarayana Reddy (Tsundupalli), Bandaru Gandrayudu alias Gandanna (Vurutur) (though originally he belonged to Vurutur of Kamalapuram taluk, he settled at Kothapalli of

Rayachoty taluk), V.Venkata Subbayya (Muddanur), P.Veera Reddy (Alamkhanpalli), D.Ramakrishna Reddy (Pulivendula), P.R.Sanjeeva Reddy (Peddapasupula), M.Venkatanarayana Gupta (Porumamilla), C.Subbarama Raju (a native of Sanepaya of Rayachoty taluk but settled at Railway Kodur), and K.Ranga Reddy (Old Kadapa) opined that among the Telugu newspapers, *Andhra Jyothi*, 1941-46, a monthly; *Yuva*, January 1947, Children's monthly newspaper; *Chandamama*, July, 1947, a monthly Children's magazine; *Vanitha*, 1947, a monthly magazine; *Andhra Bhumi*, a monthly newspaper; *Andhra Patrika*, *Krishna Patrika* and *Andhra Prabha*, and among the English newspapers, *The Hindu*, *Indian Express*, *Free Press Journal*, and *Madras Mail* were either subscribed by the libraries of the district or were in circulation in the district.⁸⁵ In addition to these, a few more newspapers published within the district and in the neighbouring districts, as noted in the preceding chapter, were also subscribed by the reading rooms.

Readership

Among the ingredients of any reading room such as finance, infrastructure including reading material, staff and visitors, numerical strength of readership also contributes for the development of libraries. In the beginning, readers used to assemble at some spot and read the journal or newspaper for themselves or some one used to read the news for others. Readers were numerous though the newspapers in circulation were a few. As the number of readers began growing, the need for qualitative reading material and sufficient accommodation was felt.⁸⁶ This led to the formation of societies, clubs and organisations known as Literary Societies or Associations, Debating Clubs and several private and voluntary organisations to cater to the needs of the growing number of readers. A great leader and one of the luminaries of library movement in Andhra Pradesh, Suri Venkata Narasimha Sastri, also recognised the role of readership in the development of libraries and said: "the readers are the life of the reading room. Unless and until their strength increased and their knowledge or intelligence expanded, they will be in a depressing condition instead of glorious situation".⁸⁷ So, reading rooms are

necessary tools for the growth of knowledge among people. Establishment of libraries also attracted people and diverted their attention towards the utilisation of reading material.⁸⁸ These reading rooms subsequently got transformed into modern libraries with all the required facilities.

This general picture can be applied to the reading rooms of Kadapa district. During the second half of the 19th century, the libraries like Jammalamadugu Jubilee Club (1881) and Jammalamadugu Reading Room Society (1881), both at Jammalamadugu, Literary Society (1887) at Kadiri, Mission Reading Room (1887) at Vayalpadu and Reading Room (1889) at Piler recorded the lowest readership at the rate, not exceeding six members per day. The libraries of the Kadapa High School Union (1896) at Kadapa, Popular Scientific Literary Association (1896), Vayalpadu Students Union (P.V.C.School) (1896) and Vayalpadu Association (1896), all the three at Vayalpadu, Elocution Society (1894), Field Games Association (1892), Madanapalle Youngmen's Mutual Improvement Society (1886), all the three at Madanapalle, Proddatur Reading Club (1884) at Proddatur and Kadapa Literary Association (1882) at Kadapa recorded the highest and appreciable readership at the rate, ranging from

32 to 120 members per day. The remaining reading rooms recorded an attendance ranging from 10 to 20 readers per day.

During the first half of 20th century, the Vayalpadu *Swadeshi* Reading Room at Vayalpadu, Sri Ramakrishna Samajam (1910) and Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa Memorial Free Reading Room (1910) at Kadapa, Andhra Bhashabhivardhani Samajam (1912) at Proddatur and Sri Vagvadhunilaya Grandha Bhandhagaramu (1915) at Nemalladinne (Jammalamadugu taluk), recorded the attendance of readers at the rate, ranging from 8 to 45 members per day.

Conclusion

The functioning and the activities conducted by these reading rooms and newspapers subscribed by them paved way for the growth of awareness among people of the colonial Kadapa district towards the contemporary problems and nationalist developments in the country. Further, the reading rooms or library movement and the nationalist movement went hand in hand, supplementing each other in colonial Kadapa district along the lines of general trend in the country to strengthen nationalist consciousness from different dimensions and perspectives.

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES : THE QUESTION OF CASTE.

Sandeep Kumar Dasari

One of the major social issues that the missionaries had to deal with was the question of caste, a unique aspect of Indian social order. Caste was an important factor influencing conversion and creating distinctions within the Indian Christian community. This paper examines several different aspects of this issue.

In Indian social order the caste system played an outstanding part. It was once the product of Hinduism. Census of India defined it as follows: "Caste has been defined as an endogamous group or collection of such groups bearing a common name and having some traditional occupation the members of which are so linked together by these and other ties, such as the tradition of common origin and the possession of the same tutelary deity and the same social status ceremonial observance and the firmly priests, that they regard themselves, and are regarded by the others, as forming a single homogeneous community"¹.

J. Pickett's opinion was "a Caste is an exclusive endogamous, hereditary cooperative group, bound together by the tradition of a common origin and a body of common custom"². When discussing the economic aspects of caste some missionaries declared that originally caste had some economic advantage because of the fact that occupations were

hereditary, the knowledge and skill acquired by the father descends to the son. In this way the Indian crafts had reached certain levels of perfection. But the essence of caste system was not to admit to change, because of this technical and industrial arts of Europe soon outstripped those of India. By making occupations hereditary by caste, this may have encouraged development up to a point, but it wasted the talent of those who were more suited to employment in something more than hereditary occupations and successfully prevented the infusion of new ideas³. J.N. Farquhar declared that old caste restrictions prevented the development of lower caste by the tyranny of caste⁴.

Roman Catholics never attacked the caste system directly by talking about Caste in the early churches. They recognize Caste in its social aspect as an inevitable feature of Indian life and therefore allowed for a caste-wise stratification which tolerated untouchability. It was hoped that a gradual growth in Roman Catholic Church, for instance, would bring about some change⁵.

St. Francis Xavier on the Kerala fishery coast allowed the emergence of different Churches. In the 17th century, Fr.De-Nobili allowed different castes in the same building in different places with a low wall of separation.

Even the Lutheran mission of earlier time regarded Caste as a social phenomenon and with few exceptions tolerated Caste division among their converts⁶. Caste based distinctions within the early Catholic congregations did not come under very serious attack until the 19th century when the Anglicans entered in the Indian missionary scene⁷.

In the North Indian churches, Caste was apparent among the converts. In the Bengal and Bombay presidencies the missionaries had insisted on its exclusion from the churches from the very beginning. However in South India, where the Caste feelings in general were stronger than in the North⁸, the Protestant missionaries had allowed some Caste practices within the Church⁹. Caste had become strongly entrenched especially in some areas for example the Society for Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Anglican missions originally conducted by the Danes. A survey conducted in the Tanjore mission in 1828 revealed, for example, that in churches the Christians of high caste still sat on the right side of the pulpit, and also the high caste Christians still refused to intermarry or eat with the lower caste converts¹⁰.

The Caste system was very prominent among Kerala Christians. For instance, high caste converts though within the social sphere were absorbed as the Syrian Christians, there was a lot of distinctions among higher and lower caste converts. Castes like Ezhavas, Palayas and Harijans, even after conversion was treated as untouchables in the church. The old Christians were called as Syrian Christians and the Harijan Christians were called as Puttu Christians (New Christians), the Chamar Christians, Pulaya Christians, etc. The Syrian Christians were considered superior to all others. This discrimination is reflected in the organisation of the Catholic church. A similar phenomenon is seen in Andhra as well. The new caste problems and tensions were brought into the churches such as those between converts from the main and Madiga castes in Telugu country¹¹.

In the Catholic churches in Kalvanoor there were many converts from the lower Castes. Untouchables make up 83 per cent of the Catholic Christian population in Kalvanoor parish. We find the effects of caste within the Church, the untouchables and Malainam,

Udayam Christians sat in different places in the church¹². This development can be traced from the 17th century when Fr. De Nobili allowed different castes in the same building in different places with a low wall of separation. It was with the arrival of the new Anglican missionaries early in the 19th century that sensitive question was brought to a climax when they witnessed a number of high caste converts refusing to sit with low caste converts and refusing to have any social dealings with them.¹³

As a result of the growth of cities, the introduction of the new methods of transport, spread of education, the new system of equality before law and other reforms, the caste system was becoming more flexible. Attitudes towards caste, especially among the educated classes and the authority of caste councils was in some cases undermined and many caste observances were no longer performed with such regularity. The missionaries played a part in this process of social change. Their arguments and agitations against caste probably had an influence. Hindu reformers stimulated a desire for change. They publicised the condition of the outcaste and, through their examples stimulated Hindu attempts to improve the lot of the Pariahs. To eradicate caste in Christian community was a real problem. It was a delicate issue to tackle because the influence of the caste within the converts was such that they slipped into either Hinduism or another Christian congregation whenever they encountered a specific problem with caste. So this was also a practical reason why missionaries did not insist on the removal of the caste.

There is very clear evidence available on the different approaches of the Protestants and Roman Catholics towards caste. The Catholics with their own internal hierarchical pattern for instance of the Laymen to Bishop, had little moral difficulty in allowing caste distinctions in their congregation. For the Lutherans, the problem was more serious. They believed in the brotherhood of the community with no hierarchy, and this was precisely the reason why the Lutherans fought against the caste system. While the missionaries played a part in making the system more flexible and enforcing some change, they were not successful as they wished in destroying caste consciousness.

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ROLE OF ANJALAI AMMAL IN QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

R. Santhiya

Introduction

The history of Indian struggle would be incomplete without mentioning the contributions of women, because the sacrifice made by the women of India occupies the foremost place. They fought with true spirit and unafraid courage and faced various tortures, exploitations, and hardships to earn us freedom. When most of the men freedom fighters were men, the women whose names have gone down in history for their dedication and undying devotion to the service of India is a long one. And, women's participation in the Indian freedom struggle added to the legitimacy of the Indian freedom struggle. Their active participation not only changed their goals but also organized the activities.¹

Gandhiji first gave public expressions to the theory of Quit India Movement published in the "Harijan" in an article on the 26th April 1942, After deploring the introduction of foreign soldiers into India to and in India's defense, Gandhiji asserted that if the British were to leave India to her fate, as they had to leave Singapore non-violent India would lose nothing and Japan could probably leave India alone, "whatever the consequence, therefore to India", he continued the real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India.² During the period of the Quit India Movement there were a few other development which exercised considerable influence on the freedom movement³. The Quit India Movement of 1942-44 is the next stage in the history of the freedom movement. It is also the final stage the period of struggle which began in 1920 came to an end with it and a period of negotiations started which

in about three years resulted in the withdrawal of the British and the achievement of freedom.⁴

There are some women who have been mingled in the freedom struggle and have gone to prison for the sake of freedom. South Arcot District in Tamil Nadu was considered to be important for the individual Satyagraha movement initiated by Gandhiji. Among many others, the prominent women who participated in it were Anjalai Ammal, Lakshmi Amma, Pathanji, Krishnaveni Ammal, Muthu Lakshmi Ammal, Aranganayaki Ammal and Jagadambal. In this research paper an attempt has been made to throw light on the participation of Anjalai Ammal in the Quit India Movement from Tamil Nadu.

Career of Anjalai Ammal

Anjalai Ammal was a social worker and reformer from Cuddalore. She started her political activism in 1921 with the Non Co-operation Movement and later took part in Neil Statue Satyagraha, Salt Satyagraha and Quit India Movement. Even though it was recorded in history records, one of the names *Cuddalore Mail* is one of the most popular names among the people and it is none other than Anjalai Ammal. Her husband was a martyr and her daughter and son- in-law were also martyrs.⁵ Anjalai Ammal was born in a simple family on 1890 at Mudhunagar, which is located in Cuddalore. When she was studying in school, during the year 1921, she started to participate in the freedom struggle at the age of thirteen and became the first women freedom fighter in Tamil Nadu.⁶

There was an image of Colonel Neil in Madras and the struggle was started to remove the statue, considering the cruelty of this tyrant in the city of Madras, considering the atrocities committed to the Indian people and soldiers during the first war of independence. The great leaders like N.Samayazhulu also participated in it. In 1927, Anjalai Ammal was the first to participate in the struggle to remove the statue. And it is to be noted here that she was elected from the Cuddalore constituency in the assembly election held in 1929.⁷ This was followed by the Salt Satyagraha in 1930, and in 1933, she participated in the Individual Satyagraha movement during the years 1940 and 1941, and in the year 1942 she also went to prison and her life has often been spent in prison.

Role of Anjalai Ammal in Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement which broke out in the year 1942 was the last of all Satyagraha conducted by Gandhiji on the Indian soil. The beginning of the movement can be traced back to the World War II which broke out in 1939. As a true satyagrahi, Anjalai Ammal said she would write to and meet the Viceroy and appeal to every Briton to realize their wrong and Quit India after giving her complete independence.⁹ Gandhiji called off mass satyagraha on 14th July 1933. However, he allowed the people to court arrest individually.¹⁰

On 7th April 1934, Gandhiji withdrew the movement completely and invited people to work for the removal of untouchability and for the implementation of other items of constructive programmes. In the history of the freedom movement of India, the Quit India Movement of 1942 was really a soldier's battle, in which the soldiers gave a good account of themselves and laid down their lives as martyrs to the cause of their country's freedom.¹¹

The 'revolt' of 1942 made the British nation realize that their rule was no longer wanted by India.¹² Let every man and women in the country carry on his or her person a badge bearing the motto 'Do or Die'. This well proclaim our determination to be free or perish in the attempt to be free.¹³ A 'leaderless movement and the men folk being behind the bars the women were active throughout the movement. There was direct involvement of women in the extremist activities. Huge numbers of women martyrs were

listed in this movement. The struggle for Indian independence introduces Indian women to a new kind of liberation movement. A sense of responsibility and dedication towards one's own country led them to organize and fight for achieving the ends. In a mood of desperation, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution in July 1942 calling upon the British to withdraw from India the all India congress committee which met in Bombay on 7th and 8th August 1942 endorsed. The All India Congress Committee met in Bombay on the 7th and 8th August 1942 and ratified the resolution, which had been passed by the congress working committee deciding inter - alia to start a mass struggle for independence on non - violent lines on the widest possible scale under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. After two days discussion it was passed by an over whelming majority.¹⁴

Anjalai Ammal participated in Quit India Movement struggle and also suffered many years in the prison. She was pregnant when she was arrested and sent to Vellore jail. And after sometime she was released for child birth and she was sent to Vellore jail again. She sold her family lands, her house and spent the money for India's struggle for freedom. She also made her nine year old child to participate in the struggle for removing Neil's statue and went to jail along with her daughter. Once Gandhi came to Cuddalore, the British government prohibited him to visit Anjalai Ammal. But she came in a horse with him and due to her courage Gandhi called her as South India's Jansi Rani.¹⁵

Mahatma Gandhi who enjoyed her patriotism took Anjalai Ammal along with him to the Wardha Ashram.¹⁶ The courted imprisonment of Anjalai Ammal is as follows:

- 1931 – 6 months
- 1933 – 3 months
- 1940 – 6 months
- 1941 – 18 months
- 1943 – 8 months
- 2 weeks – kept in Cannanore, Vellore and Madras jails.

She began to be called popularly as Cuddalore Mail.¹⁷

Conclusion

"When the history of India's fight for independence comes to be written, the sacrifice made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place", Mahatma Gandhi. The systematic study of women's past began when students of history recognized that they are witnessing a revolution. The Quit India Movement opened a new vista for Indian women. They got introduced with a new kind of

liberalism and social status which was unknown to them before. Quit India Movement drew the largest number women to the fore front. It was a struggle substantially waged by the womanhood. The sacrifices made by the teen aged girls, mother with babies in their wombs and old woman and their defiance of bullets and lathis speak of their valour, spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

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CONTRIBUTION OF ANNIE BESANT TO JOURNALISM

T. Sangamithirai

Introduction

Annie Besant optimized the use of press and its power to preach and promote Theosophical thoughts, knowledge on Indian culture, importance of education, necessity of social reform, rationalism and need of Home rule. Annie Besant prompted that Indians should remember their ancient and medieval principles through her writings. Being a journalist, Annie Besant carried out valuable works and there prevailed a pleasant association between her political and journalistic works. Her articles in the newspapers picture her political views and the political needs of the massive Indian at the time of British rule. Her love for theosophy was also catalytic agent in fighting for the mission of freedom for India. She utilized the press as a powerful medium in awakening the Indian

people from their deep slumber. She was in contradiction of illiteracy, ignorance, blind beliefs, social unfairness and economic inequalities. Annie Besant entry into Indian politics not only coincides with her journalistic activities but also her contributions to India as a journalist opened up a new path in the freedom struggle of India besides raising her position and place as a Nationalist.

Role of Press in Indian Freedom Movement

The introduction of printing press in India was an event of revolutionary implication in the life of Indian people. The Press of all kinds and categories played an unarguably essential role in the Indian National Movement. It contributed to social reforms and advancement of Nationalism in India. The Press promoted the ideas of nationalist organizations. It propagated and educated the common people with regard

to political matters and developments. The Press was an authoritative factor in building and emerging Indian Nationalism and the Nationalist movement, Social, Cultural, Political and Economic. The press was a strong weapon in the hands of the Nationalist group who used to popularize their respective political programs, policies and methods of struggle and to form organization with broad popular basis among the people. The National movement, on its political side was possible because of the facility of political education and propaganda provided by press. The Indian people gained knowledge in worldwide events through the press.¹

Many newspapers emerged during Indian National Movement under eminent and fearless journalists, These include The Hindu and Swadesamitran under G. Subramaniya Aiyar, The Bengalee under Surendranath Banerjee, Voice of India under Dadabhai Naoroji, Amrita Bazar Patrika under Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, Indian Mirror under N.N. Sen, Kesari (in Marathi) and Maharatta (in English) under Balgangadhar Tilak, Sudhakar under Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Hindustan and Advocate under G.P. Verma, and Commonweal and New India under Annie Besant.²

Annie Besant and Home Rule Movement

"Mother India is sleeping Indians! Awaken your mother. It is your patriotic duty to break the chains of slavery of your motherland"³

"Early in the war, I ventured to say that the war would not end until England recognized the autocracy and bureaucracy must perish in India as well as in Europe. The good Bishop of Calcutta with a courage worthy of his free race, lately declared that it would be hypocritical to pray for victory over autocracy in Europe and to maintain it in India."⁴

With these impressive words, in her presidential address at the All India National Congress session at Calcutta in 1917, Annie Besant shook thousands of Indians and galvanized them for the emancipation of India. Later, Besant wrote and published her own book advocating birth control entitled "The Laws of Population". This idea of a women advocating birth control acknowledged wide-publicity.⁵

Annie Besant came to India in 1893 and lived at Adyar in Madras, which became the headquarters of the Theosophical Society. Annie Besant was much impressed by Redmond's Home Rule Movement in favour of Ireland. At first, she felt that India needed to educate herself before she was capable of self-government, but by the outbreak of the First World War she was campaigning for self-government.⁶ She argued the case of India was likely to be more dependable friend of Great Britain than a dependent one. She said, "I am an Indian Tomtom, waking up all the sleeping sleepers so that they may wake and work for their motherland... This is my task."⁷ In 1914, she joined Indian National Congress and in 1916, she started Home Rule League. When Annie Besant approached Gandhiji to join her in founding a Home Rule League he refused that he did not wish to embarrass the British Government during the war.⁸ At Madras session of the Congress in 1914 she said, "India was not prepared to be any longer a child in the nursery of the Empire, and that it was necessary to confer self-government on her". In 1917, she was elected as President of Indian National Congress at the Calcutta session.

B.G. Tilak and his extremist group agreed to the policies and programs of Annie Besant, and together they provided an alternative style of leadership to Home Rule Movement.⁹ Annie Besant started the Home Rule League at Gokhale Hall, Madras in September, 1916 and B.G. Tilak simultaneously started the same Home Rule in Poona. The Home Rule League elevated the motto of Swadeshi, national education and home rule for India. Annie Besant's Home Rule League with 2,600 members in Bombay city, held meeting at Shantaram's Chawl area inhabited by Government employees. The activities of the Home Rule League involved in organizing discussion groups and reading rooms in cities, mass sale of pamphlets, and lecture tours. The Madras Government imposed restrictions on the movement and Annie Besant was arrested along with two co-workers, Sri Aurobindo and Sri Wadia. The highhandedness of the authorities raised tempest of protests all over the country, public rage compelled the Government to release her. Annie Besant sent a stirring message to the British Labourers concluding with the following words:

"Help us to become a free commonwealth under the British Crown and we will bring our manpower to secure world peace. Our people have died in your war for freedom. Will you consent that the children of our dead shall remain a subject race?"¹⁰ Annie Besant and her Home Rule Movement, which was then a dynamic stream which expressing to the Indian People's restless desire for freedom. The Home Rule Movement which marked the foundation of a new phase in India's struggle for freedom, placed a concrete outline of Self-Government.

Annie Besant, a Journalist

Annie Besant started a weekly paper 'Commonweal' in the year 1914. In the same year she purchased a monthly paper 'Madras Standard' and inaugurated its publication under a new name 'New India'.¹¹ Through these journals, she won incredible support in favour of cause of Indian independence through political reforms by peaceful means. As editor of a newspaper New India, she attacked the British Government of India and called for clear and significant moves towards self-rule. New ideas were flooded through papers, journals and books. Home Rule Agitation, which is organized through the two Home Rule Leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant announced their plans for such agitation in September, 1915 and worked in achieving the globe through her Newspapers New India and Commonweal. She wrote an article in the name 'Indian Self-Government' on 9th March, 1915 in The Commonwealth where she explained the techniques of governing a nation by saying "when the war was over, India might be ready to take her rightful place in the Empire". It motivated the minds of Indian people to march positively towards freedom.¹² Annie Besant in her another article 'The Chance' which was published in The Commonweal on 4th June, 1915 said "English education had imbued the flower of the Nation with ideals of Liberty and public spirit". Annie Besant consider U.P. Governor-in-council League as a sign of the change. In the article, she expressed her strong belief in India's freedom.¹³ Annie Besant confidently quoted "Time is with us, all lovers of Liberty are with us, God is with us, and Victory is assured" in her article named 'The National Movement' which was published on 2nd June, 1916¹⁴.

Annie Besant also played an vital role as an orator in Indian Freedom Movement. She incited Indians with truth in her speech. Annie Besant fearlessly said: "Soon I am going back to India, to strive there to increase the movement for India's freedom. That has a great part in this future, because as long as India is outside, a subject Nation, a War of colour may break out at any moment— the most disastrous War to which any civilization can be exposed. Before we can look for United States of Europe, we must make friends with our coloured brothers everywhere; and India is the one place where that is at once possible, because she is within the realm of what should be the great British Commonwealth of Free Nations instead of an Empire ruling over a subject people..."¹⁵

In her lecture on 2nd October 1927, in Federation of European States. Annie Besant encouraged brotherhood among Indian through her speech in 1910 on 'The Birth of New India' by Saying

"I am a Madrasi; I am a Punjabi; I am a Bengali; I am an upcountry mam, leave all that behind and teach your boys and girls to say 'I am an Indian'....."

Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis, Christians, must join hands, for all are Indians"¹⁶

Annie Besant's work entitled The Seven Principles of Men, Reincarnation were published by her in 1892. In 1895, Besant founded the journal called Arya Bala Boodhini chiefly to promote the Hindu faith. Subsequently in 1896, various theosophical literatures under the titles In the outer court Karma, The path of Discipleship, Bhagavad Gita and Man and his Bodies were published. In 1897 due to an increase in the number of members of the Theosophical Society from 281 to 1184, Besant published The Secret Doctrine. The Story of the Great War, referring to the Mahabharata published in 1898 shaped the foundation for her journalism. Annie Besant edited a journal called Lucifer after renaming it as The Theosophical Review. In 1900, she retitled the journal as Central Hindu College Magazine. Advance TextBook of Hinduism and the work Shri Ramachandra, the Ideal King published in 1901. It was also a practice of Annie Besant to compile her speeches and publish it in the form of a book. In 1903,

her lectures were published under the title *A year of Gratifying Success*. She wrote a book in the title "How India wrought for freedom" in the year 1916 and presented it by saying, "I fearlessly place this volume before the public, as a proof of India fitness for Home Rule."¹⁷ All these facts reveal that Annie Besant was a prominent writer and served as an impetus for her to be a journalist.

Conclusion

Unarguably, Annie Besant played a significant role in Journalism with her artistic way of writing. All her views about Home Rule, National Education, Augmentation of the status of Women, the Conditions of the Labourers, Spiritual thoughts etc., are brought in her writings. India of her contemporary period widened her opportunity of communicating her opinions and thoughts through pen and paper.

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SELF HELP GROUPS AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN DINDIGUL DISTRICT

A. Sangili & A. Anglin Sahaya Matey

Introduction

"Women's Empowerment" is a concept and a construct which is used by everyone in the world in all dimensions to indicate the increased activities of women's advancement.¹ Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Former Prime Minister of India described 'the status of women indicates the character of the country'. Tamil Nadu is a pioneer in many respects for the empowerments of women to start with a group of many enthusiastic persons. E.V. Ramaswami Naiker's self-respect movement was started for women. It is the grassroot for women empowerment. 'Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Limited' was started in 1983, especially for the economic, social and political empowerment of women in the society.³ The social standing of any society is determined by

the social status of the women. The status of women in the society depends on the role played by them and how others look at the role.⁴ Women empowerment refers to increasing spiritual, political, social, educational, gender and economic strengths of individuals and communities of women. Self-help groups (SHGs) play today a major role in poverty alleviation in rural India. A growing number of poor people in various parts of India are members of SHGs and they actively engage in savings and credit, as well as in other activities.⁵

Self-help groups are generally facilitated by NGOs and increasingly advise and train members in a variety of on-and off-farm income-generating activities.⁶ Self Employed Women's Association in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, Mysore Resettlement Development Agency in

Karnataka, Professional Assistance for Development Agency in Rajasthan, Association of Sarva Seva Farms (ASSEFA) in Tamilnadu, New Public School Society in Uttar Pradesh and SAMBHAV in Madhya Pradesh have remarkable contributions towards the use of microcredit by Self-help groups.⁷ In order to enable all women living below poverty line to join and benefit from the self-help group movement, it has been estimated that one lakh new SHGs have to be formed in the State.⁹

Gender equality and women's development are being given newer dimensions on the international stage after the Beijing Conference in 1995. Realizing the goals of uplifting women, Government of India declared the year 2001, "Women's Empowerment Year". A National Policy for Empowerment was announced on 20th March 2001, with the purpose of ensuring women to acclaim their rightful place in the mainstream of the nation's social, political and economic life. The policy visualizes women empowerment besides empowering women to participate in decision making process.¹⁰ According to Mahatma Gandhi, intellectually and spiritually woman is equivalent to a male and she can participate in every activity with equal competence as a man.¹¹

Origin of Self Help Groups

Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is the pioneer self help group and it was started in 1972. SEWA was started as a trade union for women in the unorganized sector and it had networked many co-operatives and emerged as the largest federation of co-operatives in the country. In 1976, Mohammed Yunus started women's groups in Bangladesh. Now, it has been developed into a bank named 'Bangladesh Grameen Bank'. Its report in February 1998 states that the bank has 1,138 branches and covers 39,572 villages and it has 23,67,503 members with men and women.¹⁵ Integrated Rural Development Program was the only self Employment Program for rural poor. A number of allied programs such as Training for Rural Youth in Self Employment (TRYSEM), Development of Women & Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Supply of Improved Tool kits to Rural Artisans (SITRA), Ganga Kalyan Yojana (GKY), and Million Wells Scheme (MWS) have been added with an intention to serve specific

areas to prepare the rural poor for self employment. In order to rectify the situation, the Government has decided to merge the entire above scheme in to a simple scheme called Swarnajayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY). SGSY will focus on group approach Self Help Groups will be formed and steps will be taken to nurture these groups to enable them to function effectively and to choose their economic activity, efforts would also be made to involve women members in each group. In the G.O (Ms.) No.54 Rural Development and Panchayat Raj (GS.3) department, dated 28.3.2008, the Government has ordered the transfer of SGSY from the Project Office, DRDA to Project Office, Mahalir Thittam.¹⁶ Dindigul district was identified for the analysis because it is one of the backward districts as identified by the National Planning Commission based on certain yard sticks (2004) for implementing Rashtrya Sam Vikas Yojana (RSVY). Reddiyar Chatram Block has selected the criteria for the implementation of schemes in the districts.¹⁷ The social enhancement could be achieved by organizing them into Self-Help Groups which would provide them power base for self level. These groups are under taken by Non-Governmental organizations i.e Association for Sarva Seva Farms (ASSEFA) and Centre for Rural Education Research and Development Association (Centrereda). The numbers of members in self-help groups are minimum twelve to twenty. They get loans to run small scale industries like making perfumne sticks, dairy farms and flower shops etc.,. In each group, there are leaders, secretary and treasurers, to discuss financial matters. They conduct meeting once in a week. Special meetings are conducted once in a month to discuss the general and main facilities for women. They also discuss education and they also take efforts to create awareness on health and women empowerment.¹⁸

Mahalir Thittam

Mahalir Thittam scheme has been introduced by Government of Indja and in Tamilnadu during the year 1989.¹⁹ Mahalir Thittam program is implemented in partnership with Non- Government Organizations (NGOs) and community based organizations which are affiliated with TNCDW after due process. In Tamilnadu 3,91,311 SHGs have been formed

as on March 2009 with 62.93 lakhs women members including NREGS women workers and 9,696 SHGs were formed in the Village Panchayats where the SHGs coverage is inadequate and 10,000 SHGs were formed exclusively in urban slums. The members and office bearers of the SHGs promoted by Mahalir Thittam are provided with systematic training to bring about qualitative changes in their attitude and to promote cohesion and effective functioning of the group. All the SHG members are imparted with training in four modules for four days to orient them to the SHG concept. The office bearers of the SHGs are given training in three modules for six days to enhance leadership quality, team building and books keeping in Athoor Block of Dindigul district.²⁰ There are 10,971 Mahalir Self Help Groups functioning in Dindigul district.²¹

SHGs Economic loan in Dindigul

In 2009-2010, the target of the economic loan was given to 280 self-help groups, but now it is benefited by 327 self-help groups. The bank allotted total amount of Rs.11.50/-crores. The loan was 862.65/- and the subsidy was Rs.287.55/- crores. In 2010-2011, the achievement of self-help group target was Rs.75.00 crores.²⁴

Swarnajayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojana Prodigames in Dindigul district

Swarnajayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) Scheme was introduced in Dindigul district from 15th April 1999. Self-help group women are supported under SGSY scheme and revolving fund associated with subsidy and loan are given by the government and banking sector. The women are able to create their own assets and manage their problems.²⁸ Components of SGSY are providing Revolving Fund to SHGs, Economic Assistance to SGHs, Qualitative Skill Development Training through reputed institutions and Infrastructure Development and Training. In 2011-2012, a sum of Rs.135.25 crores has been allocated for the implementation of the scheme with a credit target of Rs.284.10 crores.²⁹

Financial Achievement of SGSY Programs in Dindigul district

Year	Amount allocated	Amount utilized	Utilition level (%)
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1999-2000	220	150.29	68
2000-2001	375	215	57
2001-2002	109	153	140
2002-2003	144	223	155
2003-2004	NA	NA	NA
2004-2005	147.92	383	259
2005-2006	197	231	117
2006-2007	219	228	104

During the year 2009-2010, the government has allotted the fund for Dindigul district through various schemes. 450 SHGs were benefited through the Mahalir Thittam, and 750 SHGs through SGSY schemes. Total by 1200 groups were benefited by getting the revolving fund. On 16th February 2010, Hon'ble Rural Development Minister and Local body distributed the revolving fund to 301 SHGs through Mahalir Thittam and 499 SGSY scheme, SHGs were benefited. Golden Jubilee was celebrated by SGSY on 27th March 2010. Revenue and Housing Development Ministers distributed revolving funds to 149 SHGs through Mahalir Thittam and 251 SHGs through SGSY scheme.³¹

Non-Governmental Organization in Dindigul

The totaling NGOs are available in Dindigul and they are Gandhigram Trust (1947), The Gandhigram Institute of Rural Health and Family Welfare Trust (GIRHFWT-1959), Council for Health Education and Rural Upliftment (CHERU-1978), Axiom Social Service Society (1986), Centre for Rural Education Research and Development Association (CNRERDA-1986), Centre for Women Development (CWD-1986)³³, Dindigul Multipurpose Social Service Society (DMSSS-1986), Sigaram Federation,³⁴ Mother Saradadevi Social Service Society (MSSSS-1988), Palani Hill Conservation Council (PHCC-1988), Society for Serving Humanity (1988), Rural Welfare Organization (RWP-1989), Saraswathi Women Education Service Training Improvement Centre (1990) and Group Initiatives By Motivational Educational for Development (1990) etc.³⁵

Village Extension Wing Activities in Dindigul district

The village extension wing function in Gandhigram Trust runs income generation units such as sandal garland, candle making, instant sambirani, wax toys, preparation of snacks, oil extraction, silk cotton processing and neem fertilizer production, Mushroom cultivation, Maintain herbal nursery etc. through Self-Help Groups.³⁷ SHGs Women also take up manufacturing and marketing businesses in the small scale level like bakery, readymade garments, embroider³⁸ and other activities such as fruit and vegetables selling running provision stores, coffee shops, tailoring, etc. The World Bank in Chennai conducted a program on 'Team Building Exercise' among the workers and the program explored the skill livelihood activities. Around 320 self-help group members participated in the program and gained knowledge.³⁹ Village extension team arranged training program on Watershed Development. One hundred and ninety Self-help group members participated and learned micro enterprises activities from Vayyampatti, Musiri, Marungapuri and Thittiyarn block in Trichy district. The major topics covered during the training programs are agriculture related livelihoods, micro enterprises, Vermi compost, pesticide control measures and exposure visit to Gandhigram Trust in Gandhigram in Dindigul district.⁴⁰ Providing access to finance is a form of empowerment of the vulnerable groups and it acts as a liaison between banks and village people through their self help groups for engaging themselves in income generating activities. Training is also imparted to them to acquire necessary.⁴¹ Sigaram Federation has 132 SHGs and there are 1,580. Dindigul Multipurpose Social Service Society (DMSSS) has 112 SHGs and there are 1,344 members.⁴²

During the year 2012, Dindigul district has 12,850 SHGs and in rural areas 1,98,827 members are in the groups. 4,077 SHGs are functioning in urban areas with 62,502 members in the groups. Totally 16,927 groups and 2,61,328 members are benefited by SHGs.⁴³ The village extension wing is also working on promoting the sustainability of Self Help Groups, empowerment of women and strengthening the federations. Athoor, Dindigul, Nilakottai and Vedsandur of Dindigul district

have 845 Self Help Groups with 6000 members from in 21 villages. These Groups are organized into 25 federations, out of which 8 federations have been registered under Trust Act. The trust has also extended its service to the remote areas of Kodaikanal Block and 55 women Self Help Groups are formed into three federations. The members of Self Help Groups are given capacity building training, skill training, leadership training and training on entrepreneurship and skill development. Gandhigram Trust has equipped the members to manage their accounts and to start self-employment ventures through training programs.⁴⁴ Related to saving and Credit details of self-help groups in 2007-2008, total saving amount is Rs.55,66,208, total credit amount is Rs.3,70,75,055 and subsidy given amount is Rs.30,70,000.⁴⁵

The award is given to the self-help group which is functioning well. Ten awards are given to the best self-help groups at the State Level. Two awards are given to best self-help groups at the District level. Certificate is given to the best self- help group at the Union Level.⁴⁸ Gandhigram trust was awarded by Makkal TV for the best extension work in 2007. Canara Bank awarded Gandhigram Trust for its best performance in Self Help Group management. Gandhigram SHG Federation has received the Manimegalai in 2007, from the government of Tamilnadu.⁴⁹

Conclusion

India is a developing country but grappling with several problems in various aspects such as social, economic, political and cultural. Self Help Groups help the people to reduce these problems with some techniques, tools etc. Nowadays, many NGOs are planning, implementing and monitoring the Self-help groups. It is one of the best available models to achieve sustainable development and eradicating poverty among the rural areas. Self help groups look strategically at how programs can actively promote gender equality and women empowerment. Most of the women in the study area are uneducated and they do not make any efforts to have higher education. This may hinder the empowerment of women.

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EXPERIENCING HISTORY THROUGH VIRTUAL REALITY: A DISCUSSION.

Sarath A Pradeep

Introduction

"History provides us collective memory; it gives us a sense of connection to place, time and community"¹. The collective knowledge of the past is one of the reasons for the success of humans as a species. Collecting and archiving knowledge was an integral part of the human race and this habit definitely impacted the way we survive. The transfer of this collected knowledge to future generations is a mandatory process for the existence and progress of the humankind. Technology has always aided us in this transfer and collection of knowledge². Three generations of educational computing have passed and we are in the early stages of fourth³ with Virtual Reality, Augmented Reality and

Mixed Reality technologies disrupting the way people learn. This paper aims to introduce the Virtual Reality innovations and approaches in the various parts of the world.

Virtual Reality

Virtual Reality as a technology is not very new to academia, the technology has proved its efficacy in providing life-like learning and training scenarios. Virtual Reality is the collective term used for a set of disruptive technology that enables the user to be present in a digitally created virtual environment by using computer technology⁴. According to William R Sherman, it is a communication medium⁵ and it has the ability to create a sense of presence needed to

initiate the necessary drive for learning in the students⁶. Virtual Reality has the ability to create real-world experiences in the user's mind which translates to the feeling of being present in the real world while being in the virtual world. The experience of Virtual Reality can be classified broadly into three. The first one is the computer-generated simulation in which the whole environment is created by animation. The second is the 360-degree videos or pictures which are the actual real-world footages shot using a 360-degree camera. The third is the combination of both the computer animation and real-world footages. Virtual Reality can also be classified by the technology used in achieving immersion. There are standalone Virtual Reality Head-Mounted Displays (HMD) like Oculus Go, Mobile Virtual Reality like Google DayDream and High End fully immersive Virtual Reality like HTC Vive and Oculus Rift. The various projects that apply Virtual Reality to teach or aid the learning, and recreate or preserve the historically important places digitally are discussed in the coming section.

Google Expeditions

Google Expeditions⁷ is an initiative that provides Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality content for learning. The user can experience the content available using a mobile device equipped with the Expeditions app, addition to this a Cardboard or a Daydream viewer will enhance the experience. The tours available in the app is curated by reputable organisations like National Geography, American Museum of Natural history, Guggenheim Museum etc. Few examples of the history related google expedition tours are given in the table below.

Open Heritage Project

Open Heritage Project⁸ is an initiative by the Open Heritage 3D Alliance (OHA), which aims to provide free access to high-resolution 3D data of cultural heritage sites across the world. It is a joint venture by CyArk, Historic Environment Scotland and the University of South Florida Library with the support of Google. The project maps and creates detailed three-dimensional models of the ancient heritage sites which can be accessed from the website. The project allows the users to experience 26 world heritage sites that are in 18 different countries in Virtual Reality.

Name of the Tour	Description
7 New Wonders of the World	This tour is a collection of the new seven wonders of the world in a unique aerial view.
Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus, Mumbai	This tour examines the architecture of the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus (CSMT) was built in 1887. This is a World Heritage Site.
Devprayag	This tour takes the user to Devprayag, a town situated in Uttarakhand, which is a holy pilgrimage site for Hindus all over the world.
Jaipur, India – The Pink City	In this tour, the user will experience the city's landmarks, culture, and science. The city was Established in 1727 by Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II.
The Past and Present of India's Railways	This tour takes us through the various places in northern India that preserve India's railway history.

Some of the open heritage projects that have captured the world attention are given below.

Name	Country
1 Apollo 1 - Grissom White and Chaffee Memorial at Launch Complex 34	United States of America
2 Pompeii	Italy
3 Temple of Apollo - Portara	Greece
4 Teotihuacán - Pyramid of Quetzalcoatl	Mexico
5 Masjid Wazir Khan	Pakistan

Nearpod VR

Nearpod⁹ is a commercial educational content provider which can be termed as an integrated platform for interactive learning. Their lessons are in the Virtual Reality field trip model, which integrates quizzes, videos, 360-degree images and videos, weblinks etc to provide a rich experience to the user. Nearpod employs Virtual Reality as a tool along with the traditional text, image and video modalities to enhance the learning experience. Nearpod provides Virtual field trips on, "The French Revolution", "The Holocaust", "Exploring the Magna Carta", "Ancient Greece", "World History: The Bolshevik

Revolution” etc. Nearpod allows the students to use a couple of Virtual Reality content without payment by creating a free user account.

ClassVR

ClassVR¹⁰ is yet another commercial player in the Virtual/Augmented/ Mixed Reality Educational landscape. They also allow the teachers to add their own content into the package. ClassVR also provides standalone Virtual Reality headsets which do not need a mobile phone to operate and these headsets are gesture controlled. They provide Virtual Reality content in American History, Ancient Britain, Ancient Cambodia, Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, Aztecs, Holocaust etc.

There are different Virtual Reality experiences available apart from the above-mentioned content providers. The app, “Lithodomos VR” provides the user with an experience of the ancient city of Jerusalem under the Roman rule in the first century. Sibro¹¹ a Virtual Reality platform for educational content created Virtual Reality tours on the first world war sites in collaboration with world war historian Peter Barton. “Acropolis”, “Rome”, “Stonehenge” and “Titanic” etc. The Design Innovation Centre of the IIT Hyderabad spearheads an ambitious project of documenting, preserving and conserving the heritage monuments and architecture of our country.

Conclusion

Technology has always improved the way we learn and Virtual Reality is the latest addition to do the same. The above-mentioned

applications use Virtual Reality to enhance the way we learn and teach. Google Expeditions is one among the most readily available and cost-effective tool to teach or learn history in Virtual Reality. The abundance of content, comparatively inexpensive HMDs and the flexibility to create content makes Google Expeditions the first choice to introduce Virtual Reality learning among the students. The Expeditions application is a gateway to many of the historical and heritage locations that are not readily accessible to the students. Museum tour in the google expeditions allows the users to experience a museum virtually without physically going to the place. The Open Heritage Project provides the Virtual Reality content of places that are now restricted to the public. For example, the Ananda Ok Kyaung temple in Bagan, Myanmar was mapped prior to the earthquake that hit the monument in 2016. Both Google Expeditions and The Open Heritage Project can be accessed with low-cost VR equipment like google cardboard or mobile VR. The other applications discussed, the Class VR and Nearpod are commercial applications which provide full VR educational content to the educational institutions, they aim to bring forth VR as a medium to enhance learning.

Virtual Reality has proved its effectiveness in teaching and learning. Virtual Reality experiences create a lasting impression in the minds of young learners. The faster we adopt this technology into our history teaching curriculum the better our students can cope with the future learning goals. Early adoption of innovative technologies like Virtual Reality will definitely improve the quality of education in our country.

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THE REVOLT OF THE RAJAS OF SOUTH CANARA AS RYOTWARI REBELLION (1799-1800)

Satish Gatti

Nature of the Rebellion

Munro, the first Collector of Canara, Munro opines that under native rulers the ryots barring few never resisted the oppressive and exploitative administration and they were in general submissive to the government.¹ Quite opposite to this opinion of Munro, the submissive and weak ryots of Canara organized series of revolts against company's oppressive revenue policy and small revolts were occurred in 1804 CE, 1810 CE and 1828 CE in South Canara. Other notable Rebellions are 'Koot Rebellion 1830-1831 CE' and 'Amara Sullia Revolt 1837 CE'. The ryotwari revenue system was responsible for these series of rebellions. In this article the native raja's rebellion in 1799-1800 was critically analysed.

The colonial officials depict the local rajas revolt as an act of rebel and equates with banditry. The forceful attempt to regain lost power by the raja of Vittal was considered by a colonial official as 'terror' and 'social banditry'.² Interestingly the same banditi Raja's were supported by the company government in their rebellion against the rule of Mysore Sultans.³ The scholars like Tara Chand, M.V. Krishna Rao and G.S. Halappa, K. Rajayyan and T.T.Sharma have identified similar resistance movements elsewhere in India and interpreted them as 'war of Independence'. He further opines that the revolt of the raja's were 'restorative rebellions'. Bhat states that the re-establishment of the feudal authority was the motive for these rebels. According to him, it was 'backward looking', 'social banditry' with a thin veil to conceal the economic grievances.⁴ Though Bhat Shyam N. argument is in totality a critique of colonial government, yet the word 'restorative' in a way places the local Rajas in old feudal set up and

portrays colonial rule as a 'saviour' of native people from the exploitation of the native rajas.

Rajayaan identifies, British deliberately depicted the rebels as a group of lawless banditry and it was an attempt of maligning the victim.⁵ It was not restorative or backward looking because even prior to the British rule, the raja's of South Canara opposed the high handedness and excessive demands of Keladi and Mysore Sultans.⁶ It was to oppose the excessive revenue demand of Hyder, raja of Vittal joined with the British.⁷ Even the effort to restore the rule of Fateh Hyder as successor of Tipu Sultan was not convincing. The local rajas rebelled when the new collector Munro was not interested to divest power with them and in the name of ryotwari tries to reduce their position before their own subjects.

The Rebel Raja's

The native raja's Vittal, Kumbla and Nileshwara with small principalities of South Canara ruled under Keladi and Mysore Sultans. In between the fourteenth and nineteenth century, the Heggade family of Vittal ruled the nineteen villages of Vittal 2000 *sime*.⁸ The raja of Vittal came under the control of Keladi in 1608 CE and then under the Mysore Sultans in 1763. The rule of Kumbla Raja's also historically situated in between the fourteenth and the nineteenth century. Its territory bounded by the Nethravathi in the north and Chandragiri in the south and the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west.⁹ The king of Kumbla Ramantharasu had authority over Bekal Taluk which contained sixty four villages.¹⁰ The Raja of Vittal and Kumbla in their fight against the Mysore Sultans sided with the British and tried to acquire the power over their principalities. Both, raja of Vittal and the raja of Kumbla took

shelter under British at Tellicherry and received pension. The raja of Nileshwara remained aloof from the power struggle between company and the Mysore Sultans. The king Rajavarma Raja tried to establish his authority over Nileshwara.

In 1799 CE, after the acquisition of Canara by the East India Company all these local rajas wanted to establish their authority over their own territory.

Munro as a colonial master wanted to increase the power and authority of the company and to reduce the position of the native rajas and hence he introduced ryotwari. In ryotwari the local rajas were termed as mere amildars and not the rajas of the region.¹¹ Munro states that, 'Heggade though usually styled Rajah by the company servants as I believe has no right to that title, his ancestors were the Head men of vittal and of ever they had any Rajahship both the name and substance being long been done away for under the Rani of Biddenor, the uncle of the present men was no more than the amildar and renter of vittal.'¹² The right of rent collection denied to the raja's of South Canara and they were sent to Tellicherry.

The revolt

During 1799-1800, rebellion of the local rajas of South Canara were vividly depicted by the colonial officials. Munro charges that, Vittal Heggade and his nephew were responsible for dissuading the ryots paying their rent to the company government.¹³ According to Munro, the patels did not come to the collectors office along with the ryots because they were threatened by Heggade.¹⁴ Munro narrates, after escaping from Tellicherry the Vittal raja along with followers plundered the temple of Manjeshwar and entered his principality mounting on an elephant. The raja's and his followers act in the region depicted by Munro as 'banditi'.¹⁵ The plunder of the temple by the raja of Vittal consider by Bhat Shyam N. is an attempt of a retaliatory nature because of the non-payment of land rent by the temple authorities.¹⁶ The nephew of Vittal raja residing at Ponnayee stationed his men at nearby places to control movement of grains and other articles and gave orders to the ryots, not to go to 'Captain Munro'.¹⁷ Later the rebels occupied Uppinangadi, plundered Bantwal and established their authority over Puttur.¹⁸ Munro states that, during

the rebellion, Heggade of Vittal has collected *kists* from the ryots. He informs that, raja of Vittal by the assistance of his personal following armed with some of the inhabitants took oath of obedience. With the help of them, he organized pillages along with a guard of 300 people. He collected five percent sarkari revenue from those regions of the neighbouring district. He levies heavy fines from person, whom he suspects of disaffections and confiscated the whole property of the inhabitants.

Couple of Hundred Thieves

According to Munro, the revolt of South Canara in 1799-1800 CE was an attempt to establish the rule of Futeh Hyder and as successor of Mysore.¹⁹ Futeh Hyder also got support of Subba Rao and Krisna Naik/Timma Naik. Bhat Shyam N. opines that Fateh Hyder in reality was Mahtab Khan a native of Coorg and was employed by Haidar and later by Tipu at Srriangapattana. Subba Rao also joined with them rebels. According to Pundikai Ganappyya Bhat this Subba Rao may be Pattumudi Subba Rao referred in Jamalabad Kaifiyat. Bhat Shyam N. opines that these rebel chiefs sent their emissaries in the name of Fateh Hyder, son of Tipu and prisoner at Vellore, to the villages and enlisted the support of the disbanded troops of Mysore and the deserters from the forces of the company.²⁰ With Timma Naik support, Fateh Hyder established his authority over Bailangadi in Puttur Taluk. Krishna or Timma Naik valiantly fought against the British at Jamalabad fort. Munro equates the above rebel group, including native raja's of South Canara as 'couple of hundred thieves'.

Raja of Kumbla in his attempt to regain power successfully prevented the inhabitants of his region from making a settlement with the British for a period of two months. Along with a body of armed men the nephew of the Kumbla Raja tried to rebel against the British at Adoor. Raja of Nileshwar also resisted the British occupation of his territory and made his ryots oppose to have any settlement with the Company.

The king of Vittala was hanged and raja's of Kumbla and Nileshwar accepted British supremacy and signed a treaty with them.

Conclusion

The name of ryotwari was not only effectively used by Munro to justify the British rule but also through it the company government completely excluded the local rulers from their positions. After the death of Tipu the rajas of South Canara wanted their power back Through ryotwari, Munro denies any role to the chieftains, feudatories or local raja's in colonial power structure. For him there were only two parties one is king or government another is cultivator. The local rajas according to him becomes mere amildars or revenue collectors. The ryotwari system did not attach the real authority or power with the ryots in the local level, but with the manageable small proprietors who were known as mulawargdhars Munro was well aware the real positions of the native kings of South Canara, yet he wanted to remove them to establish direct rule of the company government in the name of ryotwari. As a pensioner Vittal Raja, Ravivarma Narashima Domba Heggade lead a very difficult life at Tellichery. He had to pay money to several persons and institutions. Thus without any error of natives, they were reduced from the position of local raja to mere

amildar, the small proprietor who owns large tracts of land becomes mere ryot and the position of ryots further reduced as tenants, agricultural labourers. Prior to the introduction of ryotwari, Munro also recognized the rebellious raja's were the raja's of the region. Raja of Vittal wanted to take possession of Vittal by paying its present assessment.²¹ When it was opposed he revolted against the British. Thus. in the name of ryotwari the native raja's were dethroned and new revenue officials were appointed for the revenue collection. The process of revenue collection by the Company revenue officials forcefully stopped by the rebellious rajas and they instructed to the natives, not to pay revenue to the company government. The ryotwari was also used as a training opportunity for the company officials, as a tool of accumulation of knowledge and a system of control. The 'ryotwari system' created a wrong image as a 'just revenue system' among the nationalist historians.. When the nationalist historians praised the ryotwari system without knowing its inner dynamics, it became a legitimization tool for the company to colonizing the mind of the Indians.

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THE CULTURAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN THROUGH NAIR SERVICE SOCIETY

S.R. Saumya Raj

Women Empowerment means to make one woman powerful or equip one with the power to overcome the challenges of life, to face the disabilities and inequalities. Through this they occupy greater ability to plan their lives, autonomy in decision making, greater control over the circumstances that influence their lives and freedom from the shackles imposed on them by custom, belief and practice.

Our Indian Constitution provides provisions to secure equality. The Parliament also enacted various laws to fulfill constitutional obligation of women empowerment. Though these policies and programmes, the conditions of women has improved in a significant way by the Government of India but the changes visible only in urban areas not much in semi – urban areas and villages. For this purpose several Self Help Groups (SHGs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working for social, economic and political empowerment of women.

In Kerala, from the ancient period onwards there was a favorable ground setup for women and it paved the way for the outstanding success of women's development. With the support of NSS, there were several empowerment programmes organized through *Karayogams*, taluk unions and other institutions. The women members of each *Karayogams* were actively participated in all these programmes.

The culture of Kerala is treasure including art forms, language, festivals, music, literature, architectural style, heritage centres, archaeological monuments and so on. The Kerala culture is the synthesis of Aryan and Dravidian culture.

The Nairs are the integral part of Kerala culture. Traditionally this warrior groups made a strong history in Kerala. They have a unique culture and followed by joint family system. *Kalaripayattu*, *Thiruvathirakkali* and *Kathakali*, etc., were the important art forms Community also contributed much in the field of literature too.

On the basis, the development of Malayalam literature has been divided into three

named periods such as ancient, medieval and modern. All these three period the field of literature has developed a lot. The ancient and the medieval period the literary field was fully occupied by the Brahmins and they never allow any other community to enter in this field. When the Malayalam literature originated, the same period is also considered as the growth of Nair community.

In the field of Malayalam literature Niranathu Panikkanmar (Madhava Panikker, Sankara Panikker, and Rama Panikker) were the first to contribute from Nair community. Their writings were helped the Nair community to achieve a strong position in the society. Madhava Panikker was the first person from Malayalam literature, who translated *Bhagavath Gita* in Malayalam. The *Unarthupattu* (awakening song) was written by Ayyappilli Asan also belonging from Nair community. Another famous personality belongs to Nair community was Iravikkutty Pillai. *Ulakadaperumal Pattu* and *Panchavankattuneeliyude Pattu* were famous in Northern Travancore areas had much importance in that time. In *Vadakkan Pattu*, *Kalaripayattu* and local ballads, we can also witness the influence of Nair dominance. In all these evidences we can understand the position of Nairs in the medieval and modern period of literature.

During the 18th century witnessed the two great changes in the field of Malayalam literature such as the Nair women entered into the field of literature and the literary field was fully under the control of the Nairs. The first Nair woman who entered into the field of Malayalam literature was Kunjukkutty Thankachi, the daughter of Irayimman Thampi. The beginning of the 19th century witnessed the origin of Nair Service Society (NSS) under the leadership of Mannathu Padmanabhan. This organization promoted all the cultural activities among the Nair community. Kalamandalam Kalyanikkutty Amma and Thankamani Amma, spend their entire life for the growth and development of *Mohiniyattam*.

Most of them were the wife of prominent Nair personalities. Their husbands were greatly supported them. Some others were came into prominence with the influence of their father or brother P.C. Kalyanikkutty Ammm, the famous writer in Kerala entered into this field with the influence of her husband with T.K. Krishna Menon. Gomathi Amma, who has entered into this field with the support of her husband Barrister A.K Pillai, P. Kamalamma came into the sphere of literature with the help of V.K. Parameswaran Pillai, the famous historian. The other women writers such as Ambadi Karthyayani Amma, Thottakkattu Gaurikkutty Amma, Ambadi Ikkavamma, K.P.Kunjulekshmi Amma and K.P.Gaurikkutty Amma were entered into literature only through the influence of husbands as well as NSS.

In the modern period the name of Balamani Amma can considered as the shining star in the field of literature. She contributed much to the field of Malayalam as well as in English. Like Balamani Amma, her daughter Madhavikkutty (Kamala Surayyah) also contributed much too both languages.

The other such activities promoted by the NSS for the development of culture such as the publication of the monthly magazine named as 'Service'. It mainly discuss about the cultural activities of each and every *Karayogam* under NSS in all over Kerala. The first part of this magazine covered by the articles related to spirituality, speeches delivered by Mannathu Padmanabhan and some other articles, poems and short stories written by the members of various *Karyogams*. The second part of this journal starts with the news relates the services of Nairs includes yearly Kalamelas, workshops, seminars, discussions, festival celebrations, commemoration day celebrations, campaigning programmes, cultural programmes, admiration programmes, language skill programmes etc.

In every year, the NSS was conducting Mannam Kalamela for the purpose of the reunion of the family members of all *Karayogams*. It's also promoting the cultural activity of the members too. For that they were conducting the different cultural competitions in the field of painting, story writing, essay writing, bharathanatyam, mimicry, light music, mono act and malayalam recitation.²⁴ The NSS also organizing workshops for different aspects such as motivational

programmes, career guidance, spirituality and pre-marital canceling.

For the formation of cultural clubs in all over India the NSS Co-ordinate seminars. Through these seminars the members spreaded messages, basic formulas of NSS and list of cultural activities in all *Karayogams*.

Commemoration day celebrations were conducting by the NSS in every year, especially for Chattampi Swamikal, Mannathu Padmanabhan, Pattam Thanu Pillai etc. In that particular days they were conducting some special programmes ²⁵

The NSS was promoting the cultural activities. In every year the month of Ramayana (*Karkkidakam*) they are conducting the quiz programmes and the debate competitions related to Ramayana. During the time of *Onam*, the national festival of Kerala the NSS organizing lots of traditional arts forms such as *Thiruvathira*, *Kalaripayathu*, *Vallam Kali* (boat raise) and *Kadhakali*.²⁶ And also honoring the famous personalities in the field of Thiruvathira (Prasanna R. Warriar) and Vanchi Pattu (Asan Gopikuttan Nair).

The language skill programmes were undergoing with the support of NSS for the members of Mannam Bala Samajam. In these programmes some eminent persons took classes about the life style, child deceases and how we can avoid this decease through our daily life style. All these programmes conducted by the NSS for the development of culture among the Nair community as well as for others.

Except that the personalities in the literary field were includes Vallathol Narayana Menon, V.C.Balakrishna Panikker, O.Chandu Menon, Vengayil Kunjiraman Nair, E.V.Krishna Pillai, Kesava Dev, Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai were contributed a lot in the literary field. In the field of Malayalam poems O.N.V. Kurup, Kavalam Narayana Panikker, Sugatha Kumari, Kadammanitta Ramakrishnan, S.Ramesan Nair and Gaurisapattom Sankaran Nair were contributed.

The Nair community also made tremendous achievements in the field of Malayalam drama also. The persons include Swadesabhimani K. Ramakrishna Pillai, C.V.Raman Pillai, M.G. Kesava Pillai, Thoppil

Bhasi, N.Krishna Pillai, K.Padmanabhan Nair, Kavalam Narayana Panikker, Kalanilayam Krishnan Nair etc., were paid much for the developments of culture. The historians such as Sankunni Menon, K.P.Padmanabha Menon, Sardar K.M.Panikker, T.K.Velu Pillai, V.R. Parameswaran Pillai, Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, S.Gupthan Nair, V.D.Induchudan etc., made valuable contributions. In the field of science fictions the names of Dr.K. Bhaskaran Nair, P.D.Bhaskara Panikker, Prof. P. Ramachandra Menon, Dr.T.K.Sathish Chandran and Dr. K.Sivadasan Pillai were contributed for the growth of culture among the Nairs.

All these persons are belonging to Nair community. The film directors like Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Bharathan, G.Aravindan, P.N. Meon, M.Krishnan Nair, P.Padmarajan, Priyadarsan and the actors such as Mohanlal, Jayan, M.N.Nambiyar, Sukumaran, Suresh Gopi etc., and the actress includes Jayabharathi, Seema, Ragini, Padmini, Lalitha, Shobana, Navya Nair etc., and the singers includes P.Leela, Malaysia Vasudevan, K.S.Chitra, G.Sujatha and M.G.Sreekumar were made immense contributions to the cultural field of Kerala especially in Nair community. The NSS was always giving full support to the cultural activities of all these personalities.

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VIOLATION OF BRITISH LAW BY DIFFERENT CENTRES OF ROYAL INDIAN NAVY IN 1946: A HISTORICAL STUDY

Saumyaranjan Behera

INTRODUCTION:

British Royal Indian Navy was very strict on their rules and regulations. To maintain Discipline in the Armed Forces, there was a punishing system that uprooted indiscipline, before it could spread among the Military Personnel. In fact, during war and peace, the defense force is a major role. But in 1946, as India was governed by British Government. The act of violation started by the Royal Indian Navy Ratings for many causes. There were 9 'mutinies or violation against British law' between 1942 and 1945 and inquiries which pursue some of the mutinies administration.¹The Royal Indian Navy revolt also called violation of British Law by Royal Indian Navy ratings or Bombay Mutiny which was started from Bombay and spread by Indian ratings on board Ship and establishment throughout from Karachi to Calcutta and also abroad on 18 Feb 1946². The strike started from the Signal Training Establishment HMIS Talwar,

Bombay in which around 1000 ratings were participated. During the World War I and II, the RIN ratings were came contact with the other Navies and realize the standard of lives and rules and regulations. They also inspired by Subash Chandra Bose who stated that The German and other countrymen joined with INA for independence of India, where as Indian Military personnel were supporting the British. The Ratings gathered at Bombay Parade ground and formed a revolution committee in which, they selected President as M.S.Khan, Vice-President, Madan Singh and Secretary V.Akbar and the committee consisted of 14 members. The main demands of the Committee were as follows³:

- (i) Release of INA and other prisoners.
- (ii) Action against the British Officers who badly treated and used rude language to the crew.
- (iii) All the facilities should be provided as per Royal Navy.

- (iv) Better accommodation and Indian Food.

The ratings hoisted Indian National Congress and Muslim League flags by removing British Flags from the Ships. British Government punished them in different ways after termination of the Violation.

According to P.E Roberts "A short period of naval revolution played a big contribution for Indian freedom struggle in February 1946 and revealed the narrow margin by which the British continued to maintained order of a kind"⁴

THE VIOLATION OF NAVAL LAW SPREADS ALL OVER INDIA AND ABROAD:

At Bombay, the ratings started general strike on 18 February in which all the workings class people and all other personnel joined in the revolt. They closed the city transports, railway workshops and all the textile mills. British Government sent two army battalions to restore the revolt. They fired against the Civil people in which around 228 civilians killed and 1046 injured.⁶ This crudeness of British Government spreads all around RIN centers. Bombay and Karachi were main and large centre at that time, the strike of violation was speeded different centre of RIN like fire.

The Principal centre of Royal Indian Navy was Bombay, in which large number of ratings with big barracks and around 20 ships in the harbor were based. The revolt spread all over India and abroad which involves more than 78 ships of various RIN centers like Madras (Chennai) Karachi, Calcutta(Kolkata), Bombay (Mumbai)⁷, Mandapam, Vishakhapatnam (Vizag), Cochin and Andaman and only two shore establishment and 10 ships were not joined the mutiny.

After Bombay and Karachi, Calcutta was one of the most important centres of the RIN. The ratings of Calcutta also started violation by stopping the work and continued it up to 6 days although the ratings of Bombay and Karachi had surrendered. Soon after got the news of Bombay and Karachi strike of RIN ratings, They also spared the news from shore establishment to ships in the port⁸ in which there were one women's unit of RIN (WRIN) which was also gave their hands with the violation on the second day of strike, 20 February, The WRIN came

around the ships and also shredded the news. It showed a heroic role by these girls during those frantic days ⁹.As the men ratings does not want to involve the WRIN ratings, so that they sent them to Royal Indian Naval Ship Hoogly¹⁰. The ratings of HMIS Rahjaputana also joined in the violation. On 25 Morning, British Royal Indian Navy Officers sent the revolutionaries for the imprisonment in a camp¹³

On 19 February, the same violation was also seen in Madras. There were no ships. But around 150 ratings of HIMS Adyar participated one day strike which only affected the functioning of working and was soon finished after they had the surrendered news of Bombay. The civil people of Madras were also joined the one day strike in which they possesses the slogan 'Jai Hind', 'Bombay Strike' and 'Release INA men' in which the driver of trucks and buses were also shouted the slogans and spread the news in every street of Madras¹⁴.

On February 24, strike seen in Royal Indian Air Force (RIAF) Centre which was a transportation camp near Red Hills Lake in Madras. Around 150 personnel of the RIAF joined in a hunger strike. The mutiny was stopped after they meet with their Squadron Commander Hardings with their memorandum of grievances. They claimed for equal provision as per Royal Air Force (RAF), reduced the working hours and better travelling facilities.

The Naval strike was also spreads into the ashore establishment of Royal Indian Navy Centre Valsura which was located in Jamnagar, Gujarat. The total strength was 326 ratings.¹⁵ In the evening time they heard Godfrey's broadcasting and encouraged a lot by the broadcasting and they pull down the congress and Muslim league flags while flag of communist party of India was kept flying.¹⁶ The commanding Officer of Royal Indian navy Ship Valsura announced in the broad cast RIN establishment Valsura Had not taken part in the violation.¹⁷

On 20 February the ratings of naval base Vizagapatam (now Vishakhapatnam) also started violation. Other ships like HMIS Shillong, HMIS Ahmadabad, HMIS Sonavati and HDMC Flotilla¹⁹. The ratings removed the arms and ammunitions from the ships. Also the civil people of Andhra Pradesh joined with the naval ratings.

The students went on hunger strike and stopped the railway activities in Guntur. The youth from different cities like Hyderabad, Karimnagar, and Suryapet of Andhra Pradesh also joined their hands with the naval mutiny.

At Karachi the mutineers threatened to commit acts of violence. HMIS Hindustan was forcibly taken over by the ratings and were bombarded to the town from the ship²⁰

At Cochin also the violation in the form of hunger strike was seen after hearing through the BBC news from the Information room and local newspapers on 21 February evening. Cochin was a large harbor of RIN in which many ships were anchored. The Naval shore establishment of Cochin was HIMS Vendurthy. On the next day the ratings formed a committee and raised their demands by pasting on the notice board. They had gone on hunger strike to demand better food and basic needs²¹.

The Naval ratings marched to Ernakulam Street with slogans as 'Cease fire in Bombay' and 'Indian navy Zindabad'.

Royal Indian Naval Headquarter was situated at Delhi, there was very small establishment HMIS INDIA containing mainly signal and telegraph ratings. All the communications and administrative works were stocked off.

Violation in the form of strike was not only spread the RIN center in the country but also the Indian rating overseas. At Aden around 48 ratings went on hunger strike. The primary cause of the event at Aden W/T station was a desire of the great majority of the RIN ratings to show a spontaneous display of their violation with the RIN ratings in Bombay.

There were the seven ships of the 37 mine sweeping flotilla viz. Rohilkand, Deccan, Bengal, Karnataka, Kistna and Baluchistan were located at Andaman and Nicobar Island.

Violation also started in Japan because HIMS Cauvery was on detached duty at Japanese port, and also they spared all over Japan and the ships which were patrolled in Japan Sea also joined their hands.²⁴

CONCLUSION:

For the first time civil people joined their hands with defense personnel and whose blood flows for the same cause. Finally on request of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Ballavavai Patel, the Revolution committee decided to end their strike and issued a bulletin to say that they had surrendered to their national leaders not to the British Government. From the beginning violation had some merits and demerits. Royal Indian Navy forwarded one step for Indian Independence. The mutiny, its popular support and its spread, bring out the complexities of the Indian struggle for freedom, it is hoped, make its own contribution to a better understanding of Indian National Movement, one of the greatest mass movements of the twentieth century. The question of 'violence' has been taken up for discussion. The lack of support from nationalist leaders cannot be ascribed to the fact that the RIN Mutiny was a violent one. Exchange of fire took place only once, otherwise the effort was to avoid armed confrontations. The one which occurred was more defensive in nature. Moreover forms of struggle are determined by the circumstances under which they break out and can be evaluated only contextually.

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BHAGWAN BIRSA MUNDA – AN ADIVASI RESURGENT AND REVOLUTIONARY FREEDOM FIGHTER

T. Seethalakshmi

Introduction

'Free India' was a dream of all Indians under the British rule. Everyone during that British common aim of ending British and other colonial authorities in India. After a century of revolutions, struggle, blood shedding, battles and sacrifices, India finally achieved independence on August 15, 1947.

Jharkhand played a significant role in the Indian freedom movement. The pain and sacrifices of Birsa Munda, an Adivasi Resurgent and Revolutionary from Jharkhand, fought against the British Government, will be always remembered.¹

Early Childhood and Education

Government have accepted that Birsa was born on 15 Nov 1875 at Ulhiatu in erstwhile Bengal presidency, now in Khunti district of Jharkhand. Birsa Munda was son of Sugana Munda.

He received his early education from a school at Salga. He joined the German Mission School but had to convert to Christianity. He became Birsa David which later became Birsa Daud. The family moved to Chaibasa in 1886 and there Munda came to develop anti-government sentiments. In 1890 he and his family renounced their membership in the German mission.²

Birsa Munda and his struggle in colonial India.

As he was an Indian freedom fighter and a tribal leader who he played a crucial role in liberation of his community, the tribal people.

The Britishers banned the Adivasis from utilizing the forest resources. Adivasis who lived in these forests, and even protected and worshipped the forests. At the same time, Hindu

businessmen and money-lenders started exploiting the Adivasis who were ostracized because of the caste system. Apart from these two groups, Christian missionaries started trying to bring the Adivasis into their fold through conversions.

Agrarian Crisis

During the 1890s Birsa started creating awareness among his people about the British exploitative policies and practices. He took on the twin problems of agrarian crisis and cultural belittlement by the British. The Mundas traditionally had a system known as Khunkhatti. The coming of the British replaced with Zamindars, other farmers and middlemen. This made the peasants suffer in poverty and indebtedness. They became forced farm labourers. Birsa Munda proclaimed his rebellion in 1894 which was directed against the British and the dikus (outsiders). This is called the **Munda Ulgulan**. He asked people to stop paying rent and taxes.

As a Religious Leader

He also became a religious leader of his people. He exhorted the tribal people to return to their roots and shun Christianity. He asked people to renounce alcohol. People started referring to him as 'Dharti Abba'. He was also believed to be a prophet. His new religion was called Birsait. Many Mundas and Oraons became Birsaits. He was arrested by the government and imprisoned for two years before being released in 1897.

Tribal Movement

Munda launched his armed struggle in 1899. Under his leadership, the people burned police stations, houses of the landlords, churches and British property. His slogan was '*Abua raj*

seter jana, maharani raj tundu jana: His rebellion forced the government to enact the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 to put restrictions on tribal land.

He suffered a lot due to the British oppression. Later he involved himself in the popular agitation movement against the unjust laws enforced upon the traditional rights of the Mundas in the protected forest in the Porhat area.

He emerged as a successful leader and revolted against the dual challenge of agrarian breakdown and culture change. Under his leadership, the tribal movements gained momentum and numerous protests were staged against the British. The movement demonstrated that tribals were the real proprietors of the soil and also demanded the expulsion of middlemen and the British.

The army responded with movements and protests against the injustice and treachery of the British Raj. His influential personality and motivational speeches encouraged the public to believe in the power of freedom and to dream of a different world than the one they lived in.

In the late 19th century, colonial India witnessed a massive upsurge in resistance movements led by Adivasi (indigenous people) in the eastern part of the country called Chota led by the young tribal freedom fighter Birsa Munda.

The new laws followed an imperial legal framework that worked on individual ownership, and rights. The legal-political changes penetrated the country's social folds and disrupted the harmony that had been sustained for generations.³

Birsa Munda mobilised the tribal community and rose against the British, missionaries and the zamindars (landlords). He rallied people by employing a method of religiosity. His methods are critically studied by the millenarian/messianic movement which often considers that the core of such movement lack a substantial agenda, and is led by the force of misguided liberation.

Achievements

His rebellion was a representation of lived experiences of a Munda as a convert Christian, who was raised in a colonial state under a belief

system that belittled his own. This was also at a time when tribal people were losing their history and culture.

Unlike other rebellions that are documented in historical texts, Birsa Munda's achievements have received little recognition.

Arrest and Death

On March 3, 1900, he was arrested, along with his tribal guerrilla army, by the British troops in Jamkopai forest, Chakradharpur. On June 9, 1900, he died at the age of 25 in Ranchi Central Jail where he was imprisoned. British government declared that he died of cholera although he showed no symptoms of the disease, fuelling rumors that he might have been poisoned.⁴

Honour

Birsa Movement was led by Birsa Munda in areas of modern Bihar and Jharkhand. Though he lived a short span of life, Birsa Munda is known to have mobilised the tribal community against the British and had also forced the colonial officials to introduce laws protecting the land rights of the tribals.⁵

To honour his revolutionary, a number of institutes/colleges and places have been named after him. Some of the prominent ones are Birsa Munda High School, Bokaro, Jharkhand, Birsa Munda D.A.V. Residential Public School, Ranchi, 'Birsa Institute of Technology', 'Birsa Agricultural University', Birsa Munda Tribal University, Rajpipla, (Narmada District), 'Birsa Munda Athletics Stadium' and 'Birsa Munda Airport', Birsa Munda Express Train.

Birsa Munda's birth anniversary is celebrated officially at his Samadhi at Kokar Ranchi, Jharkhand. He is revered as a great freedom fighter by tribals and non-tribals alike. Many folk songs have been created to commemorate his life and bravery. India Post released a stamp in his honour in 1988. Priyanka Gandhi paid tribute to tribal leader and freedom fighter Birsa Munda on his 144th birth anniversary.⁶

Conclusion:

The struggle for freedom in India is one of the liberative moments in India. Men and Women in freedom struggle of the country have

contributed significantly. Birsa Munda was a revolutionary freedom fighter who struggled against the British government. He was the only tribal leader who started agitating against the British government which could snatch the rights of tribal people to access and utilization of resources of the jungle, and also made his army of guerrilla people who fought with the Britishers. Birsa Munda became a god-like figure among the tribal people in Jharkhand, India. Birsa's achievements as a young tribal revolutionary has continued to be celebrated over decades now and he has successfully carved out a space for

himself in popular and folk literature, academia, and mass media.

This research work shows the role of Birsa Munda in unifying the Adivasi and bringing up the self identification in them by his movements. He tried to give them freedom from British rule and zamindari.

Salute to great tribal Leader Birsa Munda for his works lived for almost for 25 years but he aroused mindset (thinking) of the tribals and mobilized them for land rights. He truly proved that life should be great not long.

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RULE OF NAWAB MUHAMMAD ALI WALAJAHI IN THE CARNATIC REGION FROM 1749 TO 1795 AD AND HIS SOCIAL AND COMMUNAL HARMONY - A STUDY

T. Shafeeque Ahmed

INTRODUCTION:

The Nawabs of the Carnatic ruled the Carnatic region as deputies of the Nizams of Hyderabad with Arcot as the capital. They ruled Carnatic region from 1690 AD to 1855 AD for about 150 years.

Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajahi was the son of Nawab Muhammad Anwaruddin, the Seventh Nawab of the Carnatic (1744-1749 AD). He was born in 1717 AD. As a prince, Muhammad Ali represented his father as Nizam at Hyderabad. Later he became the Governor of Arcot, Trichirapalli and other Subhas. As a brave commander, he defeated the French army in Devanampattinam and forced Dupleix to vacate Fort St. George.

Muhammad Ali became the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1749 AD. His cabinet had powerful, influential and confident ministers and officials to favour the public. He appointed Raja Sampath Rai as his Dewan. Robert Clive spoke highly of

the Nawab's great qualities in London and paid glowing tributes about his sincerity and majestic ruling. He said "His words were more trustworthy than of any all have ever known".

AGGRESSION AND LOSS OF TANJORE:

Raja Pratap Singh, the ruler of Tanjore, signed a treaty with Nawab Muhammad Ali, by which the Maratha ruler was required to pay an annual tribute of Rupees twenty five lakhs to the Nawab. When Tuljaji, son of Pratap Singh defaulted the payment, the Nawab's forces twice invaded Tanjore i.e., in 1771 and in 1773 and the Madras Government helped him in these adventures. In 1775 AD, the Court of Directors condemned the proceedings of the Madras Council for the conquest of Tanjore and sent Lord Pigot as Governor of Madras to restore Tanjore to the rightful king. Lord Pigot restored Tanjore to Raja Tuljaji on 11th April 1776 AD. The loss of Tanjore had very adverse repercussions on the Nawab. The unexpected

deprivation of revenue sources dislocated the Nawab's finances.

SUBJUGATION OF MARAVASTATES:

The Marava States were located in the eastern part of Madurai Country. These states maintained a status of independence during the rule of the Nayaks. In 1771 AD, Nawab Muhammad Ali represented to the Madras Council that the Marava rulers occupied government villages and neglected payment of tribute. The Madras Council agreed with the views of the Nawab and decided to extend military support for the invasion of Sivaganga and Ramanathapuram. The combined forces of the Nawab and the English effectively stormed Ramanathapuram in June 1772 AD and occupied it. The invaders plundered the town and imprisoned Sethupathi Muthuramalingam and the Queen-regent. Afterwards the forces attacked Sivaganga and occupied the strongholds. As a result of these campaigns, the Walajahis established their sway over the Marava States.

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW PALACES:

The Nawab Muhammad Ali built the famous Chepauk Palace in the year 1768 at his own cost. It lies in an area of 121 acres from the Cooum river to Pycrofts Road. It comprised two blocks, the southern block called 'Kalas Mahal' in two floors and the northern block called 'Humayun Mahal' which contained the Diwan Khana. Further, Nawab changed the capital to Chepauk, Madras.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HARMONY OF THE NAWAB:

Muhammad Ali Wallajah had not only mixed moderation in his politics, but also in religion. The Nawab respected all religions. Most of his trusted officials were Hindus. In spite of the presence of many Muslims in his Court, he entrusted the work of maintaining his personal diary to Kishan Chand, as he considered him a man of high integrity. He donated vast lands for the construction of mosques, temples and churches and maintained perfect religious harmony and unity amongst the members of different religious communities. It is a well-known fact that the land of the Sri Padmanabha Swamy temple in Srirangam near Trichy was a gift of the Nawab, with a sizeable estate, which

is called "Nawab Thottam" even today. Similarly in Tirupati, Tiruvarur, Tirunelveli and Madras lands were donated for Hindu temples.

In 1773, some sepoy attempted to enter a temple at Tiruvarur, in spite of the objections of the 'Pandits'. On hearing this, the Nawab gave instructions to his officials that religious places should be respected and that the traditions of the places of worship should be maintained at all times.

The Nawab had his own permanent staff stationed at Makkah in Arabia for the distribution of charity to the poor there. He supplied a ladder covered with gold and silver at Makkah to enable the pilgrims to get into the precincts of the Holy Kaaba during the Hajj. He provided carpets and lights to the Prophet's Mosque in Madinah (Masjid-e-Nabavi).

The Nawab purchased two ships, 'Safinathullah' and 'Safinathun Nabi' for commerce and trade. But they were mainly used for transporting Hajj pilgrims from the Carnatic region. The Nawab also purchased lands and constructed Rubats (Lodgings) which are known as 'Arcot Rubats' in the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah for the benefit of the pilgrims of South India. To this day, a number of pilgrims from Tamil Nadu blessed with the benefits offered to them by the present Prince of Arcot.

During his reign, he did a great deal for the upliftment of the people of South India. The Nawab evinced great interest in the welfare of the people of South India. He built a large hospital in Madras, where the poor were given free medical treatment. He gave strict instructions to Hakim Ghulam Ali Khan, the head Hakim of the hospital that poor patients should be treated with utmost care and courtesy.

The Nawab also permitted the establishment of the Christian Church in South India and not only gave lands to Christian mission, but also was present in person on the occasion of the inauguration of Dr. Schwartz's School in Trichy.

One of the finest works of Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajahi was the installation of the Chronogram that was written by Raja Makhan Lal Khirad above the Mehrab of the Chief Congregation Mosque of Madras City, the Walajahi Mosque. The Chronogram depicts the

year of the construction, the name of the Nawab, the beauty of the mosque and the praise of Allah. No other mosque in the world carries above its niche chronogram written by a non-Muslim. It shows that Nawabs are pure and unbiased with their blissful thoughts.

CONTRIBUTIONS DURING NATURAL CATASTROPHE:

The Nawab had hashed out through his letters to collectors, governors and Khiladars about the people who were subjected to famine, droughts, floods, epidemics urgent requirements, in order to give them redress from these calamities. Hence, Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajahi strictly commanded the collector of Arcot to deduct the prices of all eatable items and to arrange a place for distributing the rice to the destitutes. During his reign the physically challenged received an allowance every month.

Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajahi had passed an order on 2nd May 1774, mentioning that the local officials were incharge of the arrangements of the camps separately for the affected Muslim and Hindu destitute to feed them and provided with the basic necessities. The Hundreds of bags containing food grains and vegetables were dispatched for this purpose. And the Nawab ordered the collectors of Portonovo (Mahmud Bandar) through his letter dated

26th June, 1774 that they should quit selling the poor children to the Europeans, due to poverty. He wished them to start some camps

for serving food free for the poor. The Nawabs tried his best to make the people to overcome from their sufferings and difficulties as much as possible and became very popular among people and even he became as hero for the suffering people.

One of the most glorious aspects of Nawab was his administration and his policy in general towards the public that set secular ideal for the betterment of the public. Therefore, Tamilagham is made to be a haven of peace today, because of the flow of humane quality, from the period of Sangam.

CONCLUSION:

On 30th October 1795, Nawab Muhammad Ali, the most popular of the Carnatic rulers passed away at the age of seventy eight after a reign of forty six glorious years. His name is commemorated by a bastion and gate at Fort St. George and by the bridge outside the fort. The road which leads from Triplicane to Chepauk Palace is still known by the name Wallajah Road. There are towns like Walajahbad and Walajahpet named after this Nawab. He was buried at the Santhome and after two years his remains were transferred to Trichirapalli according to his wishes with due respect and buried at the feet of the Holy Saint Tabrey Alam. A historical study on this noble and majestic ruler would help us to understand the characteristics of a person who was literally the most powerful personality in Tamil Nadu in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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CONTRIBUTION OF VARADARAJULU NAIDU TO THE LABOUR MOVEMENT OF TAMIL NADU

M. Shankara Pandiyan

In the second half of the 1910, the period immediately saw Gandhi coming into the National Movement. During this time Varadarajulu Naidu emerged as a powerful speaker of the congress party in the state. He was also a distinguished labour leader, an eminent journalist, an ardent champion of the causes of handloom weavers, Small Scale and cottage industries and a spirited advocate of interests of politically and socially disadvantaged sections of the society. He was being hailed as the Bala Gangadharar Tilak of the south India, he was regarded as part of the Political triumvirate, the other two being were T.V.Kalayansundaranar i.e (Thiruvika) and E.V.Ramasamy (Periyar). At the time of his death in the year 1957 Rajaji called him as a "one of the most intelligent and imaginative brains we had in the early congress of Madras State with a background of the week among the masses". He was born in Rasipuram near Salem. He qualified himself as a Practitioner of Indian system of Medicine.

The labour problems which were going on other side. After seeing this he who undertook a major Vernacular speaking tour through the Tamil country till his death.¹ He spoke in the Madras Provincial labour conference that "Although some people slandered Lenin, when the face of the world changed from capitalism to the rule of the toiling people, Lenin will come to be regarded as one of the true saviours of the world" Considering the fact that any open repression or admiration for the Russian Revolution invited harassment from the government.

Royal commission on labour in India Vol VII-Part I, he says about conditions of labourers in the Textile mills in Madura. The recruitment is done through the maistris and jobbers. It can be safely said that non get employment in the mills unless he pays some bribe. There is no arrangement made for sick leave or privilege leave. The D.M.O., I am told is the consulting doctor, only attends sick the Europeans assistants.

There is no place for the workers to take their midday meal. They take in the sitting on the road in the hot sun. No maternity benefit is being given to them. Women are sent away during pregnancy. Hundreds of women were sitting in the very insanitary condition for feeding of their babies between 9 and 9.30 am. No attempts has been made to open schools, situated to them, either by the employer or by the municipality. The percentage of illiteracy know either to read or to write. The percentage of illiteracy is greater than among the labours in the Madras city. There has been universal complaint against 10 hours of work, as that it felt as a heavy strain on workers. They suggest for the 8 hours of day. Only the Madura mills company have built about 176 houses for its workers. But I have come across many cases where no compensation has been paid after the Act come into force, who are still working inside the mills. They have been paid for the period they were in hospital half wages.

All festival holidays have to be compensated by the following Sunday.³ During that time he was a secretary of the labour union, suggested to the commissioner of labour that "the dispute might be settled if the management were to modify the punishment of these 15 men into suspension or something less drastic than dismissal". He also often warned the workers he and advised them to have confidence in the congress ministry and to support the congress. He and his supporters of local congress leaders gave tough stand to the British Capitalists.⁵ When he was a organizing secretary of the All India Trade Union Federation, interviewed the labour commissioner Madras on 25-06-30 he represented him the grievance of the workers in the textiles mills of Madura, Tuticorin and Ambasamudram. He next drew the attention that the employment of women in certain departments that works involves risk and danger. Half-timers were being compelled to work for more than six hours a day. Frequent use was also made of section 144 of the Criminal procedure code, in dealing with industrial disputes. Finally, Mr.Naidu requested the Labour Commissioner to use his influence to see that a

Conciliatory Policy was adopted by the Government in the matter of labour disputes. The labour Commissioner is said to have promised Mr.Naidu that he would look into those matters and asked for a written representation. He was also being invited by the District Congress Committee to organize a demonstration and procession round Ambasamudram and Kallidaikurichi for the Collection of a relief fund for the poor strikers. By this time he also bought Rs.300/- with him from Madras and the Congress gave him Rs.1000/- towards union expenses. He got public opinion through the columns of Swarajya. It carried a letter written by him in its issue dated 21 February 1930. He explained the miserable living and working conditions of the workers in the mills. He pointed out that the wage of workers in Papanasam were lower than what was paid in the Maduai and Tuticorin mills under the Same Management. According to him several requests of the Workers for an increment in their wages met with only an elusive reply from the manager. Moreover, the Manager used a few insulting expressions towards the elderly men when they told him that they had four to six children. He explained how appointments, Promotions and dismissals were all done on the representations of the ministries and clerks only. It brought to the notice of the public the plight of women workers. He wrote: "The plight of women workers is more pitiable. They have to leave their children in the department which is full with cotton dust. They have to work under the men maistries and are subject to the same ill-treatment in a greater measure, being women. The accumulation of these sins of Commission and omission is responsible for the present strike. He saves coal and incidental expenses, which form a consideration part of working expenses in a textile mill. His market in China and in the East is in no way a negligible factor. It can be truly said of his yarn that it is of Indian Cotton, Indian Labour and for local Weavers and Merchants. When he and others began to organize a Social boycott of these black legs. The result what they received from the local administration was form of an order under the section of 144 I.P.C. The district Superintendent of Police applied to the sub-Magistrate for a general order under Section 144 against Varadarajulu Naidu. The District Magistrate, Tirunelvely directed the Police official that any

order under Section 144 should not be general (Stopping the Naidu activities altogether but specific, stopping of organisation of a social boycott and should be directed against all persons attempting to organize such a boycott. Moreover, he also summoned the village headmen to appear before him and show cause why he should not be suspended.

The Second class Magistrate, Ambasamudram, ordered him under the section of 144 C.P.C. not to deliver Speeches in their the jurisdiction of this Court tending to incite the social Boycott or dishonor or a Violence against any person lawfully employed in such mills or seeking employment therein or tending to the boycott threatening assault or dishonouring of any such person. He also ordered the other persons then S.R. VaradarajuluNaidu not to deliver speeches as referred to above not to commit the accts advocated in them. The next development was that a general meeting of the union was held under the presidency of Varadarajulu on the 20th March 1930. The Harvey Mills issued notice on the 14th of April inviting labourers to being work on the 16th April inviting labourers to being work on the 16th No terms of settlement of the labour dispute were mentioned. At the instances of some workers, He arrived at Vikramasingapuram. The Sub Magistrate, Ambasamudram issued an order under section 144 I.P.C. on the 19th April 1930 directing him not to enter or remain within a radius of 4 miles of the Papanasam Mill nor to lecture to any mill worker there for a period of 10days from the date of the Service of the notice. The resistance of the workers collapsed with this removal of the leadership from the scene. This economic struggle thus ended in failure.

He requested Mr. Grey to visit Ambasamudram; But Grey did not consider his request. In the Course of the strike, the Workers formed an union, and he became its President. He was the guiding factor and source of inspiration to the mill workers. He kept in touch with the officials at the local and state level. He toured the villages, Conducted regular meetings and in this way inspired the workers. He got the attention of the public through the press and the speaker's platform. In spite of this officials treated him as an outsider.

"Varadarajulu Naidu was a boy at the Madanapalli Theosophical College, when I was collector of Chittoor. I told him that he was not to have himself appointed an office-bearer of the union to be formed; and had better collect facts and figures before applying for a court of enquiry. Let the workers by all means register themselves as a trade union and make out a case". During the Papanasam workers strike he also congratulated the women workers on their brave stand, with the assurance of paying them higher wages, and yet they remained firm.

It was the general Policy of the Indian National Congress to favouring in establishment of trade unions for the Welfare of the labour. So the Varadarajulu Naidu started the South Indian Railway workers union at Nagapattinam in 1919. His Scarificial involvement in the Harvey mill strike in 1918. He also presided over the first South Indian Railway Labour Conference at Nagapattinam. During the podanur Railway strike they selected him when he was then touring Ramnad district in connection with the District Congress Conference. They requested him to pay visit to the various Railway centres and to advise them on their future plans and actions. When he got invitations from the workers during that time, what railway authorities and P the Police have done was they obtained an order under 144 G.P.C. and prohibited him from entering Coimbatore. The railway labour unions had already planned to welcome him with all honour which he

deserved richly. They had also collected a small amount of money and had spend it on the construction of stage. The prohibition spoiled these plans and the workers suffered on unexpected hurt.

He was being served with a notice at Olavakkod. So, he could not continue his journey to Podanur, once again, Podanur witnessed him to return to Preside over the South India Railway Labour union special Conference on 19th and 20th July 1924. (285.GO.No:869) , Public (Confid) Department, 11.1:2.1924. PP 22-24. In his speech, he did not openly refer to the Podanur station but he eloquently advocated the unity of workers of all industries.⁷ He also played an important role in strike at Salem. He arrive in Suramangalam at 9.00 am on 13th June 1924. He distributed food stuffs to all men on strike. He announced that he would offer such rations even for five years to come if this state of deplorable conditions continued. He made known that rations would be given for a week in advance on Mondays.⁸

Though he dedicated his entire life for the Cause of Welfare of labours by withdrawing from his Doctor Post, there is no memorial Exclusively for him. But A Memorial of AshokaPillar in Salem city has a plaque that display his name. He not only contributed for the labour Movement there are so Many who left there life entire life for the growth of Labour movement of Tamilnadu.

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NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND TAMIL POET OF NATIONALISM IN SALEM DISTRICT

P. Singaram

Introduction

The Indian national congress of started in and ages of 1884 in Hindu mahana sabha at Madras. Had been transformed it was the political it also was seen some of the places in Tamilnadu.¹⁰ There was reported all the toddy shops in Salem District, the suppression of in separate of Tamil news papers in Tamilnadu, Swadesamitran, Desabhaktan, The Hindu, The Freedom Movement of political and social like of confined. The start of Madras provincial congress committee leadership kasturanga Iyengar and some of the Rangasamy, Sathyamoorthy and vary rank of congres leader in Tamilnadu, C.Vijaraghavachari and C. Rajagopalacharai. It was believed in the in social caste of through India such of in Mahatma Gandhi supported of Rajagopalachari joined The Freedom Movement and Prominant of Salem District in Congress men. The anti British of the involvalment of social groups in nationalism poet.¹ 19th century of Indian nationalism and prevailed in India. The rich of the peoples. The Indian languages of poets like that sanskrit, persian, Arabic and present in Indian languages for taugh of people was not the important knowledage in English other of Indian languages.² The through Indian national congress metings and one of the eminent and participated of people in India. The both and education about the development countries. The national movement of Tilak. Nivedita Devi and social reform in Aurobind in the Bhrrarathi poet.³ In the Queen Victoria with of qualities of growth of the Indian freedom movement. The swedesi movement in the time of the rich the people advised to collect many for the would create partiotic feeling of generation of the attainment of our goal.⁴

The Tamil Poet of Nationalism in Salem District

The Besides of the above and the personalities. C. Rajagopalachari, E.V. Ramasamy Naikar. Namakkal Kavinjar Ramalingam Pillai and moved of the wheel of patriotism in Tamil Nadu. Their sensitive of sentimental of Tamil poets of songs in nationalism of Tamilnadu.⁵ The Rajagoplachari

was leading advocate in Salem and support of Annie Besant in 1916 of congress. The national movement was Tilak of Jioned of non cooperation movement 1920. In to became sacrificted and Khilafat movement, salt satyagraha movement. It was Tilak of editor of "Young India". At antiwar held to the Salem districts on June 2nd of 1919.⁶ There were tasks of the Hindu had been to Indian public and political and social Development of Indian people. The fire of patriotism and need to the nationalism wrote in 1883.⁷ The Hindu reverted of 1884 in the consider all sorts the facilities of our freedom strugle character. The Rajagopalachari realised to the need for reaching some sort of understanding. With the Muslim league of the partition issue other-wise the constitutional halted. In April 23 and 1942 and managed to get a resolution passed. The congress members in the Madras.⁸

The congress was formed to win freedom for the Indian national as a whole country. The Rajagoplachari resolution but also passed in state of territorial.⁹ The Mahatma Gandhi that once in India became free there was likelihood of people and the congress political party, the freedom struggle of many to T. Prakasham and Andhra 'Kasari.' In the popularly and participated in the freedom movement activities of India national congress in 1885, both of among in the people growth of origin in India National Congress.¹⁰ The people of India thought that it was only and Indian National Congress in could help and them to active of Independence. The British government on this part tried to crash of National movement activities of leaders arresting. The leader was organizers and declaring to the congress and the founded of Indian national movement.¹¹ The British administration in to regions of Tamilnadu and the India, including of South India. The Mahatma Gandhi was in leader of Indian national congress and freedom movement of thought. The political action due to the grand success of the movement.¹² In to the mass movement and including illiterates. The poor and all people in India his struggle and against in the British rule. The Mahatma Gandhi that his believed in the

paper and proposed in would to the entire of Indian society. The people of British rule and India make of great British settlement of political to deaded to lack of India.¹³

The growth of Madras during the 19th century was remarkable and it was all other of Indian towns of Tamilnadu. The like of Salem Districts.¹⁴ The Hindus in Madras were not of aided of the political establishment of British power in the area of Tamilnadu. The political organization of Madras from to Bengal and British Association of Indian in 1851. The affairs of the English East India Company and representations.¹⁵ To the missionaries of preceding decade consisted mainly of Tamil and Telugu. The poverty of believed that the British rulers. The to part to bringing about this transformation and wanted the Indian give of whole country. He believed that such ties of would strengthen and goodwill. Between the India and west of European countries of help regeneration of Indian people. The local leaders of Salem District of start of founded to political activity.¹⁶

The Indian national congress and need for information had been in South India. The since of Madras native association became in the 1860 and political expression in South India during the 1870 of Indian association at Calcutta in the first to make of impact. The political was such provincial of association in Madras presidency.¹⁷ The membership of Rangiah Naidu in president and Balaji Rao elected in vice, the Brahmins and non Brahmins Christians, Muslims of Indian leadership of societies and organizations, in the region of 1885 to members and above of two hundred of political freedom struggle.¹⁸ The provincial and commenced of December 29, 1884 and majorities people and second time of 1885. The background of Indian national congress at beginning in the freedom struggle of Madras Mahajana Sabha, in started of time. Indian freedom struggle of Tamilnadu peoples. In the congress was first session in met December 27 in 1885 of Indian nationalist and to 1887 and prominent leaders of participated in Tamil leaders of the nationalism and news papers The Hindu, Swadesamitran of information of the British rule, the propaganda of national congress in press inspired of Tamil language. The nationalism 1894 and political problem N Subbarao securing socio-economic

and national awakening among the Tamil districts in Salem, Coimbatore, Trichy, Madurai and organised. In 1904 the leaders of Subramani Siva, and Annie Besant, Subramania Bharathi, Ramalingam Pillail of the political activities in national movement of the people of Tamilnadu.¹⁹ There was only twelve district associations in the Madras presidency and these were reorganized order to established in mass people of information. The people of modrates and Madras areas V. Krishna Swami Iyer, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri of organizing in Madras national congress session.²⁰ Throughout the Tamilnadu people of congress committee in Salem C. Vijayaraghavachari and C. Rajagopalachari were against the holding of these committees in Madras. He also participated Salt Satygraha 1930 and one year jail of Tamil poet of Ramalingam Pillai in freedom struggle in national songs.

The Mahakavi Bharathi he was a pioneer of modern Tamil poet and is considered. One of the greatest Tamil literary figures of all time and works nationalism songs and patriotism of Indian national movement.²¹ The newspaper The Hindu, Bala Bharata Vijaya Swadesamitran and India was in 1908, an arrested warrant of British government. The movement of in Punjab 1918 the language of favorite language of Tamil.²² He covered of political social and spiritual themes. The songs of Tamil poets in Tamil cinema. The Joined Bharathi editor, Swadesmitran, Tamil daily, 1904. The attended all India congress was considered Nivedita, national congress session at Culcutta in freedom fighters Dadabhai Nooiraji which demanded of Swaraj. Tamil weekly and the English Newspaper, 1906, started of Kuyil Pattu, Panchali Sapatham, Kannan Pattu, and great vedic literature, and 1912,²³ in entry of Bharathi Cuddalore Jail 1918, for three weeks Nov. 20 to Dec. 14, Annie Besant, C.P. Ramasamy Iyer, of following in Mahatma Gandhi 1919, and Swadesimitran from 1920, of Madras. The through Bharathi of Tamil people of poet and Karungal Palayam at Erode in Salem districts and prominent Tilak, Gandhi, Lajpathirai, Shakti, Vinayagam, Murugan, Sivan and various language of Indian national reform leaders, there is no caste system and like Tilak Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, V.V.S. Iyer in the national poet.²⁴

"We make Dresses from silk and cotton
 In quantities as large as mountains
 They bring lot of wealth,
 The traders around the world
 To whom we give it"²⁵

- Mahakavi Bharathi

Conclusion

The role in the national movement of survey, the Indian Independence movement will show clearly that the national movement of the British challenge of the whole country of India. The commonality in this area of Tamilnadu district of Salem took active part in the activities of the Indian national congress which was started in National congress leader C.

Vijayaragavachari, Subramaniya Bharathi, Kavimani Desigavinayagam Pillai, Subramaiya Siva and soul stirring of the patriotic of Tamil poet and development in freedom movement in Tamilnadu fervor among the minds of the people. It was acquired the political, economic social religious and British imperialism. The rise of India nationalism and development of anti British sentiments of patriotic songs of nationalism poets knowledge peoples, and entry the Gandhiji in national congress and freedom struggle principles of Mahatma Gandhi enthusiasm of people of Salem District. The activity of fact in non cooperation movement, civil disobedience movement salt Satyagraha, individual satyagraha. August revolution, and Quit India movement. The people of the Salem District activity in C. Rajagopalachari gave clarion call to the people of India.

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A NEW NOTE ON - PALUVETTARAIYARS

N. Sivaraman

The Paluvettaraiyars were a prominent feudatory family ruling over an area comprising Melappaluvur, Kilapaluvur and Kilaiyur in the Ariyalur Taluk of the Trichirappalli District. Kilapaluvur is situated about three miles east of Kilaiyur and Melappaluvur is only a mile away from Kilaiyur. Melappaluvur was popularly known as Mannuperumpaluvur¹ and Avanigandharvapuram.² Kilapaluvur was also known as Chirupaluvur and Tiruvalandurai. Pagaividai-Isvaram was their headquarters.³ The place where the Paluvettaraiyars built a number of structures with their palace is called now Maligaimedu.

Historians of South India interpret the term "Paluvettaraiyar"⁴ perhaps the chieftains, who ruled the area, once a forest of banyan trees were called after the place as Paluvettaraiyars.⁵ They are described as Kerala kings in the Chola records of the tenth century A.D.⁶

There are many theories regarding their origin. There is a legend in this area that Parasurama was absolved of his sin of killing his mother by taking a bath in the sacred tank in Chirupaluvur. Sambandar's hymns⁷ also refer to the Malayali brahmin priests of the temple at Paluvur. S.R. Balasubramanyam holds the view that they were in charge of the temple at Paluvur.⁸ But these references are not helping us in any way to trace their migration from Kerala. It is only from the time of Parantaka I, that we find these chieftains figuring as Chola vassals. However there is every possibility of the Paluvettaraiyars settling down in the Paluvur area sufficiently before the accession of Parantaka I to the Chola throne.

In his campaign against the Pallavas, Aditya I was assisted by the Kerala king Sthanu Ravi. An inscription at Tillaisthanam⁹ mentions that Aditya I and Sthanu Ravi conferred certain honours on one Vikki-Annan. H. Krishna Sastri has identified Sthanu Ravi, the ally of Aditya with Kokkandan Ravi, the vanquisher of kings mentioned with another Chera king, Vokkandan Viranarayana of the Chandraditya family.¹⁰ The friendly relations that existed between the Kerala king Sthanu Ravi and Chola king Aditya I led to

the marriage of Aditya's son Parantaka I with the daughter of Sthanu Ravi mentioned in Udayendiram Plates.¹¹

The Anbil Copper Plate grant issued in the reign of Parantake II gives many details about the latter's ancestors. It mentions that Parantaka I married the daughter of a Kerala king, Paluvettaraiyar. Paluvetta is alluded to in three inscriptions at Tiruvaiyaru. In one of them, it is stated that Paluvetta's daughter was the queen of Vikram Chola Ilangovelar. Since the last title means 'Yuvaraja' or heir apparent, it is likely that before Parantake I ascended the throne he was known as Vikrama Chola.¹² In another inscription, it is mentioned that a Paluvettaraiyar princess Nakkankaranangaiyar, the daughter of Paluvettaraiyar Devanar, was given in marriage to a Chera prince.¹³ These instances clearly indicate the matrimonial alliances among Paluvettaraiyars, Cheras, and Cholas in those days. This matrimonial relationship coupled with the legend of Parasurama seems to suggest the Chera origin of the Paluvettaraiyars. The expansion of the Later Chola power encouraged the immigration into the Tamil Country of a good number of people from Kerala, especially the Paluvettaraiyars.

Pagaividai Isvarattu Devanar

The first known ruler of this family was Pagaividai Isvarattu Devanar.¹⁴ His name is mentioned in an inscription in the Agastyesvara temple at Melappaluvur. In this inscription, he is referred to as the father of Paluvettaraiyar chieftain Kumaran Kandan.

Kumaran Kandan (C.881 A.D. – 893 A.D.)

Kumaran Kandan was the son of Pagaividai Isvarattu Devar. Aditya I was his contemporary. Another epigraph¹⁴ from Tiruvaiyaru in the Thanjavur District, dated the 10th regnal year of Rajakesari Aditya I mentions Paluvttaraiyar Kumaran Kandan masakkal.

Kumaran Maravan (C. 893.A.D. – 913 A.D.)

An inscription¹⁵ of Rajakesari mentions his name as Kumaran Maravan. He also served as a feudatory of Aditya I and Parantaka I. An

inscription¹⁶ found in the Saptarishisvara temple at Lalgudi, dated in the 5th regnal year of one Parakesari, identified with Parantaka I registers a gift of gold by Adigal Paluvettaraiyar Kumaran Maravan for a lamp to the temple. A certain Tippanju Alagiyar Maran and Kumaran Maravan jointly made a gift in the 6th regnal year of Parakesari, identified with Parantaka I also confirms the above mentioned statement.¹⁷ Parantaka I is said to have married the daughter of Kumaran Kandan or Kumaran Maravan.

Kandan Amudanar (C. 913 A.D. - 921 A.D.)

He was the most popular chief among the Paluvettaraiyars. He ruled as a subordinate of Parantaka I. An inscription ²⁰ of Parantaka I Chola dated 12th regnal year describes the part played by his Paluvettaraiyar in Parantaka's war with Rajasimha III Pandya. The battle took place at Vellur about 919 A.D. The Pandya king and his ally the Ceylonese ruler were defeated by the Chola army led by Kandan Amudan. He died in 921 A.D. One Akkaranangaiyar, the daughter of Devanar of Avahikandarpa Isvaram figures as the donor in an inscription of Rajakesari dated the 6th regnal year ²¹. The Rajakesari of this record can be identified with Gandaraditya.²² This Akkaranangaiyar is stated to be the wife of the Chera prince (Pillaiyar Seramanar).²³ This reference is suggestive of their origin.

Kandan Tappilidharman (C. 957 A.D.-960 A.D.)

A Parakesari inscription ²⁴ from Udayarkudi dated 2nd regnal year, mentions a Paluvettaraiyar by name Kandan Tappilidharman. It has been wrongly assigned to Uttama Chola I ²⁵ Kandan was a surname of Rajaditya, son of Parantaka I.²⁶ As the Paluvettaraiyar chieftain had the surname Kodandan prefixed to his name, Parakesari might be Arinjaya who ruled after Rajaditya. Nothing more is known about this ruler.

Maravan Kandan (C. 960 A.D.-985 A.D.)

The next known Paluvettaraiyar chief is Maravan Kandan. It seems that he was the son of Kandan Amudan.²⁷ He acted as a vassal both under Sundara Chola and Uttama Chola.²⁸

Kandan Maravan (C. 985 A.D. - 1000 A.D.)

Kandan Maravan, the son and successor of Maravan Kandan probably came to power in 985 A.D. He was a feudatory of both Uttama

Chola and Rajaraja I.²⁹ He seems to have ruled unto 992 A.D. probably he is identical with Sundara Chola mentioned in some Parakesari records assignable to Uttama.³⁰ Kandan Sundara Chola made endowments for feeding five Brahmanas daily in the temple of Tiruvanantisvara at Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam. Rajaraja's queen Tillalagiyar, alias Panchavan Mahadevi, was the daughter of Kandan Maravan. Her name has been wrongly identified with a Pandya princess.³¹ the inscription clearly states that she was a daughter of Kandan Maravan. His rule came to an end sometime before the 22nd regnal year of Rajaraja I.

Kumaran Maravan C. 1007 A.D.-1020 A.D.)

This king was probably the son and successor of Kandan Maravan.³² He figures in an inscription³³ of Rajaraja from Lalgudi, registering a gift of gold by Adigal Paluvettaraiyar Kumaran Maravan.

After Rajendra I we do not hear anything about Paluvettaraiyars except a stray reference. It is of interest to know that an inscription³⁵ belonging to the 22nd year of Tribhuvana chakravartin Rajarajadeva II, refers to a Paluvettaraiyar chief of Vanagopadi, a Chola official. The subsequent history shows that they lost their identity and totally merged with the Cholas.

The Paluvettaraiyars were influenced by the Chola administration. Their inscriptions mention the officials were of two cadres, Perundaram and Sirudaram. Thus, for example, the epigraphs of Adigal Maravan Kandan state that the rate of taxation adopted by him in Paluvur area was the same as that of Nandipuram i.e. Palayari, the early alternate capital of the Later Cholas.³⁶ They seem to have enjoyed some measure of freedom in the administration of their territory.

The Paluvettaraiyars were Saivites. Their inscriptions mention various gifts to many temples particularly to those of Kilapaluvur and Melappaluvur. The temple of Maravanesvarar at Kilapaluvur makes it certain that it must have been built by a Paluvettaraiya chief probably Adigal Maravan Kandan.³⁷ His successor, Kandan Maravan constructed the temple of Tiruttoremudaiyar (identical with Sundaesvara temple) at Melappaluvur.³⁸

The famous Sundaresvara temple attributed by the inscriptions to Kanndan Maravan is as much to be noted for its architectural style. This temple built of stone is the symposium of their different architectural features. It consists of a garbha griha small arthamandapa, mahamandapa and finally an open pillared portico. These structures were protected by a compound wall. The entrance of the temple is on the eastern side with a gopura.

The Sikhara is four sided. The garbha griha is square and its basement is plain, and it is bereft of pancharas over the sanctum. There are subshrines with the original sculptures of Ganesa, Subramanya, Chandesvara and Stamasrikas, sure features of its early age. There is an old

gopuram with dvarapalas on either side which seem to be of about the ninth century A.D. It may be of the same age as that of Avanikandarpa Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur.

The present deity of the temple of sundaresvara was, according to an inscription of the 5th regnal year of certain Parakesarivarman (unidentified), known as Pagaividai Isvaragrihattu Mahadeva. In another inscription of the 10th regnal year of Parak-esarivarman, who may be identified with Uttama Chola, the deity is called Paluvur Nakkar. The Lord of this temple is believed to be the deity worshipped by Jamadagni, the ³⁹ father of Parasurama of Puranic and epic fame. There is a stone sculpture of Jamadagni in this temple.

End Notes

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3. Ibid, No. 235.
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5. E.1. Vol. V, No. 5.
6. Tevaram Padikam, 170, VV. 4, 5, 11.
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8. A.R.E. 160 and 236 of 1912, S.I.I. Vol. III, Nos. 89 and 108;
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13. S.1.1. Vol. V, No. 523.
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16. Ibid. 148 of 1928.
17. Ibid, 299 of 1901.
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22. Ibid, Vol. XIX, No. 23 and A.R.E. 609 of 1920.
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24. S.I.I. Vol. XIX, NO. 23.
25. Ibid.,Vol. XIII, Intro. p.6.
26. Ibid, pp. 208-344.
27. Ibid, pp.667-689.
28. Ibid, P. 20.
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31. S.I.I. Vol. X111, No. 235.
32. Ibid, 355 and 360 of 1924; S.I.I. Vol. XIX. No. 146.
33. Ibid., 90 of 1911.
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BUREAUCRATIC RECRUITMENT AND SUBORDINATION OF NATIVES IN COLONIAL MALABAR

M.T. Souda

The East India Company which ruled parts of India in the eighteenth century took steps to introduce separate judicial and political administration in its territories. As Bernard Cohn says, "In the second half of the eighteenth century, the East India Company had to create a state through which it could administer the

rapidly expanding territories acquired by conquest or accession. The invention of such a state was without precedent in British constitutional history".¹ The political authority of the colonial state gathered upon many mechanisms like the legal system, bureaucracy, education etc., for conserving and applying its

power which was necessary for the formation of the colonial policy. Throughout the colonial period in India, the employees of the company were recruited from the native populace, who carried out administrative tasks, particularly in relation to the collection of revenue and the lower judiciary along with British officials. It made a situation where the British and the Indians worked either separately or in co-operation, but native officers had distinct duties and positioned into a subordinate administrative category under a single government.

Subordination of Natives in Bureaucratic Recruitment

The subordination among colonial administration and in bureaucratic recruitment in Malabar shows the actual character and methods of the colonial state in recruiting and disciplining its subordinate employees. Indians were positioned directly or through Indian intermediaries under the direction of the European officers.

The native participation was indispensable to carry out the judicial administration at the lower level. Different branches of tribunals, including provincial courts, Faujdari courts, local and subordinate courts, and native courts, were established in Malabar.² The District and Sessions Judges were usually recruited from the members of Indian civil service, but almost all the posts inferior to that of a District or Assistant judge were filled by natives.³ Within the local judicial administration, the British employed local people as court administrators and policemen also. The selection of native judges recognized two sets of rulers inside the province, the hegemonic British judges, and subordinate natives.

The subordination in the police was a result of the initiatives of the colonial state that a district police organization was created in Madras presidency. The formal structure of police bureaucracy established in Madras province owed much to the model of the Irish Constabulary and the London metropolitan and country police forces in England and Wales. The principle was that "Europeans must occupy a supervisory position was further supported by a fundamental distrust of Indians and a low view of their abilities and character, except within a system of European direction and surveillance".⁴

The subordinate officials, primarily the agents of the state and the uniformed embodiment of state power.

The police reform of the 1850s formally enshrined the supervisory principles. Blaming the lack of close European supervision over revenue and police peons for the deficits of the old police system, the government wanted to remedy past imperfections by creating a squad of European police superintendents. David Arnold points out that the Madras constabulary reveals a more complex relationship between people and state, elite and subalterns that can be encompassed by the term 'collaboration'.⁵ In this way, the police acted as the second agency of European control in the districts while the remaining areas were under the direct control of the district magistrate.⁶ At the lowest level of the police organization, it was envisioned that the constabulary would connect and communicate with the village community through close cooperation between the watchmen and constables on rural areas and through the appointment of non-official inspectors for every group of villages.⁷ The employees were considered merely as the agents of colonial law.

The subordination of natives was visible from the assignment of their duties and payment of salary to the native officers and European officers.⁸ For example, the payment of 50 native officers was equal to the salary of one Senior European officer.⁹ The government paid different amount of salaries to natives and European officers even if they were serving same post.¹⁰ It denotes that the administrative costs could be kept low by recruiting more number of natives instead of recruiting European officers for menial policing duties with more payment.

Sometimes the Members Malabar Special Force or native forces were used for menial jobs like road works, sapping and mining. In 12 December 1855, Hartley wrote a letter to the Collector, saying that the construction of a road from Calicut to Palakkad passing through Malappuram will be made by Malabar Special Force if the government gives the salaries of sappers and miners to his force.¹¹ Sometimes, the force was recruited men directly to army when it was needed. Natives were also recruited, often directly and at times from the inspectors for the higher ranks in the police from the beginning of the twentieth century. Even so, the most senior

positions in the Madras police remained in European hands until Independence.

In the civil service, the subordination and exclusion of natives took place not only in the administration and criminal justice but also in the revenue departments. Indians who manned the lower strata of the administration were called "uncovenanted servants". According to Cornwallis and other European officials of the time, natives of India were corrupt and also held an extremely low opinion of Indian ability, integrity, and character. But Thomas Munro believed in the ability of Indians. He argued that the natives are no longer inferior to Europeans in talent "if it be admitted that the natives often act as wrong, it is no reason for not employing them; we shall be wrong ourselves".¹² Indians seem a low minded, deceitful and dishonest is due to the fact that the British administrators were trying to disassociate them from the administration.¹³

Caste and Community Elements in the Bureaucratic Recruitment in Malabar

Caste and community were considered as a decisive factor in matters regarding the administration of Malabar from its early period. In the pre-colonial Malabar polity, military and administrative functions were performed by the Nairs. In the initial stage, the British in Malabar appointed several Mappila chieftains as Daroghas or native judges with magisterial powers who were allowed to retain a considerable portion of their armed followers. They continued to be employed as Police Officers up to the introduction of the Cornwallis System in Malabar. Immediately after the annexation of Malabar, British employed personnel from upper caste Hindus. The village revenue officials known as *prabhuttis* and *menons* were almost exclusively drawn from upper caste Hindus. The great majority of tahasildars, the police and the recruits of local courts were also from the upper caste Hindus. On the other hand, the British hired separate groups of soldiers from *Tiyyas*, *Mappilas*, and *Mukkuvans* and maintained them on regular payments.¹⁴

In pre-British days administration of justice was based on the *maryada* or custom of the land and Brahmins were the interpreters and law givers.¹⁵ The British took over the responsibility of the administration of justice from their hands.

Even in the judiciary the lower courts were controlled by the caste elites. From the mid-nineteenth century, the Martial Race theory shaped recruitment policy both in army and police. Hindoos, Mussalman and other sections like *Vellalan*, *Rajput*, *Nairs*, *Mappilas*, *Ilavas*, *Parayas*, and *Tiyyas* were entitled.¹⁶ Still, the superior posts were reserved for upper-class people.¹⁷

In 20th February 1855, Hartley send a letter to Collector to inform that it was difficult to get the venerable people from Nair community to the Malabar Police Force since when they were facing the recruiting parties, they were hiding collectively by abandoning or throwing their weapons. So the posts of Subadar and Jemadar were empty.¹⁸ Hartley welcomed the Mappilas to the Malabar Special Corps only because of non-availability of people and also the Mappilas' martial skill. For getting Mappilas into the troop, Hartley appointed a Mappila juvenile from Eranad as Subadar to assert the fact that, the Muslim community had the courage to admit the police force. What made the Nairs the best was not just their military tradition but the fact that they were land owners, higher caste, and prestigious people in the society.

With minor modifications, the Martial theory remained in operation until the first decade of the twentieth century. One of the ironies of the Martial race theory, as it operated in Madras Presidency, was that it reduced its eligibility criteria for military service to members of communities who were largely excluded from the police and who were indeed the main targets of police coercion and surveillance. Even though Mappilas possessed certain martial traits, they were seen as a danger to the Anglo-Nair hegemony and only of value as policemen when they could be deployed against the fanatics of their community. At the same time, they were also excluded. It was held that they could not carry out the basic police duties such as conducting searches, making arrests and patrolling caste Hindu areas of towns and villages.¹⁹

Police Commission in 1903 proposed that recruits should be men of classes which are usually regarded as respectable, for this would correspondingly enhance the prestige and strengthen the authority of the colonial police.²⁰ In 1920 there were 2919 Nair constables, nearly

a tenth of the Madras constabulary. In Malabar, Nair accounted for only 14.5 percent of the total population but held just over 64 per cent of constabulary posts (1149 out of 1785).²¹

The racialization of soldiering in India was also a complex process involving multiple interactions between British officers and administrators, Indian communities and local elites, each framed by the economic, social and cultural contexts of nineteenth-century colonial India. As befitted their martial status they were disproportionately represented in the armed police too. Among the Malayali communities, the Nairs were ranked first. They were considered as high-minded, intelligent, active. In Madras all "pariahs and Christians" constituted no more than 5 per cent of the army, and in only a few units did the percentage of these groups rise to 10 percentages between 1780 and 1880.²²

When we go through the establishment lists of gazette and other officers we can find that the caste Hindus of Malabar especially Nairs, Menons, were occupied the major posts of Indian Civil Service and Madras Civil Service.²³

Although by the second half of the nineteenth century, the general policy of the British on papers was to appoint natives from all castes and communities. They had declared in 1833 that, no person would be disabled from holding any office or employment on account of his "religion, place of birth, descent or color".²⁴ Further, the Board of Revenue's proceedings of 1854 specified that the Collectors should be able to see that the subordinate appointments in the districts are not dominated by the members of

few influential families.²⁵ The same has been recommended in 1922 and additional instructions were dispensed which clearly stated that appointments are to be divided among the several communities.²⁶

In spite of the directives from the policy makers, the lower ranks of colonial bureaucracy in Malabar were drawn chiefly from the Nair community. The Nair domination in the colonial bureaucracy was one of the sensitive issues taken up by the *Tiya* and other backward class elites in their campaign for building up caste solidarity.²⁷ Series of memorandums were submitted by the *Tiyas* and other backward communities of Malabar demanding representation in the bureaucracy and the deliberations in the Madras legislature regarding the statistical data of different castes and communities in Government jobs.²⁸ The very few from backward communities who got education were not considered for appointments on fragile grounds. In spite of different standing orders, appointments were given to failed Nair candidates ignoring the qualified depressed class candidate.²⁹ The consideration given to the "nominations made by his (appointing authority) assistants", "local influence" of the person appointed etc. also highlighted.³⁰ This reveals the strategy of the upper class to exclude the untouchable communities from the domains of power. This situation disabled the depressed classes to get an appointment in the military service. Later, a minimal number of the ex-service depressed class got an appointment in the Government service.

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KANDUKURI VERESALINGAM PANTHULU - RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY OF SOUTH INDIA – A NEW PERCEPTION

K.V. Sreedhar Goud

INTRODUCTION

In pre-British India the entire life of an individual was organized within the concept of caste and tradition. The British introduced a uniform system of administration and western thought of the English education system in India. The impact of the British rule in India was tremendous and resulted in several changes in the 19th century Indian society. The Renaissance and reformation movements in India had its impact even in Andhra. In other words Andhras welcomed the Hindu Renaissance movement particularly in the sphere of culture and society.

KANDUKURI VERESALINGAM (1848-1919A.D)

Veresalingam shook them out of their medieval stupor; he whipped them out of their ignorance; he purged them of many of their superstitions; and he gave an altogether modern, progressive and humanistic turn to their life and thought.¹ Andhra people could not be what they are if Veresalingam had not arrived to vitalise them. He was one of the great men of India, of keen insight, great courage and dynamic energy. He fought against untruth and championed the cause of progress with herculean vigour.²

Sri Veresalingam Panthulu was one of the earliest pioneers in south India to demand and work for radical changes in our society. Like all pioneers who are ahead of their time, he suffered misunderstanding and persecution. We owe it to his memory to work for social regeneration even as he did, braving all ridicule and danger.³

Veresalingam is the greatest Andhra of modern times. He sums up in his personal history the evolution of an epoch... Most people live without illuminating the epoch in which they live. They neither give nor catch the light. The hero is he who both catches and generates new spirit that fecund principle of change and advancement without which life becomes mere stagnation and a nuisance. Veresalingam reflected the new age because he was one of its creature for only they create who allow themselves to be impregnated by the time spirit themselves to be impregnated by the time spirit.⁴

The above tributes reveal the personality of Veresalingam who was born at Rajahmundry on 16 April 1848. His father Subbarayudu was a poor Brahmin. His mother was Purnamma. Veresalingam lost his father when he was only four years old. In spite of her poverty Purnamma wanted to give her son the best possible

education. So she sent him to the government District School. He passed the Matriculation examination in 1869. He worked as a teacher at Korangi and Rajahmundry as senior Telugu Pandit.

His literary activities were varied. He wrote the first novel in Telugu, Rajasekhar Charitra. He was the first to render drama in Telugu. The first Telugu books on natural sciences and history were written by him. He was the first to write in prose for women. In fact, he was the father of the renaissance movement in Andhra.

EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Traditionalists strongly opposed education for girls. They also opposed western learning and social reform. Veresalingam took part in the controversy by championing women's education. To propagate his views effectively, Veresalingam started his journal 'Vivekavardini' in 1874 at Rajahmundry. In order to ridicule the opponents of women's education, he wrote many satires, iam poems and dramas like 'Brahma Vivaham', criticising early marriages, Kanya Sulkam and marriage of old men with young girls.

To practice what he had preached, he started a girls' school at Dawaleswaram in September 1874. It was the first institution of its kind in Andhra. Its headmaster was Malladi Achanna Sastri. In 1881, he established another school for girls at Innispeta in Rajahmundry. He had also educated his wife Rajyalakshmi, so that she could help him in his social reform activities. Besides the school for women, he started schools for Harijans and night schools for the working classes. He was also the first in Andhra to encourage co-education. He admitted girls in the educational institutions started by him.

WIDOW-RE-MARRIAGES

Veresalingam's pioneering work in the emancipation of the Andhra widows overshadows his achievements in other branches of social reform.

In 1874, a widow Re-Marriage Association was started in Madras with much fanfare. Some of the eminent citizens of Madras like Dewan Bahadur R. Ranganatha Rao and P. Chenchal Rau were its members. But within two years, the association became moribund. In 1875,

mahamahopadyaya Paravastu Venkata Rangacharyulu of Visakhapatnam published a book called "Punarvivaha Sangrahamu" favouring the re-marriage of widows. Kokanda Venkataratnam was outraged by the very idea of widow re-marriage. He took up the cudgels against Rangacharyulu and tried to enlist the support of Veresalingam in spite of the fact that he and Veresalingam were not on cordial terms. Veresalingam, whose sympathies were on the side of the widows, however, felt that by merely indulging in debate and discussion, the movement for widow remarriage could not be carried forward. So he bided his time.

By 1875, Veresalingam developed contacts with influential British officers and eminent citizens of Madras and other towns of the Presidency. E.P. Metcalfe, the popular principle of Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, took keen interest in the activities of Veresalingam and enrolled himself as a subscriber of 'Vivekavardini', the journal of Veresalingam and supported his activities. In September 1878, Sanga Samskarna Samajam (Social Reform Association) was established at Rajahmundry.

In order to convince the orthodox leaders, like Kokanda Venkataratnam and Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, that re-marriage of the widows was not prohibited by the old Dharma Sastras, Veresalingam began to address public meetings where he quoted chapter and verse from the Sastras to prove his point. On 3 August 1879, he delivered his first lecture on the re-marriage of the widow at Maharaja's girls' school. The speech created a sensation throughout the Andhradesa. On 12 October, he delivered his second lecture at the same place. The orthodox leaders took up the challenge and organised special meetings to counter the arguments of Veresalingam. In these public debates held at Rajahmundry and Kakinada, the opponents of widow re-marriage could not prove their point. So they encouraged the rowdies to physically assault Veresalingam, but he was saved by his students.

In 1880, Veresalingam, with his two steadfast friends, Challapalli Bapayya and Basavaraju Gavara Raju, formed the widow re-marriage association. After creating the necessary psychological background, Veresalingam plunged into action. He sent his students to different and remote places to find out

persons who were prepared to marry widows but the most difficult part was to find out persons who were prepared to marry widows but the most difficult part was to find parents who were prepared to get their most get their daughters re-married. Veresalingam came to know that a mother of a young widow was anxious to get her daughter re-married. So he sent his students to the remote village where the young widow lived and with great difficulty brought her safely to Rajahmundry. The name of the widow was sitamma. She was married to Gogulapati sriramulu on 11 December 1881 at Rajahmundry. Thus, the first widow re-marriage in Andhra from the higher castes was performed. The marriage was performed in a tense atmosphere. The orthodox leaders of Rajahmundry tried their best to break up the marriage. The students and the follower of Veresalingam were equally determined to see that the marriage was performed. The political had guarded the entire locality where the marriage took place. After failing in their attempt to frustrate the marriage, the orthodox leaders excommunicated 31 families who took part in the celebration.

The second widow re-marriage took place four days after the first. On 15 December 1881, Racharla Ramachandra Rao married a widow named Ratnamma. By 1892 twenty widow re-marriages took place. In his efforts, Veresalingam was financially supported by Pyda Ramakrishnayya a philanthropic merchant of Kakinada, who on different occasions gave a total amount of Rs.30, 000. To look after the widows, who were not re-married, and disowned by the parents, Veresalingam built a widow's home at Madras in 1897 and at Rajahmundry 1905.

In 1883 Veresalingam started a monthly magazine called 'Satihita Bodhini' for women. The news of Veresalingam's activities spread to the different parts of the country. Religious and social reformers like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahadev Govinda Ranade, N.G.Chandravarkar and Maharishi D.K.Karve highly appreciated the work of Veresalingam. His fame spread abroad. Miss Manning of the United Kingdom left 50 in her will for the widow home of Veresalingam. The government in appreciation of his work conferred on him the title of 'Rao Bahadur' in 1893. Highest recognition from the people came when he presided over the Indian social reform congress held at Madras in 1898. In this meeting Mahadev Govinda Ranade acclaimed Veresalingam as 'Iswar Chandra Vidya Sagar of the south'.

In 1899, Veresalingam was appointed as the first Telugu Pandit in the presidency college, Madras. He retired from the position in 1904 and returned to his native town Rajahmundry. After his retirement he continued his work by establishing a Rescue Home (vitantu Saranalayam) for widows and an orphanage. On 15 December 1905, he established Hitakarani Samajam to run the institution he had established Hitakarani Samajam to run the institutions he had established. On 2 may 1908, he got the Samajam registered and endowed it with all his property worth about Rs. 50,000.

He died on 27 may 1919 at Madras. His contributions to social reform, specifically to causes such as widow remarriage, are well-remembered in Andhra Pradesh. Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu had done in South India, what Raja Rammohan Roy had done in North India. In this way he is as considered Raja Rammohan Roy of South India.

End Notes

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF RAYADURGA RAJYA UNDER THE RAYAS OF VIJAYANAGARA –AS DEPICATED IN INSCRIPTIONS

E. Sreedhar

Historical geography is the study of geography based on Historical data. For the purpose of effective and easy administration, the ruler's divided the Empire into major as well as minor administrative units in a hierarchical order. However, the exact extent of these divisions is not known. The study and identification of the administrative divisions referred to in the inscriptional records of a particular territory should reveal the approximate extent of that territory.

The Vijayanagara Empire is divided into many provinces. The term used for the province during the Vijayanagara period is Rajya.. They were located in strategic places. These Rajyas comprising many subdivisions which in turn contained smaller units. There were 12 Rajyas covering the Telugu linguistic region of Vijayanagara empire. Among them Rayadurga Rajya is one which extended from 1428 to 1584 A.D, which covers the four Dynasties of Vijayanagara.

The present paper deals with the historical geography of all the administrative divisions that flourished within the jurisdiction of the Rayadurga Rajya during the Rayas of Vijayanagara and identified with their modern parallels as accurately as possible. Data are drawn from the epigraphical sources.

Rayadurgam was the important hill fort during the Vijayanagara period. As the very name suggests it had a fort built by a king (Raya). It is said that Rayadurga was a stronghold of bedars (Boya palegars) whose disorderly conduct compelled the Vijayanagara kings to send an officer named Bhupatiraya to reduce them to submission. He turned them out of the place and ruled it himself and the hill was thus called Bhupatirayanikonda¹(Rayadurga) after him. The earliest reference to the Vijayanagara rule over Rayadurgam found in an inscription dated 1428 A.D. In addition to being the capital of Rajya, it was also the head quarters of Sima, Chavadi,, Nadu. Sthala, Vente.

Territorial appellations :

I Administrative Divisions of Rayadurga Rajya under Sangama Dynasty.

1. RAYADURGA SIMA

An inscription dated 1428² A.D, during the reign refers this Division. It refers that the village Setturu was situated in Rayadurga Sima. The chief town of this division is identical with modern Rayadurga, the Headquarter of the same Mandal. The inscriptional village Setturu is identical with modern Settur, the headquarters of the same Mandal. Hence this division consists of the regions of modern Rayadurgam, Settur Mandals (some parts of Western portions of Anantapur District.)

II Administrative Divisions of Rayadurga Rajya under Saluva Dynasty.

1. RAYADURGACHAVADI

An inscription from Agali dated 1497 A.D.³. Records that the village Paliganahalli was situated in Agali sthala in Rayadurga Chavadi. The inscriptional village Paliganahalli is identical with modern Pillenahalli in Gudibanda Mandal. The chief town of the sub division Agali is identifiable with modern Agali. The chief town of this division is identical with modern Rayadurga, the Headquarter of the same Mandal Hence this division comprised the region of Gudibanda, Agali and Rayadurga Mandals in Anantapur district.

2. RAYADURGA STHALA.

An inscription from Ramapuram dated 1485 A.D.⁴. Records the grant of the land in Agali village in the Rayadurga sthala. Inscriptional village is identical with modern Agali, Headquarters of Mandal. The find spot of the inscription is in Kambadur mandal.. The chief town of this division is identical with modern Rayadurgam, the Headquarter of the same Mandal. Hence this division comprised the region of Agali, Kambaduru and Rayadurga Mandals of Anantapur district.

III. Administrative Divisions of Rayadurga Rajya under Tuluva Dynasty.

1. BUDIGUMMA STHALA:

An inscription from Budigumma dated 1537A.D⁵ registers the grant of the village Maredumanipalle alias Hanumanthapuram in Budigumma sthalam in Kundurpi sima included in Rayadurga. The grant village is not identified in the modern context. However the find spot of the inscription and the chief town of this division Budigumma is in modern Belaguppa Mandal in Anantapur district and hence this division can be identified with the region around the Belaguppa Mandal in Anantapur district.

2. KUGARI NADU:

An inscription from Bhairasamudram dated 1522A.D⁶ registers that the village Bhairasamudram was situated in Kugari Nadu, a subdivision of Kundurpi sima in Rayadurgam. The inscripational village Bhairasamudram is identified as modern Bhairasamudram in Brahmasamudram Mandal. The chief town of this division Kugari, however, cannot be identified on a modern map and hence it can be presumed that this division corresponded to the region around Brahmasamudra Mandal of Anantapur district.

3. KUNDURPI SIMA:

This Division is mentioned in couple of inscriptions. One inscription from Bhairasamudram dated 1522 A.D⁷ and another inscription from Budigumma dated 1537A.D⁸. It consist of two subdivisions namely Kugarinadu and Bhudigumma Sthalam. The chief town of this division Kundurpi is identical with modern Kundurpi, headquarters of the mandal. On the basis of the identification of the said subdivisions in the modern context, this division formed with regions of Kundurpi, Brahmasamudra, Belaguppa Mandals of Anantapur district.

4. RAYADURGA NADU:

An inscription from Chyabala, dated 1556 AD⁹ records that the Agrahara Tavaregala was situated in Urvakonda, a division of Rayadurga nadu. The Agrahara village Taveragala cannot be identified on a modern Map. However, the find spot of the inscription is identical with Chabala in Vajarakarur Mandal. The Headquarters of the subdivision, Uravakonda is identified with modern Uravakonda, headquarter of the Mandal. The chief town of this division is identical with modern Rayadurgam, the Headquarter of the same Mandal. Hence this division corresponded

to the region Rayadurga, Uravakonda and Vajarakarur Mandals in Anantapur district.

5. RAYADURGA RAJYA

This division was mentioned in the inscriptions of Sri Krishnadevaraya onwards¹⁰ Three inscriptions i.e. one dated 1522A.D From Bhairasamudram¹¹, another inscription dated 1537A.D. From Budigumma¹² last inscription from Chinnahotturu dated 1556A.D¹³ Mentions this Division. It consisting four subdivisions namely Kugari Nadu, Budigumma Sthalamu, Kundurpi Sima and Uravakonda Venthya

On the basis of the identification of the said subdivisions in the modern context, this division formed with the regions of Kundurpi, Brahmasamudra, Belaguppa, Vajarakarur, Uravakonda and Rayadurgam Mandals of Anantapur district.

6. RAYADURGA SIMA:

An inscription dated 1556A.D. from Kanekal¹⁴ records that the village Kaniyakallu was situated in Rayadurga sima. The grant village is identical with modern Kanekal, Kanekal Mandal in Anantapur district. Another inscription dated 1556A.D From Kudluru¹⁵ Records that the Kudluru comprising of the villages Katepalle and Muddalapuram was situated in Rayadurga sima. The inscripational villages are not identified in the modern context. However the find spot of the inscription Kudluru is identical with modern Kuduluru in D.Hirehal Mandal, Anantapur district. An inscription dated 1556A.D From Rayadurga¹⁶ Records that the village Baginayanipalle to the north of Rayadurga Venthiam was situated in the Rayadurga sima. The village Baginayanipalle is identical with modern Baginayakanahalli in Rayadurga Mandal.

On the basis of the identification of the inscripational villages in the modern context, this division can be identified with the regions of Kanekal, D.Hirehal and Rayadurgam Mandals of Anantapur district.

7. RAYADURGA VENTHE

One inscription from Ragulapadu dated 1554 A.D¹⁷ and another inscription from Pennahobilam dated 1556A.D¹⁸ Mentions this division. It consist the major subdivision namely Uravakonda Sima. On the basis of the

identification of the inscriptional villages in the said subdivision in the modern context, this division formed with the regions of Kanekal, Belaguppe, Garladinna, Kuderu, Vajrakarur, Uravakonda mandals of Anantapur district

8. URAVAKONDA SIMA:

An inscription from Ragulapadu dated 1554 A.D.¹⁹ records that the village Ranganahalu was situated in the Uravakonda sima, a subdivision of Rayadurga Venthe in the district of Mudanadu in the Hastinavathi Valitha. The village Raganaholu is identical with modern Ragulapadu, Vajrakarur Mandal in Anantapur district. Another inscription from Pennahobilam dated 1556 A.D.²⁰ records the villages included in this division are Anadale, Nimbegolu, Rayanahalli, Tavaregala, Chikapepali, Thimmapura, Hoturu, Benakanahalli, Antarasanahalu and Kamalahalli, which are identical with modern Bennikal, Thumbiganur in Kanekal Mandal; Yerragudi in Bellaguppa Mandal, Sirivaram in Garladinne Mandal, Thimmapura in Kuderu Mandal, Chinna hotturu, Kamalapadu, Ragulepudu in Vajrakarur Mandal; Nimbegallu, Rayanapalle in Uravakonda Mandal of Anantapur district.

On the basis of the identification of the inscriptional place names in the modern context, this division formed with the regions of Kanekal Belaguppa, Vajrakarur, Garladinna, Kuderu and Uravakonda Mandals of Anantapur district.

9. URAVAKONDA VENTHE

An inscription from Chinnahoturu dated 1556 A.D.²¹ records that the village Pinahoturu was situated in the Uravakonda Venthya, a subdivision of Rayadurga Rajya. The village Pinahoturu is identical with modern Chinnahoturu in Vajrakaruru Mandal. The chief town of this division Uravakonda is identical with modern Uravakonda, head quarter of the same Mandal. On the basis of the identification of the inscription place name, this division consists of the regions of Vajrakaruru, Uravakonda Mandals of Anantapur district.

IV. Administrative Divisions of Rayadurga Rajya under Aravidu Dynasty.

1. AGALI SIMA

An inscription from Ratnagiri dated 1586 A.D.²² refers the village Bhuttenahalli in

Ratnagiri sthala, situated in Agali sima, a subdivision of Rayadurga rajya. The inscriptional village Bhuttenahalli is identical with modern Bullenahall in Amarapuramu mandal. The chief town of the subdivision Ratnagiri is identical with the same name in Rolla mandal. An inscription dt1604 A.D. from Ravudi²³ records that the village Ravidi was situated in Madhuvidi sthala in Agali sima, a subdivision of Rayadurga venthe. The village Ravidi is identical with modern Ravudi in Agali Mandal. The chief town of the subdivision Madhuvidi is identical with modern Madhudi in Agali

The Head quarters of this division Agali is identical with the same name. Hence this division identified with the region around Agali, Amarapuramu, Rolla, mandals of Anantapur district.

2 RAYADURGA RAJYAMU

This division was mentioned in two inscriptions of Sri Rangadevaraya. One dated 1584 A.D. From Srirangapuram²⁴ Another inscription From Ratnagiri²⁵ it consisting two subdivisions namely Veparala Venthe, and Agali Sima. On the basis of the identification of the said subdivisions in the modern context, this division formed with the regions of Rolla, Amarapuramu, Agali, Belaguppa and ,Rayadurgam Mandals of Anantapur district.

3. RAYADURGA VENTHE

One inscription from Ravudi dated 1604 A.D.²⁶ and another inscription from Kodihalli during the reign of Srirangadevaraya²⁷ Mentions this division. It consist Two subdivisions namely Sirenadu Sima and Agali Sima. On the basis of the identification of the inscriptional villages in the said subdivision in the modern context, this division formed with the regions of Agali and Rolla mandals in Anantapur district and some parts of Sira taluk of Tumkur district of Karnataka State.

4. SIRE NADU SIMA:

An inscription during the reign of Srirangadevaraya from Kodihalli ²⁸ records that the village Kodihalli was situated in Role sthala in the Agali Sthala in the Sire nadu sima belonging to the Rayadurga venthe. The inscriptional village kodihalli is identical with modern Kodihalli in Agali Mandal. The chief

town of sub divisions of Agali sthala and Rolla Sthala can be identified with modern Rolla and Agali in Anantapur district. The chief town of this division Sire is identical with modern Sira in Tumkur district. Hence this division comprises the regions around Rolla and Agali Mandals in Anantapur district and some parts of Sira taluk of Tumkur district of Karnataka State..

5. URAVAKONDA SIMA

An inscription dt1636 A.D. from Narimettla²⁹ records that the village of Narimetta was situated in the Uravakonda sima. The inscriptional village Narimetta is identical with modern Narimetta in Gooty mandal. The name of the chief town of this division Uravakonda is identical with modern Uravakonda, Hence ,this division consists of the regions of Gooty and Uravakonda Mandals in Anantapur district.

6. VEPARALA VENTHE

An inscription from Srirangapuram³⁰ records that the village of Eragudi was situated in the Veparala Venthe, a subdivision of Rayadurga rajya. The chief town of this division, Veparala is identical with modern Veparala in Rayadurga Mandal. The inscriptional Village Eragudi and find spot of inscriptions is identified with Yerragudi and Srirangapuram in Belaguppa Mandal. Hence this division in identified with the regions around Belaguppa and Rayadurga Mandals.

On the basis of identification of the administrative divisions in the present context, the jurisdiction of the Rayadurga Division during Sangama period extended over the regions of present Rayadurgam and Setturu mandals of Anantapur district. During Saluva period extended over the regions of present Gudibanda, Agali, Kambaduru, Rayadurgam mandals of Anantapur district. **During Tuluva period extended** over the regions of present D.Hirehal, Kanekal, Rayadurgam, Kundurpi, Brahma samedram, Belaguppa, Kuderu, Garladinne Uravakonda, Vajrakarur mandals of Anantapur district. i.e. **Entire western and Northern portion of Anantapur district.** During Araviti period extended over the regions of present Agali, Rolla, Amarapuramu, Rayadurga, Beluguppa, Uravakonda and Gotty mandals of Anantapur district. i.e. some parts of South West, western and Northern portion of Anantapur district and some parts of Sira taluk of Tumkur District of Karnataka state.

South Eastern part of Anantapur district, which was constituted as a part of Rayadurga Division during Saluva period, made a part of Nidigallu Rajya during Tuluva period and a part of Penukonda Rajya during Araviti period. It shows that territorial Adjustment was done while taking into consideration of the Administrative necessities.

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AN APPRAISAL ON THE MANY FACES OF GANDHIAN 'VIOLENCE'

Sreevidhya Vattarambath

About the relevance of Mahatma Gandhi in the 21st century, Raghunaanth Mashelkar once said that it is*"not just mere a collection of thoughts. Collectively it is the road map or the way of life, it is the anchor for a youngster in search of inspiration"*. The Gandhian technique of mobilizing people has been successfully employed by many oppressed societies around the world under the leadership of persons like Martin Luther in United States, Nelson Mandela in South Africa and many others.

Even though he adopted nonviolence as his weapon, it was the violation of the existing situations, which itself is 'violence'. His life itself is thus 'violence' in the sense that he curtailed all the existing dogmas of life and he tried to practice whatever he thought and write and tried to keep all these till death. He worked with in the contradictions and he himself was in conflicts in many times. This paper entitled **An Appraisal on the Many Faces of Gandhian 'Violence'** is an attempt to reread the life, ideas and activities of Mahatma Gandhi in a different angle. An attempt is being made to use his idea of nonviolence in a sense of 'violence'. It also tries to make a critical analysis on some of the contradictory attitude of Gandhi in some mass movements like Khilafat and Noncooperation Movement.

Mahatma Gandhi was an ideal even long after his death. He used tools such as truth and nonviolence for struggling with the existing situations, which itself was "violence". He tried to practice his violence" in a nonviolent way. There are lot of studies on his ideologies and practices, but all these are based on his nonviolent method. The major challenges to Gandhi's theory of non-violence usually come in the form of questions about how a non-violent approach would respond to a particular form of violence. Since Gandhi often explained non-violence with reference to forms of violence, this theory of non-violence cannot be understood apart from his theory of violence. However, as with most of his thought, Gandhi did present his views on violence in a systematic form. On the surface, Gandhi seems to take a contradictory position on violence. On the one hand, Gandhi claims that a world devoid of violence is not possible. On the other hand he often make statements such as " I

object to violence". He said the goal of a non-violence practitioner is to minimize violence by organizing life in ways that emphasize the non-violent aspects of human experience.¹

His life, ideologies and activities are full of *violence*, if examining in deep. His *Hind Swaraj*, which was the fundamental book of his ideologies, itself reflects his ideologies which he practiced throughout his life. It was the seed from this the tree of Gandhian thought has grown to its full stature. He announced his own life mission through this work. It was written in Gujarati and later he himself translated it in to English. It was through this English text that he hoped to use the British race for transmitting his 'mighty message of ahimsa to the rest of the World'.² It was through *Hind Swaraj* that Gandhi first announced his own life mission. To him the meaning of Swaraj was the distinction between Swaraj as self government or quest for home rule or good state and Swaraj as self rule or the quest for self improvement.³ This text he set aside throughout his career as a source of inspiration. Through this, he presents the basic ideas, their proper relationship to one another and announced his own life mission.

The many sides of Gandhian ideologies and practices

Gandhi was, after all, a life-long practitioner of conducting major public conflicts and a profound conflict theorist. He tried to practice all his ideologies in its real sense; but in many times, it will be conflicting with the situations. Sathyagraha and nonviolence were two most important weapons which Gandhiji tried to practice in a 'violent' way ie. by struggling with the existing situations. To him Sathyagraha is a way to purify oneself. It is Gandhi's way of nonviolent activism. Gandhian nonviolence is the domain of his personal creed, convictions or commitments. It was truly a valid license for open mass movement. Gandhi's concept of nonviolence has been democratic influence. Through it, Gandhi propagated and popularized the democratic milieu in Indian society without co-opting in the electoral politics based democracy.⁴ His nonviolence was a democratic way of revolutionary politics in the society like

India. Sathyagraha is Gandhi's technique of nonviolent activism. The term has been variously translated as 'passive resistance', 'non-violent resistance', 'non-violent direct action' and even 'militant non-violence'.⁵ For Gandhi, it was also a way of life, of living in truth.

To many of the Gandhians, Gandhism (Gandhian Ideologies) was communism without violence. Gandhiji was the child of his time. Gandhi has been considered by many as a representative of Bourgeoisies. But he considered the upliftment of the downtrodden and poor sections of the society as his main duty. He raised some valuable ideologies and kept these throughout his life and tried to practice. Really his ideologies were the call for the whole nation to come in to the forefront of a revolution. His ideas of love, truth and justice were great inspirations to the common man which were novel to them. Here we can see the 'many sides' of Mahatma-as he was considered by different sections as their own leader. On the one side the common man and the workforce saw him as their own leader who stood for and justified their cause and on the other side of the middle class intellectuals and bourgeoisie considered him as their leader who stood for their cause. He welcomed the peaceful revolution, which means to introduce changes.

There are lots of examples to be pointed for his call for revolution. When the Ahmadabad Mill Strike was started on February 1928, the intervention of Gandhiji in it was one of the most important examples of his call for peaceful revolution. The way that he used to develop 'Gandhian Trade Unionism' and of the development of labor movement got great attention in every part of the world itself. He introduced a new tactic here - non-violence and also told the strikers not to accept anything free from anyone and he advised them to seek other jobs to feed their family. The mill owners were not ready to bow their head before the strikers and they began to use a divide and rule policy in between the strikers. There happened no change even after 21 days and the strikers were having a feeling that Gandhi was fucking them and they complaint that "Gandhi shahib had no worries to say us to fight till death, but we are the ones who have to starve."⁶ By hearing this Gandhiji proclaimed that he will starve until the employers will continue the strike till compromise is

reached or tell the mill completely This was a shock to the strikers. They didn't expect such an act from Gandhiji and they apologized and showed readiness to continue the strike. Here Gandhi stood not for the cause of his political party, but for the poor labors and all his early strikes were rehearsals to further ones. At the same time EMS Namboodiripad criticized his attitude towards the entering of Indians in the British military at the time of First World War as a bourgeoisie one. He criticized that Gandhi had no guilt to send the poor youth to the war field, while preaching on the horror of nonviolence itself.⁷ Here, a conflict in the ideologies of Gandhi is discernible.

The Khilafat and noncooperation movement which were started jointly by Congress and Khilafat leaders all over India was the first mass movement in India against the British Government. It was the charismatic character of Mahatma Gandhi which made it more popular. This was very much evident at Gorakhpur district in Eastern UP. Shahis Amin pictured this very interestingly thus:

"Gandhi visited the district of Gorakhpur in UP on 8th February 1921, addressed a monster meeting variously estimated at between 1lakh and 2.5 lakh and returned the same evening to Banaras. ...Gandhi, the person, was in this particular locality for less than a day, but the 'Mahatma' as an 'idea' was thought out and reworked in popular imagination in subsequent months".⁸

But this 'deified' image of Gandhi fell down after the rioting at Chauri Chaura in early 1922 and the subsequent withdrawal of the Non Co-operation Movement.

Even before the Chauri chaurra incident, there happened a more violent Rebellion at Southern Malabar in the Madras Presidency as a part of the Khilafat and Non co-operation Movement in 1921 itself which was characterized by the British authorities as Mappila Rebellion and others as Malabar Rebellion of 1921. It was started as a violent action against the Jenmies and the British authorities by the Mappila peasants of the area, but it turned to become more violent and the life of thousands of people lost their life and a reign of terror was established in the area for long. The brutalities of the Rebels and the police caused the

life of the people in the region more horrible for long. But Gandhi was silent when all these cruel incident had taken place and he was not ready to disburse the Khilafat and Non co-operation Movement. Instead he also tried to picturise it as 'an action of a group of Mappilas against the Hindu brethren and he described the Rebellion as an act of 'Moplah madness'.⁹ When the Rebellion broke out, the Congress leaders kept away from the area because of the deviation to the Khilafat Movement from a nonviolent path into a violent one. They considered the armed struggle of the Mappilas as a violation of the principles of nonviolent non co-operation.¹⁰ Even C. Rajagopalachari, the congress leader, condemned the uprising as a 'mad outburst with terrible consequences'.¹¹

Even after this horrible incidents, Congress and Gandhi, whose 'deified' image caused for the popularity of this movement, were not ready to withdraw this movement and they ignored the pathetic condition of the people of the rebel area. There arouse some questions like what was the main reason for such a deviation of the movement from a nonviolent path into a violent one? Why Gandhi didn't withdraw this movement even after the violation of his principle? The Congress really ignored the inability of the poor Mappilas¹² of Malabar to understand the value and meaning of

nonviolence. Without giving them adequate training in nonviolence that Congress and Gandhi dragged them into the Khilafat and Non co-operation Movement. In real sense, even Congress itself has not imbibed the principle of non-violence. Then how could they impart it on others? Congress and Gandhi faced more criticisms in response to the suspension of Non co-operation Movement on its very crucial period on February 1922 following the Chauri chaura incident. Even congressmen criticized the decision of Gandhiji. Moozhikkunnath Brahmadathan Namboodirippad, who was a Congress leader and a victim of police repression, remarked that "if Gandhiji had taken the same stand that he took in the Chauri Chaura incident, the Malabar Rebellion would have been ended at the starting point itself".¹³ Gandhiji himself agreed that he did a blunder in connection with the Rebellion. . While cancelling the Non co-operation movement, he commended that "the Malabar Rebellion was a warning to me, but ignored it.

Now, that warning has been reiterated".¹⁴ He was not having any doubt that the police at Chaurichaura created provocations. Even the incident was happened due to this,he was not ready to mitigate. He had no doubt that such incidents will repeat again and thus he had withdrawn the movement.

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PROHIBITION POLICY UNDER D.M.K. GOVERNMENT

Dr.S. Srinivasan

Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam came to power in Tamil Nadu. Under the Chief-Ministership of C.N. Annadurai in 1967. In 1968, C.N. Annadurai visited the neighbouring states along with Kamaraj. He offered Satyagraha, if necessary to implement prohibition of Tamil Nadu to the interest of the younger generation. He added, that he did not want his son to see the ugly scenes of drunken street which existed frequently among the youth. He was the chairman of the reception committee for the fourth All India Prohibition Conference at Madras 1968.¹ The Fourth All India Prohibition Conference placed on record its warm appreciation to the establishment of the National Committee in the name of Gandhi's centenary birthday celebration. The President of India, the Vice President of India and the Prime Minister of India, were the participants of the conference. They are confident that it would organize the celebration in a truly befitting manner throughout the country.

C.N. Annadurai government passed the Madras Prohibition (Amendment) Act 1967 amended section 21-A of the Madras Prohibition Act 1937 (Madras Act x of 1937) so as to increase the rates of sales tax on the foreign liquor to permit holders from fifty paise to seventy five paise per rupee.³ The Madras Prohibition Act of 1937 was amended in 1952 during Rajaji's second ministry provide for levy of sales tax in the rate of eight anna per rupee or at any rate that the state government.

Prohibition continued to be in force throughout the state of Tamil Nadu during Annadurai's rule; the overall administration of the Tamil Nadu Prohibition Act, the Dangerous Drugs Act and the Medicinal and Toilet Preparation (Excise Duties) Act, etc. was vested with the board of revenue to attend to the supervision and checking of the various types of licenses and permits. Under the Tamil Nadu Prohibition Act, Opinion Act and the proper realization of the revenue occurring thereunder.⁴

The rules framed by the State Government under the spirituous preparation (Inter State Trade and Commerce) Control Act, 1955 the notification issued under section 16 of the

Madras Prohibition Act, 1937 the Madras spirituous Essence Act Rules. 1959 the Madras Denatured Spirits Methyl Alcohol and Varnish (French Polish) Rules, 1959 were in operation.⁵ The Director / Assistant Director of the Government of India / Tourist Office were authorized to issue tourist / temporary permits for a period of three months at a time.

There were 31 licenses in from F.L.I. for the sale of bottled liquor to permit holders and clubs and 13 from F.L. 3 licences for possession of foreign tourists and Indian made foreign spirits in hotels run on western style for supply to foreign tourists and resident foreigners holding liquor permits and staying in the hotels. Indents for the supply of ganja to licences for the manufacture of medicinal preparations were continued to be met from the confiscated stock stored at the excise and prohibition wing of the Tamilnadu Forensic Science Laboratory.⁶ Though Government of Tamil Nadu did not get aid from the centre, Annadurai was keen in enforcing prohibition laws. The Congress Governments in Tamil Nadu (T. Prakasam, P.S. Kumarasamy Raja, Rajaji, Kamaraj, and Bhakthavachalam) also did not get any aid from the centre to compensate the loss of revenue by the introduction of Prohibition.

Prohibition under Karunandhi 1969-1976

After the sudden demise of Annadurai in February 1969, M. Karunandhi became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. He held office from 1969 to 1976 until his ministry was dismissed by the Central Government.

In the beginning he continued the policy of Prohibition. Then he wanted to relax it. He said that the various state of Indian union had one by one gradually given up the policy of Prohibition had gradually withered away in the southern states of Mysore, Andhra, Kerala, and nearby Pondicherry. Surrounded as it was by "wet" states, Tamil Nadu found it difficult to enforce Prohibition. This difficulty was further enhanced by severe constraints in resources.

The government of Tamil Nadu appealed to the centre that either Prohibition should be implemented as a national policy all over the

country, or in the alternative, the Tamil Nadu Government should be reimbursed the loss in revenue consequent on the enforcement of Prohibition. It was therefore with the deepest regret that, notwithstanding his deep faith in the essential validity of Prohibition, he had to announce the government's decision to suspend, with effect from 30th August, 1971 enforcement of Prohibition laws in the state till such time as the Central Government came forward to enforce it as a national policy all over the country.⁷

Karunanidhi wanted to implement Prohibition effectively and vigorously, but he wanted the Union Government to compensate the loss of Rs. 40 crores per annum on account of Prohibition. The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi replied that the centre was unable to do so.⁸

Acute financial stringency forced the Government to suspend Prohibition. In 1971 there was a deficit of Rs. 76 millions. In order to meet the deficiency M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, scrapped Prohibition straight away in the place of Prohibition law and the Abkari Act 1886 came into effect.⁹

In the statement of objects and reasons in the Assembly the Chief Minister said that the Abkari Act 1886 was enacted a century ago, and the Government proposed to bring forward comprehensive legislation in due course after ascertaining the position in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Kerala and Pondicherry.¹⁰

The enforcement of Prohibition laws was suspended in the state of Tamil Nadu with effect from 30th August, 1971 by the Tamil Nadu Prohibition suspension of operation Act, 1971 (Tamil Nadu Act 33 of 1971). This Act suspended operation of the Prohibition Act only in so far as it related to liquor; its provisions continued to be effective in regard to intoxicating drugs.

The Tamil Nadu excise Act, 1971 (Tamil Nadu Act 34, of 1971) was enacted to amend the law relating to the production manufacture, possession import, export, transport, purchase and sale of liquor in the state of Tamilnadu.¹¹

After the removal of Prohibition on August 30, 1971 the total revenue of the state increased. The total revenue for the year 1971-72, was 40,034.34 lakhs as against as 37,740.48 lakhs

anticipated in the revised estimate for that year showing an increase of Rs.1,817.86 lakhs. Thus there was a surplus of Rs. 649.95 lakhs in the revenue account as against Rs. 174.25 lakhs anticipated in the revised estimate for 1971-72 and also according to the budget estimate for 1972-73, the revenue account was expected to close with a surplus of Rs. 249.23 lakhs.¹²

The auction of over 10,000 toddy and arrack shops during May 1972 had brought a total income of over Rs. 16 crores for the seven month period in a full year and the income was bound to much more than that besides the toddy and arrack shops the number of wine shops too were being increased. When the government decided to allow bars to be opened in big hotels. They too would be an additional source of income.¹³

Agitation Against Karunanidhi's Policy

A strong agitation was building against the decision of the Tamil Nadu Government to re-open the toddy and arrack shops that remained closed for more than twenty years. K. Kamaraj, Kakkann and other leaders of the congress had declared their total support to this agitation. Yet Kamaraj thought that this agitation should not be taken up as an agitation by a political party but should be headed by the Sarvodaya Sangham.

When unitary decision on lifting prohibition was taken, Rajaji told that the steps taken by the government might be wrong from a political point of view. In all their political activities the political parties in the opposition should engage themselves both from a sense of justice and righteousness. Lifting prohibition was not only an unjust act: it was a step taken legally by a government.

Therefore the political parties which considered the Government's move a wrong one had the right to oppose the government's move by all possible means. It was their duty as well. No political party need hesitated or fought shy in opposing the government publicly not only from a moral point of view but also from a political point of view.

Rajaji further stated that not only enough members of the DMK party supported the Government due to party discipline, all people in the country opposed this move. This was not a measure to be governed by the consideration

that it would contribute to the government's treasury, when thousands of toddy and arrack shops were opened, these were adding to the crimes to be investigated by the police. The government's expenditure would go up on this count. Everyone knew the evils that would accrue to the poor because of drinking opening a large department to cause sufferings to lakhs of poor. People would not be considered as good government.

It could not be called a socialist measure. It would be an enormous act of injustice to open thousands of toddy shops that tempt people to patronize them all because a few persons violated the law and went in for illicit liquor. These shops were going to rob the poor of their paltry income and corrupt their minds. Kakkan, congress leader, permitted the congress man to take part in the struggle against the repeal of the prohibition law. Rajaji said that such a permission should be deemed as an order congressman of the old congress should participate in this struggle openly and passionately All Congress supporters acclaimed Rajaji's call.¹⁵

When prohibition suspension legislation was introduced in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly T.N. Ananthanayaki (Congress party member) told that the government was passing a prohibition suspension legislation affecting crores of people. The law makers must give thought to it. After drinking liquor, the drunkards would indulge in mindless and violent acts such persons should be punished sternly. The drinking habit would head to a situation where women and children were beaten up in their homes. This problem was going to undermine the very basis of society. The Government should not consider this as a matter of revenue but a matter that affected society. When the Government passed a number of disciplinary measures, they should see to it that unnecessary demonstration, violent attack on women were put down with a firm hand. The government should view the problem with concern, the problem was not one of revenue to the government, but one that affected society deeply. The Government success would depend upon the extent to which they viewed the problem

from society's point of view. Therefore the Government should drop the idea of scratching prohibition.¹⁶ Dr. H.V. Hande, another member of the legislative assembly, opposed the bill to scratch prohibition with all the emphasis at his comment on two distinct grounds: Firstly, on the ground of morality it was a well known fact that the prohibition policy had been effective in the state. Even after 1967, during the period of Annadurai, it was going on well. When several incidents like deaths due to drinking Varnish were brought to the notice of Annadurai and a suggestion was made that the prohibition policy should be reviewed, Annadurai said; "I am not going to revoke Prohibition Act and I am not going to bring Abkari Act. I would try to plug the loopholes and not completely do away with the Act."¹⁷

Then H.V. Hande came to the constitutional propriety. There had been a very serious constitutional impropriety in bringing this bill. This was a very serious matter in which H.V. Hande would request the law minister to give careful consideration there was not a single incident in any part of the world where a repealed act was revived without any statutory authority.¹⁸

The DMK government under the Chief Ministership of C.N. Annadurai even though not wedded to the ideology of the congress party, continued the policy of prohibition. Chief Minister Annadurai even participated actively in the Fourth All India Prohibition Conference. But his successor Chief Minister Karunanidhi questioned the wisdom of this prohibition tradition and favoured earning revenue from selling liquor. Thus tempted by financial consideration, Karunanidhi suspended prohibition in Tamil Nadu in August 1971. However three years later he was compelled to reintroduce prohibition because of the able and active opposition of the congress party under the leadership of Rajaji. Thus congress party had the unique distinction of introducing a novel social legislation relating to prohibition. Such kind of moral and legal restraints on liquor habits of the Tamil people also enriched the cultural heritage of the Tamils.

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GEORGE JOSEPH: A PIONEER FIGHTER OF CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT IN MADURAI REGION AND INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN MADURAI

J. Stella

During the late 1970s and early 80s, subaltern historiography emerged as an alternative to the nationalist, Marxist and colonial historiography, accusing the latter of robbing the common people of their agency. However, within the nationalist historiography there were attempts to marginalize nationalists owing to religious reasons. One such marginalized person was George Joseph (1887-1938), who was always seen as a Christian nationalist. A multifaceted personality, he was a famous lawyer, journalist, a trade unionist, a champion of subaltern, and Indian Freedom Struggle.

CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT¹

George Joseph's main contribution was against the disciplinary powers of Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, by which members of the criminal tribes had their fingerprints taken and their mobility restricted. Under Section 10(a) of the Act, hours were fixed for them to report to the police every night between 11 p.m. to 4 a.m. stayed in the station.

KALLARS' RIOT AT MADURAI²

At this juncture, in the year 1919-20, about 1,400 Kallars were brought under Section. 10 (a) of the Act. The hours fixed were 11 p.m. to 4 a.m., which compelled them to sleep at the police station every day. This made life difficult for the Kallars and the women in the community had no safety. In the meantime, on 3rd April, 1920, the

Piramalai Kallars rioted in Perunkammanallur sixteen members were shot dead by the British Officials to suppress the riot in Madurai region and a subsequent official enquiry at which George Joseph was present directed that Section 10(a) be applied more sparingly in future. Representations made by him and others resulted in a more humane approach by the government against these communities. His 1936 - diary contains entries regarding visits by delegations of Kallars who had come to him for advice on various issues. Perunkammanallur tragedy martyres memorial was laid by Usillampatti Priranmalai Kallar State federation at Perunmammanallur unveiled by Thiru. R. Muthaiah, then the former Member of Tamil Nadu State Assembly on 19.09.1992 and every year leaders of the same community and other political party leaders salute the great martyred and remembered their sacrifice for the social cause. The sixteen martyrs of Perunkammanallur are Thiru. C. Mayandi Thevar. Thiru. C. Periya Karuppath Thevar, Thiru. S. Virumondith Thevar. Thiru.P. Sivankalaith Thevar, Thiru A. Periyandith Thevar, Thiru. S. Muthukaruppath Thevar, Thiru. P. Chinnath Thevar, Thiru. S. Mayandith Thevar, Thiru. S. Mayandith Thevar, Thiru.P. Udayath Thevar. Thiru. U. Chinnamayath Thevar, Thiru. M. Periyakaruppath Thevar, Thiru. N. Veeranath Thevar. Thiru U. Muththaiah Thevar, Thiru.P. Veerath Thevar, Thirumathi P. Mayakkal.³ Among the 16, Mrs. P. Mayakkaal was the only

lady, who died for the social cause which made it clear that women were also took part in public meetings and ready to sacrifice their life for nation.

HOME RULE MOVEMENT

In 1916, Lucknow pact created a new hope in the minds of the Indian masses. The Home Rule leaders wanted to make awareness in the minds of the common people about the importance of the pact. George Joseph became an ardent supporter of the demand for self-government. In Madurai, George Joseph started a campaign to secure the support of the people towards the Lucknow Pact. George Joseph had a key role in organizing this movement in Madurai. As per an order issued by the British government on 7th June 1917, Mrs. Annie Besant and other leaders of the Home Rule League were banned from visiting urban centers' like Madras and Madurai. The British government also prohibited students from attending any Home Rule League agitation. George Joseph condemned all such actions of the government through various meetings held in Madurai. On 25th June 1917, a meeting was organized by the members of the Home Rule League including George Joseph in Madurai, in which he made an eloquent speech demanding the release of Annie Besant.⁴ Madurai became a major centre of the Home Rule Movement and consequent agitations. Another meeting was held in Madurai in February 1918, in which George Joseph commented that for achieving Home Rule, people should agitate within India and he also recommended for sending representatives to England for demanding self government to India.⁵

POLITICAL ENTRY

In the meantime, there was a severe famine and unemployment followed by the war created turmoil in the Indian society which created a wider scope for the Indian struggle for freedom from Imperial Britain. In order to curtail the growing agitation, the British brought out a new act known as Rowlatt Act. On 10th December 1917, the British Government appointed a Sedition Committee headed by Sydney Rowlatt, to investigate the growing revolutionary movement and agitations against the British. Gandhi could invite several supporters from different parts of India. On 22nd March 1919,

George Joseph was invited to meet with Gandhiji in Madras on the Marina beach at the propagation to his civil disobedience movement and also to exhort the people to observe a hartal on 6th April, 1919 to protest against the Rowlatt Act, which made him a great impact on George Joseph.⁷ C.Rajagopalachari, Sarojini Naidu and T.Satyamurti were also invited by Gandhi.⁸ George Joseph drew much inspiration from Gandhi, brought out crucial changes in him. On the day of hartal George Joseph provided an active leadership to the programmes and activities in Madurai. He asked the people to boycott all work on that day and to take fast and do prayers. The people of Madurai took this direction seriously and provided their full support for the peaceful carrying out of the hartal, George Joseph and his associates spread the messages given by Gandhiji among the common masses. He stressed the importance of non-violence and self-restraint and the hartal day was more peaceful without any violent action.⁹ Later, Gandhi came to Madurai on March 26, 1919, and stayed at the residence of George Joseph, who played a leading role in organizing a public meeting for Gandhi in Madurai on March 29, 1919, in which 20,000 people were attended with great enthusiasm.

PROTEST AGAINST ROWLETT ACT AT MADURAI

On April 5, 1919, Joseph organized a huge procession in Madurai. At the meeting, he appealed to the people to stop work and observe fast the next day. This was translated into rebellious action by a large section of people and all shops remained closed on April 6, 1919. Joseph became the trusted lieutenant of Gandhi in Madurai from that moment. They were administered the 'Satyagraha pledge' as an act of resistance to the Rowlatt Act. A resolution was passed at this meeting to the effect that the people of Madurai were fully prepared to observe a hartal on April 6, 1919. During this time George Joseph was immersed in Home Rule activities drive him to involved in Non - Co-operation Movement and Satyagraha Movement and its principles of non violence brought a new thinking into the mind of George Joseph.¹⁰ He himself involved in boycotting foreign goods and set fire it renounced his western life style and entered into the political arena of India. At that juncture George Joseph was having a lucrative

legal practice but Mahatma's call pushed him into the mainstream of national movement. Both together decided to leave all comforts in life and set out for Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad, where they started the actual political life in a total Gandhian perspective. After leaving Madurai, Joseph and family reached Sabarmathi Ashram (hermitage). They were attracted by the simple life at the Satyagraha Ashram at Kochrab and later at Sabarmati.

They started their political career from Sabarmati after embracing the call of Mahatma, George Joseph started his political career as an integral part of the national struggle for freedom. The simple life in Sabarmati Ashram was a new experience for George Joseph and Susannah Joseph, where they stayed for a short period.¹¹ Life in the Ashram made them to have contacts with numerous national leaders. Meetings with some eminent leaders stimulated the urge of George Joseph for his entry into the national struggle.¹² Joseph's enthusiasm and spirit for national freedom created a strong impression among some of the national leaders like Motilal. Joseph was invited to edit the newspaper 'The Independent', started by Motilal Nehru.

ENTRY INTO NATIONAL POLITICS AS A JOURNALIST

In February 1920, Motilal Nehru made Joseph the Editor of 'The Independent' newspaper in Allahabad. During this time, Joseph was arrested with members of the Nehru family on the charge of sedition on December 6, 1921. On September 27, 1923, he assumed the editorship of Gandhi's 'Young India' from Rajaji. The tenure lasted for about six months. Motilal Nehru chose Barrister George Joseph to edit his paper. In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, Motilal had written thus "*I think you had, better get Joseph for your editorship*".¹³ In another letter to Jawahar, he had pointed out that *he was dissatisfied with the editorship of Ranga Iyer*. He feared that if the paper is continued under him, it would loosen its demand with the public. He also mentioned that Joseph would be a thousand times better than Ranga Iyer.¹⁴ It was Jawaharlal Nehru, who recommended the name of Joseph for the editorship of the Independent. He could find that Joseph is the apt person to chair the editorial post of the paper in such a critical period.¹⁵ Joseph could easily take over the task. He was a strong critic of the activities of the

government. He himself contributed various articles to this paper by severely criticizing the government.

During his editorship, Joseph could acquire close relationship with some important personalities. One among them was R.Venkatraman. He was a South Indian lawyer, Gandhian, and later became the Indian President. Like George Joseph, he too gave up his practice and set out for North India. He became a close friend of George Joseph.

Sadanand was another one who considered himself as the 'adopted' son of George Joseph and Susanna Joseph. The third friend Joseph got from the editorial staff was Mahadev Desai who later became the personal secretary of Gandhiji and wrote the famous book, *The Epic of Travancore*.¹⁶ In a letter to Jawaharlal, Motilal insisted that he should arrange hotel rooms for George Joseph and make him aware of the present situation.¹⁷ George Joseph had to learn well the present situation before taking charge of the editorship to grasp the political circumstances in which the paper was run. He regarded it as a favourable opportunity to criticize the government and its heinous policies and activities. It was a golden chance to attack the British government in a mature manner through his writings and speeches. George Joseph himself contributed such articles showing his anger and distrust towards the Government.¹⁸ The Independent was a true propagator of the ideas of the non-cooperation movement.

On 31st October, George Joseph delivered an inspiring speech on freedom and its relevance. He pointed out the importance of boycotting of government schools and colleges thus, the ultimate aim of all programmes and policies was the achievement of freedom. Freedom was the highest political goal. Only freedom can enable the people to have equality before the law. He added that the citizens should keep an infinite readiness to maintain their freedom.¹⁹ The editorship of the Independent provided him with enough space to express his views against the action of the government. His stay with Gandhiji accelerated the nationalist spirit and the editor of the Independent led to a close relationship between his family and Nehrus' family.

Lord Reading took charge as the Viceroy of India on 2nd April 1921. He was a Jew and had a good career at the Bar. Lord Reading might be a familiar person to George Joseph during his days in London. George Joseph wrote an article in the Independent, entitled 'Terrorism Run Mad', in which he mentioned about Lord Reading as a gentleman, interested only in fair dealings. He was against any kind of violence and as such the post of Viceroy does not suit him much.²⁰ Gandhiji's non co-operation movement was wholeheartedly support of people cause for successful popular movement.

On 6th December, 1921 both Motilal and Jawaharlal were arrested in the congress office at Allahabad with an arrest warrant.²¹ At soon as George Joseph's house was searched by some police officers and completed their search of the house within a few minutes. The officer was so courteous and a gentleman who apologized to Joseph said "you might take your tea Mr. Joseph, our officer want to arrest you also". He put the warrant of arrest under section 17 (b) before George Joseph. He treated it as he was longing for an arrest and accepted it without any hesitance. He left home by saying good bye to Mrs. Joseph and his little daughter. They both left with the same feeling and said good bye to Joseph with a smile.²² He regarded it as his duty to go to the prison for the sake of his own country. Various articles appeared in the Independent gave a severe headache to the British government and curtail the press rights by arresting leaders.

Chief secretary to government, sent letters to George Joseph and C.B.Ranga Iyer dated 11th June 1921 and pointed out attacking action both would be given a chance to express their regret. This letter also demanded promises that they would not repeat such articles which provoke violence, in future. If both accepts these demands, he wrote, no action would be taken with regard to these articles.²³ On 5th July 1921, George Joseph sent a reply to this letter, in which he expressed his gratitude for giving a chance to regret. But he showed his hesitation to accept the warning forwarded by the government "not to publish in future, statements directly or indirectly inciting violence or calculated to create an atmosphere of readiness for violence". He wrote that the articles did not contain any incitement to violence and even if it was otherwise, he told he

would not render his apology in order to purchase freedom from a government with which he would not co-operate. George Joseph again stated that he was pledged to the creed of non violence, and if the passages bore any words which promoted violence, he would certainly have apologised to the public.

TRIAL AGAINST GEORGE JOSEPH

There were mainly two cases against George Joseph. Only about forty people were allowed to attend the trial.²⁴ The first case was to be as printer and publisher of the Independent, where he published an article entitled "*Reception to the prince*" in the issue dated 26th November 1921. He committed the offence of aiding persons to assist in the operations of an unlawful association. The first witness of this case was S. Newby, the superintendent of police. He admitted that he was a subscriber of the Independent and has received a copy of the issue at the 26th November which was containing the article. Joseph kept silence through out the trial and never gave answer to any question. The public prosecutor at last said that the article entitled "Reception to the prince" has a good role in encouraging the people to join in an unlawful organisation.²⁵

The second case charged George Joseph for the publication of the manifesto of the U.P congress committee in the issue of The Independent dated the 6th December, under the heading U.P's answer to Government together with list of signatories to the volunteer's pledge. He assisted in the operation of an unlawful association.²⁶ The government found Joseph guilty of publishing such articles and inciting violence.

RETURN TO SOUTH FOR VAIKKOM TEMPLE ENTRY

As a socially engaged leader, Joseph, after coming to South India, participated in the Vaikom Temple entry struggle in March 1924, much against Gandhi's dislike. Gandhi wrote a letter on April 6, 1924 stated that temple entry was a problem of the Hindus and let them solve it themselves. In his words, "I think that 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 offering Satyagraha."²⁷ Joseph did not look at the

Vaikom struggle as an isolated movement for temple entry but perceived it as a denial of basic Civic Right of free entry to public space for the 'untouchables' and participated in the struggle. In January, 1925, Joseph and his wife returned to

Madurai where they took up Gandhi's constructive programmes, which included promotion of khadi, removal of untouchability and restoration of communal harmony.

End Notes

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HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MAMANDUR – A STUDY

R. Subramanian

Introduction

Mamandur is located between 12.75° and 12.85° of the north latitude and between 79.70° and 79.85° of the east longitude. It is east of Thiruvannamalai District and nearby Kanchipuram, the headquarters of the Kanchipuram District. It's flanked on the north by Arakonam, on the south by Uthiramerur and Vandavasi, on the east by Chengalput west by Arani in Tamilnadu. The Pallava ruler Mahendravarma – I was excavated a cave temple in Mamandur. It is called as second cave of Mahendravarma. So, it is one of the earliest cave temples of Mahendravarma – I. It is faced on east.

The art and architecture of the Pallavas form a very brilliant chapter in the history of South Indian Art. Their productions provided the foundation of Dravidian style.

The Pallavas built large number of temples in Tondaimandalam. Pallava inscriptions describe elaborately about the temples in Kanchipuram. Pallavas were instrumental in the tradition from rock cut architecture to stone temples. Starting with rock cut temples, Pallava sculptors later graduated to free standing structural shrine which inspired Chola temples of later age. Moreover Pallavas were started to draw on honored titles in their inscriptions³.

Almost all the Pallava rulers had made substantial contribution to religion and temple building. These religious institutions stand as testimony to the notable development of art and architecture under the Pallavas.

Mahendravarma – I (580-630 AD) inherited the Pallava throne from his father Simhavishnu and with it a large and settled empire extending from the Krishna river in the north to the Kaveri in the south. He was an

exceptional and unorthodox king, whom Prof. Dubreuil referred to as one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamilian civilization. A many sided and gifted personality, musician, poet, builder and statesman, it was he who called forth the immense flowering of culture and art which would spread all over South India and overflow to other countries of Asia, and finally even survive the decline of his own dynasty and empire⁴.

Mamandur Inscription of Mahendravarma – I :

Mahendravarma is also known as the author of a short play, 'Matavilasaprahasana'. In it, the king criticizes in a humorous yet scornful way, the followers of different religious sects in his capital without sparing any of them. Buddhists, Kapalikas and Pasupatas are ridiculed for their hypocritical devotion and for trying to find scriptural justifications for all their personal weaknesses. It is an interesting little farce, rather free in its spirit. Another play 'Bhagavadajjukam' shows similarity in style and verse and is obviously the work of Mahendra too: both plays are mentioned in the Mamandur inscription as being written by him⁸.

Little would be known about his inclination for the art of painting if it were not for the mutilated inscription in one of his cave temples, the northern Mamandur cave. When studying its fragments it becomes clear what a rare document it would have been had it been intact-full of important and genuine information about Mahendravarma and his time.

"Classifying (the subject) from (an old) kalpa (i.e. work on the subject), he caused to be compiled a commentary (vrttz), called Daksina Cittra (i.e. South Indian art of painting) following strictly the methods and rules laid down for such a work"⁹.

Painting :

Mahendravarman I was famous as a patron of painting. At Sittannavasal, one sees a rock-cut temple very similar in style to the one found at Mamandur and we have specimens of painting fairly clear on the ceiling and fading ones on other parts of the temple. This fresco represents a tank covered with lotuses.... The decoration of the pillars in the facade is well preserved. It consists of lotuses whose blooming stems intertwine with elegance. The two pillars in the

passage are adorned with figures of dancing girls. Dancing as an art, it is permissible to presume, was encouraged by this king, who perhaps wrote or caused to be written a grammar of dancing called Dakshin Chitra¹⁰.

The Mamandur inscription, as far as it is legible, records further that the king was and adept in music too, a fact which is already implied by his biruda 'sankirna jati', meaning expert in the exposition of sankirna or mixed ragas or jatis. (jati was the term for raga in ancient music). The sankirna raga is a mixed raga in which traces of two or more ragas are discernible. As for the fragments on music in the Mamandur inscription, I refer to Dr. Minakshi who says, "The reference to **Orvasai sarva sobhana**'-Orvasi of all round splendor and of 'Gandharva Sastram'-the science of Gandharvas, i.e. music, in the Mamandur inscription of Gunabhara alias Mahendravarman, strengthens our conclusion that the king was an adept in music. The inscription also records his literary achievements, but it is disappointing to note that the portion that speaks of music in details is much damaged. However, from what I am able to make out of the broken sentences, I have no hesitation in stating that herein the king has recorded his composition of the Kudumiyamalai music and his experiments with it on an instrument¹¹.

Mamandur Cave Temple:

The northernmost cave temple in the chain of granite hills is called Mamandur. It is a small, very attractive chapel where a different layout was attempted indicating that by now the Pallava architects were familiar with the techniques and basic plans of Mahendra's rock architecture and ventured further to realize new ideas. They simplicity here is not the austere bareness of Mandagapattu but intentional. The basic idea obviously was to focus attention on the single shrine by projecting it from the back wall of the temple and leaving the space in front of it unobstructed by the otherwise almost obligatory second row of pillars. Thus, a small but well-proportioned empty hall was created. The projection of the shrine is further emphasized by a rounded cornice above and a molded base below; No further ornamentation was needed for this kind of design and even the dvarapalas have been omitted here¹².

Into the southern wall of this hall the inscription by which the temple gained fame is carved. Though badly damaged with big pieces of granite missing here and there indicating that at least part of the mutilation was arbitrary. It is yet a unique document from which much valuable information can be gained.

The façade of the cave temple consists of two pillars and two plain pilasters at either end. The lower sadurams (square) of the pillars are considerably higher than the top ones, the latter looking almost odd in their reduced height. The kattu is between is elongated. Into the top and

bottom sadurams (square) circular lotus medallions in a square framing are carved. The single shrine chamber is excavated well above the level of the hall and entered by the two rock-steps with the semi circular stone (chandra sila) at the bottom. A platform with a square pit is carved from the back wall of the shrine. Traces of old paint and plaster are found all over the walls. The corbels of the pillars, for example, are decorated with painted circular lotuses against a red background, similar to the ceiling patterns in Sittanavasal. The granite of the temple is darkened and eroded and shows arbitrary mutilation in places¹³.

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WOMEN DURING GANGA PERIOD AS REFLECTED IN INSCRIPTIONS

N.C. Sujatha

Introduction

The civilization, culture, education system, of any country are deeply intermingled with the status of women of that dynasty. The country which is more conscious about the all round development of their women are considered to be more progressive one. We are proud to say that from time immemorial India has shown great respect to women.

The concept of a full-fledged Strirājya and the role of queens and royal consorts have been unknown to India from very early times. Ladies as heads of the state and administration have adorned the pages of Indian History.

According to Manu, women should not be allowed to enjoy full freedom or authority. But in practice, she exercised great influence owing to her spirit of service and sacrifice. She was a very important member of the family. As a mother she was responsible for the bringing up of children and as the lady of the house had to look after the

interest of every member. No feast, festival or religious ceremony was complete without her participation. Manu went to the extent of saying that where women are honoured there gods are pleased. Women of the Elite class held important positions. During the Gaṅga period R^ovakanimmadi, daughter of Amoghavarsha and wife of Eregaṅga administered the region of Eḍetore-nāḍu.¹ Būtuga II's queen was in charge of Kurugal.² Śrīpusha's daughter-in-law Kañchiabbe who was the wife of Duggamāra was entrusted with the task of governing the territory of Aḡaḷi.³ One of the queens, Sōviyabbe accompanied her husband to battle, and fell fighting at his side.⁴ Śrīpurusha's queen, Viniyavatin, governed over Malavellur.⁵

Some women of the Elite class were learned in fine arts such as dancing, music and decorative arts.⁶ Princesses generally received good education in literature and arts.

A few were proficient even in medicine, the Dharmaśāstras, in the Science of war, and

exposition of high ethical and philosophical truths.⁷ A few had earned vibhutipatta or a mark of high distinction for erudition and scholarship. We also learn from inscriptions that cultured and educated, women renounced the world and observed Jaina practice of retreat. An inscription from kadur taluk records that Butaga's sister and senior queen of Dorapayya by name Pampabbe made her head bald and performed penance for thirty years observing the Jaina vows.⁸ Many of the Jaina women patronized great poets like Ranna, Ponna and others. According to the *Kāvyaśāra* of Abhinavavidyanandana, Attimabbe of the tenth century got the work.

Dānachintāmani written by Ranna, the greatest poet of the day.⁹ Again the same Attimabbe was responsible for making Ponna, another luminary in Kannada literature, prepare a thousand copies of the *Śānthipurāna*.¹⁰

Thus many women members of the royal family and upper classes earned a high place in society by their interest in education and learning. Many of them endowed lands for religious and charitable purposes. When Nitimārga was the king, the elder sister of the Nolamba made a grant of land of the *Mālavakkaluru* free of all taxes.¹¹ An inscription of Būtuga II states that his queen Galabbe caused a temple to be built and conferred a grant of land on it.¹² Chāttaladevi, the adopted daughter of Rakkasagaṅga was a very pious lady. She set up the Pañchakuta-basadi and made grants to it.¹³ Thus the women of the upper classes played a vital role in social and religious life of the times.

Kulastri or Family Women

The second category of women who were very large in number happened to be the family women or Kulastri. They formed the bulk of the women population. Their duties were management of house, devotion to husband, taking proper care of children, service to the elders and observe age old family customs and traditions, she was a legally wedded wife of the man and her responsibility was very great. Her role as grihapathni or mistress of the house, kept her engaged from dawn to dusk looking after the needs of the various members of her family, cleaning of the house, cooking food, washing cloths and vessels and odd jobs kept her busy throughout the day.

Women of the higher castes were confined to the house hold affairs, but women of the agricultural class and other lower sub-castes worked outside as well. They had to fetch water assist men in the field, carry food to them and do all other sundry physical work. In a way women worked for longer hours and took greater share of the household responsibilities than men whose main work was to earn and provide for the daily requirements. Thus the mother happened to be the keystone of the main arch in the family.

The third categories of women were the courtesans or the Bōghastrī. But the number of such women was always very limited. The Bōghastrī was looked down upon by the society. She was mostly attached to courts of kings, provincial governors and temples. They were proficient in music, dancing, and other fine arts. Gunavarma, the contemporary of Eregaṅga, mentions in his work *Śūdraka Kāvya* the existence of prostitution in his time. The prostitutes lived in separate quarters. An inscription of *Nitimarga* records that the wife of a commoner Permadi Gounder of Sīdanāḍu and daughter of Jōgabbe was a courtesan.¹⁴

Inscriptions of the period mention dancing girls and singers, who were considered as an essential part for the temple activities.¹⁵

Devadāsīs

The devadāsīs were the servants of god as they were permanently attached to the temples. Many of the singers were also ladies. But, those who adopted the profession of courtesans led altogether a different life from that of the strict and rigorous schedule of a house wife. These courtesans were free and independent to lead a merry life of their choice. Many a time they were accomplished in dancing, singing and other traditional arts, and also noted for their religious fervour and charity.¹⁷ The court used to patronize them. A record mentions about a great dancer Bāchaladēvi, who attracted the king by her dance and won the king as well as the title of Patrajagadōle.¹⁸ Those who were attached to the temple were different from the courtesans. The devadāsīs were a socio-religious institution of south India. But sometimes this institution was put to abuse and the devadāsīs did not perform strictly religious functions in the temple.

In the ancient work these dāsīs have been classified into seven categories, the datta or one who gave herself as a gift to a temple, Vikrita, or one who was sold for the same purpose, bhṛityu, or one who acted as a servant in a temple for the prosperity of her family, bhakta or one who joined a temple out of devotion, hirita or one who was enticed away and presented to a temple, alaṅkara or one who was presented by kings and nobles to enhance the charm and magnificence of the temple and Rudraganika or Gōpika who received regular wages from the temple authorities for singing and dancing.¹⁹

It is the opinion of few scholars that the dāsīs of the earlier period were persons of culture and devotion. They were primarily intended for temples, although, sometimes they were companions of one person or another. They danced and sang before the deities at specific periods daily. They were maintained out of the funds of the temple. An inscription from Honalli taluk mentions the grant of lands to dancing girls.²⁰ Yet another inscription from Shimoga district records a similar grant to dancing girls.²¹

Education of Women

Concerning the education of women it may be said that imparting of formal education was not considered as an important duty either by the state or by the family. Women were certainly given some training, but it was all from the point of utility in their later life. Such kind of arts as dancing, music, singing, cooking and decoration were taught to the girls. But reading and writing and study of arithmetic, grammar, poetry, and philosophy were not included in the curricula of studies for women. Ladies of the royal family were given training in the art of fighting and even state craft. One of the Gaṅga inscriptions records that Sōviyabbe accompanied her husband to the battle field. She is shown in the sculpture as an amazing riding a horse and flourishing her sword with a man on an elephant opposite to her.²²

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Sati

The Gaṅga records are silent regarding the practice of sati during this period. According to the practice, the wife was expected to fall with the corpse of her husband into the funeral pyre. Likewise the practice of tonsuring widows was unheard of during the Gaṅga period. Again we do not come across any epigraphical evidence concerning widow remarriage and Sati.

Sallekhana

Among the Jains, the practice of Sallekhana was common. It was a striking illustration of the self controlled and self annihilatory character of Jainism. Whenever a Jaina was infected with an incurable disease or became a victim of utter disappointment or any other misfortune, he would withdraw from active social life and would hasten his death. Although Jainism strongly opposed the taking of life in any form, sallekhana was an exception to the rule. It was considered as the highest form of self control and the highest proof of one's spiritual victory over physical desires. The Gaṅga rulers being Jains were not averse to this practice. According to this practice the devotee would renounce and possessions and earthly ties, give up food and slowly invite death.

Mārasimha III observed this rite of sallekhana for three days and passed away in AD 974.²³ Jaina Srāvakis and nuns often starved themselves to death by over-serving the rite of Sallekhana. A record of Butuga mentions that his elder sister Pamabbe ended her life through Sallekhana.²⁴ Similarly Jakiabba who was holding the office of Nāḍ-gaunda of Nagarkhand 70, when she was afflicted by some bodily ailment resigned everything to her daughter and expired while performing the Jaina rite of fasting.²⁵

Conclusion

Thus on inscriptional basis we can summarize that during the Gaṅga period women took active part in politics, social and religious life, shouldered the responsibilities of administration and war. They were held in esteem in the society.

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A PROCESS OF URBANIZATION OF BANGALORE – UNDER THE DIWANS, SIR.M.VISHVESWARAIAH AND SIR.MIRZA ISMAIL

S.M. Suresh Kumar & N. Shaik Masthan

Introduction

Bangalore is a Historic City.¹ Its recorded history can be traced back to the period of western Gangas of Talakad. Because of its strategic location in the center of the southern peninsula. Straddling the overland trade routes Bengaluru and environs surrounded by Durgs or Droogs, formed an important part of the Ganga, Chola, Hoysala and Vijayanagara empires.² Bangalore is draped over the Deccan Plateau at an altitude of 3000 feet above Sea level, which gives it possibly the best climate among all the cities in India.³

The present-day city was designed by Kempegowda 1 in the year 1537.⁴ He also built numerous lakes, temples and also invited various craftsmen from different parts of South India to work in his new city which became a famous trading center.⁵ Kempegowda's son Kempegowda II. erected the four watchtowers to mark the boundaries of Bangalore which are traceable even today and they stand almost in the heart of the present city. In 1637, the Bijapur army led by Ranadulla Khan and Shahaji Bhonsle captured it from Kempegowda II.⁶

In 1689 Mughals Aurangzeb's army captured Bangalore and sold it to the Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar of Mysore for 3 Lakh pagodas.⁷ In 1759, Hyder Ali, the general of the Mysore army, got Bangalore as a Jagir from Krishnaraja Wodeyar II. Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan fortified the southern fort and made Bangalore an army town. When Tippu Sultan died in the 4th Anglo-Mysore war in 1799, the

British got the kingdom, including Bangalore. Under the British influence, Bangalore bloomed with modern facilities like the Railways, Telegraph, Postal and Police Departments. In 1881, British returned the city to the Wodeyars of Mysore.

Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar a King of Mysore State and **Dewans Vishweswaraiiah, Mirza Ismail** were the pioneers to help Bangalore attain its modern outlook. From then on, Bangalore city has grown in magnitudes, Bangalore is India's fifth largest and fastest growing city in Asia presently.

Diwan Sir M.Visveswaraiiah

Sir M.Visveswaraiiah became the Diwan of Mysore state in 1912 under the King of Nalvadi Krishnaraja Udayar. He was a clever and very good statesman. In Mysore State a number of projects and industries were implemented during Sir. M.Visveswaraiiah's Diwanship. In bangalore we found the Mysore Bank (1913) with bangalore as the headquarters of Mysore State. He was also responsible for the founding (1916) the Mysore Chamber of Commerce and Industries at Bangalore. Special steps were taken to encourage founding of modern hotels in Bangalore with view to promote tourism. The government Engineering College was founded at Bangalore, at present it is famously known as the Visveswaraiiah College of Engineering. The agricultural School was founded at Hebbal in 1912 which was to be the nucleus of the future UAS.

In Visvesvariah Diwan period so many industries were established. In 1915, United Breweries Ltd. was established. Bangalore Printing and publishing Company Ltd. was started in 1916 for publishing and printing work. In 1916, the Sandal Oil Factory was started. It was amalgamated with the Mysore Sandal Oil Factory, Mysore in 1920.⁸

Diwan Sir. Mirza Ismail

Sir.Mirza Ismail was appointed Dewan post in 1926. And the period of his administration was an eventful one. He built superstructure of the Bangalore growth. His period saw the Bangalore city making substantial progress in the fields of industries both in the private and public sector. The Tippagondanahalli Reservoir was completed to supply water to Bangalore. In his period the Russel Market of Shivajinagara, one of the few buildings in civic-amenities group was built in 1927.⁹ The Containment people decided to build Russel Market, which even today is synonymous with quality and variety of food in its raw form.¹⁰ Now a days this market is one of the famous commercial market in Bangalore city. In Mirza's Diwan period, Kalasipalya Bus stand was founded and the Capital investment on it was Rs.1.50 lakhs initially.¹¹

In Mirza Ismail Diwan period so many industries were established. In 1930, the Elgin Flour Mill was opened. The Industrial and Testing Laboratory (Later MITL) was started in 1931 with a capital of Rs. 1.34 lakhs and had 200 persons in its employment. In 1932, the Government Porcelain Factory was established at Malleswaram. Later it become a part of the BHEL.¹²

In 1934, the Government Electric Factory was founded for manufacturing of electric appliances and transformers, rotary machinery such as motor generators, electric switch gears, telephone components and industrial essentials, plastic covered wires and cables, etc. The Capital investment on it was Rs.5.50 lakhs initially. In 1934, the AMCO Ltd., was started with a capital of Rs. 9.50 lakhs. It manufactures batteries for motor cars, farm lighting, telegraphic apparatus, radios, etc.¹³

In 1935, Sri Balakrishna Flour Mills was started in Bangalore on the Old Madras road. the KAR Mobiles Ltd., was also established in 1936

for manufacture of valves for intra-combustion engines. during 1987-88 it provided employment to 580 persons. The Mysore Lamp works was started in 1936 with initial amount Rs. 5 lakhs at Yeswanthpur. during 1987-88 it provided employment to 1650 persons. The Mysore Stone-ware Pipes and Potteries Ltd., was started in 1937 at Chikkabanavara.¹⁴ The Mysore Vegetable Oil products was started in 1938 on the Platform Road, Bangalore for manufacture of Vanaspati and refined Oil.¹⁵ In 1939, the Mysore Glass and Enamel works Ltd., was established at Malleswaram.

Sir Mirza Ismail established the Hindustan Aircrafts Ltd, in 1940. It was founded with an authorized capital of Rs.4 Crore and established its factory on the east of Bangalore. During 2000-01 It provided employment to 18,551 persons at Bangalore.

During the Dewan period of Mirza Ismail few Banking companies were founded in Bangalore. In 1926, the Mysore Oriental Bank, in 1930, Vysya Bank Ltd., in 1933, Kaniyara Bank Ltd., in 1936 Provincial Bank of India Ltd., and Nataraja Bank Ltd., etc. In course of this time many more banking companies with Bangalore base and outside also entered in to the banking of city mainly because of the frowning importance of the Bangalore city's trade and commerce of industries.¹⁶

When we look at all the Dewans Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar appointed, Sir Mirza Ismail would probably stand out for his pragmatism. Mirza Ismail had several advantages for his work including being a personal friend of the Nalvadi Krishnaraja wadiyar and sharing the modernist aspects of Krishnaraja wadiyar's vision.¹⁷ Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar appointed Mirza Ismail as the Diwan of Mysore , the Diwanship in the state was by no means a bed roses. Still Mirza Ismail remained at the helm of the State for 16 years from 1926-41. His appointment, though decried at first, was, however later hailed. Here with a ruler of Hindu faith and a Diwan who is a Muslim, Mysore stand as an example of Peace and harmony.¹⁸

Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar passed away in 1940 sir Mirza Ismail resined his Diwan post in 1941. Sir Mirza Ismail period of rule was the golden age of not only Bangalore, Mysore state also. Mysore saw all round progress during his

time. It came to be known as a model princely state. Not only agriculture and industry progressed but cultural activities were also fostered.

Conclusion

Visvesvaraiiah (1912-1918) and Mirza Ismail (1926-1941) both Dewans constituted the period when they held sway over the territories of Mysore, Bangalore, as the headquarters of the trade and Commerce an enviable position. Its future greatness as an important City in India and its later growth as the metropolis of the greater

Mysore State were entirely due to the useful role it played as the administrative centre of the Mysore State during this period. But those eighteen years also constitute a period, which for the time interrupted Modern authority over Bangalore and other areas of this part of Karnataka. In its overall assessment it can be said that all the administration measures, Banking, Industries, economic developments and social concern of the Diwans led to the development of the city of Bangalore

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FORMATION OF KERALA AND THE ROLE OF AIKYA KERALA MOVEMENT; AN ANALYSIS

J. Suresh

Among the democratic agitations for the formation of modern Kerala, Aikya Kerala Movement attains much significance. The course of incidents in relation to Aikya Kerala Movement reveals the maturation of polity from being a monarchical one to a new setup in which democratic institutions held power. Primarily by incorporating all the Malayalam speaking people and regions, it gained momentum and finally culminated in the successful unification of the *Malayalees* as Malayalam was the chief language among the people of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, this spirit intensified a feeling of natural cultural unity among the people. As a result by surpassing a long process of historical evolution, by discarding the discontent forces, cultural, political, administrative and linguistic unification

of the native states and Malabar was achieved. Thus the formation of modern Kerala is the product of successful amalgamation of socio-political, cultural, linguistic and administrative factors.¹

All-India political forces deeply influenced the demand for the formation of United Kerala. In the Nagpur session of INC in 1920, a resolution was passed for the re-organization of provinces on linguistic basis. It fuelled the thoughts of a Malayalam speaking State. In 1921, the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee was constituted with the representatives of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.² By this time, media attention especially Newspapers intensified the feelings of oneness

among the people. In 1923, K.P. Kesava Menon in his editorial in the first Issue of *Mathrubhoomi* wrote about Aikya Kerala. A series of resolutions were passed and meetings were innumerable held in this direction in those days. Another vernacular Newspaper particularly '*Malayali*' invited the immediate attention of the Malayalam speaking people to support the idea of a unified Malayalam speaking State³. In 1927, the INC adopted another resolution and it reaffirmed its adherence to the linguistic principles in the following years.⁴

Conventions like *Naturajya Praja Samalenam*, All Kerala *Kudiyam* Meeting, the political Meetings of Payyannur, Vadakara and Calicut expressed their views and passed resolutions for the formation of Malayalam speaking state.⁵ On 24th February, 1935, the KPCC appointed a sub-committee to investigate the question of the formation of a Kerala State.⁶ Meanwhile major organizations like NSS, SNDP, *Samastha Kerala Sahitya Parishad* and *Cochin Praja Mandalam* included the idea of United Kerala in their political agenda.

The formation of United Kerala Issue was discussed as it was the prime need of the day in the Congress Working Committee Meeting held at Wardha in 1938 and also in the Bombay Congress Conference in 1939.

Aikya Kerala Movement gathered momentum in the 1940, along with Indian National Movement. This period also marked the journey of Communist Party of India as a mainstream political party with clear cut ideological perspective based on language and culture. This idea was popularised by E.M.S. Namboodiripad through his writing especially his book entitled '*Onnekalkodi Malayalikal*' in 1945-46.⁷ Towards the end of the year 1945, leaders of the Malabar Provincial Congress, Kochi Rajya Praja Mandal and Travancore State Congress - political parties of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore respectively – resolved to work towards the formation of United Kerala. By this time, the Cochin Raja expressed his wish to his Kingdom with Malabar and Travancore. On 29th July 1946, Sri Kerala Varma, the Maharaja of Cochin announced in the Cochin Legislative Council about his cherished desire to merge with United Kerala.⁸ It gave great inspiration to the leaders of United Kerala Movement, especially KPCC. They conducted a meeting at

Cheruthuruthy in which K.P. Kesava Menon, Vallathol Narayana Menon and other personalities were participated. After every preparations, a United Kerala Convention was held at Thrissur under the Chairmanship of K.Kelappan in 1947.⁹ It was inaugurated by this Highness the Maharaja of Cochin. In the occasion hundreds of delegates from different parts of the State representing the political parties and cultural organizations participated. Among the outside *Malayalees* who participated in this Conference, V.K. Krishna Menon deserves special mention.¹⁰ The convention constituted a committee to organise people for creative action. In 1949, a similar conference was held at Alwaye for taking speedy steps for the formation without any delay.

In the meanwhile, the Tamil speaking people of Travancore expressed their discontent to merge the Southern Areas in a Malayalam Speaking State. *Diwan* C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer declared that the formation of a Malayalam speaking state was not possible and there was no intention on the part of Travancore Government to surrender its sovereignty to any such union.¹¹ The Maharaja Sri Chithira Tirunal now rose to the occasion and telegraphed to the viceroy intimating the acceptance by Travancore of the Instrument of Accession and the standstill agreement as already agreed to by him earlier in consultation with the *Diwan* P.G.N.Unnithan, who had taken the place of C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer under the orders of the Maharaja.¹² It is noteworthy in this occasion that even from the beginning of the idea of United Kerala or the formation of a Malayalam speaking state Cochin Raja expressed his open stand to merger with the union.

In the meanwhile, discussions were held at Delhi with the Ministers of Native States of Travancore and Cochin by Sardar Patel. Later on an April, 1949 the Government of India issued a press release accepting the proposal. A re-organization committee was constituted V.O. Markose, a Minister of Travancore, Panampilly Govinda Menon, a Minister of Cochin as Members, M.M. Thomas as Secretary, N.M. Buch Joint Secretary, to the Government of India as President.¹³ The Committee held meetings on 13th May 1949, 21st May 1949, 27th May 1949, 28th May 1949 and discussed the matters and put forward the suggestions for the integration of

Accounts and Audit Departments, Preparation of Travancore/Cochin Budget for the ending 31st March 1950 and suggested the preparation of new heads for the consideration of two governments.¹⁴

However some sections expressed discontentment in this occasion. K. Kelappan expressed his dissatisfaction for the integration of Travancore and Cochin. The anti-integrationists in Cochin led by C.V. Iyer, Kunjirama Menon and others formed a party called 'Cochin Party' in 1949.¹⁵ They were in fear of getting their due share as Cochin was small in size and states' share than Travancore. They insisted that High Court of Kerala should be at Ernakulam itself.¹⁶

The attitudes of the kings of both the States is noticeable in this regard. The Maharaja of Travancore insisted that he should be 'Raja Pramukh' for life and the title should be '*Perumal*'.¹⁷ But the Cochin Raja open heartedly accepted the proposal; his only demand was the free copies of Panchangam or Almanac published by the Government of Cochin. Praising this spirit full and ready co-operation, C.Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General of India, in his message expressed his deep gratitude and the appreciation of the prompt and generous manner in which the people and rulers of Cochin State have helped to achieve this Union and integration involving a degree of self-effacement. The *Raja Pramukh* was granted a privy purse of Travancore Raja was fixed of 18 lakhs rupees, a remuneration of Rupees 3 lakhs per annum, and an addition of 66,000 was also given for his establishments on the centres' insistence, the Maharaja surrendered, the whole of *Kandu Krishi* lands to the extent of 60,000 acres to the State Government.¹⁸ The Cochin Raja's Privy Purse was fixed at 2, 35,000 Rupees.

The rulers of Travancore and Cochin entered into an agreement on 1st July 1949 and transferred that sovereignty to the newly formed Travancore-Cochin State.¹⁹ A committee headed by E.John Philipose was constituted to celebrate the inauguration of Travancore and Cochin State consisting of Forty six members like T.K. Velu Pillai, T.M. Varghese, C. Kesavan etc. The integration of Travancore-Cochin State was inaugurated by Vapal Panjumni Menon on 1st July, 1949. The United State had a total area of 9155 square miles and a population of 75 lakhs.

Later the state forces too were integrated. The United States of Travancore and Cochin adopted a new emblem in which the Chakra was given a more prominent place than the conch for the new state.

Soon after the formation of the First Parliament of Independent India in 1952, the agitation for the linguistic States was revived and through the passionate campaign of the *Telugus* in the Andhra region. Following the success of the Andhra Movement States Re-organisation commission was constituted. In December 1953, the Government of India appointed states Re-organisation committee under the chairmanship of Fazil Ali. The commission conducted an All India Tour, visited Travancore-Cochin State, it recommended the formation of a United Kerala State comprising *Malayalee* dominated areas.²⁰

In the meanwhile, the political parties of Tamil Nadu demanded the merging of Tamil speaking areas of Travancore with the Tamil Nadu.²¹ During that time some leaders like T.M. Varghese, C. Kesavan and Pattom Thanu Pillai, joined together and formed a platform for '*Akhanda Keralam*' which opposed merging of Tamil speaking areas of Travancore with Tamil Nadu.²² In this issue the states Re-organisation Commission recommended that the Southern areas of Travancore like Thovalai, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavencode and some other parts of Cherkkottai were given to Tamil Nadu and the Malayalam speaking areas of Kasarkodu Taluk of South Canara transferred to the new Malayalam speaking state. The main addition to the new state of Kerala as envisaged by the SRC was the geographically contiguous district of Malabar.²³ The commission added that there was no justification for Kerala's claims for the whole of South Canara district and Coorg.²⁴ It was a fatal blow to the vital interests of the Kerala State to transfer the fertile southern positions to merge with Tamil Nadu.

The new state of Kerala envisaged by the commission thus consisted of the erstwhile State of Travancore-Cochin less the five Tamil Taluks of Thovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Valavancode and Shencottai plus Malabar district, the Kasargodu Taluk of South Canara district and the Laccadive islands.²⁵ The state thus constituted had an area about 14, 980 square miles, which is linguistically homogeneous and geographically compact.²⁶

The proposal for an ideal state of Malayalam speaking was fulfilled when the states Re-organization Commission report was implemented by the Central Government on 1st November 1956.²⁷ The office of the *Rajapramukh* was abolished, P.S. Rao assumed office as the Acting Governor of Kerala.

The formation of the modern state of Kerala was the net result of the various under currents and agitation experienced by the people for several decades. Social, Political, cultural and even psychological factors played their role in the genesis and growth of unification process of

Kerala by forgetting the regional variations, political ideologies, caste discretions, and people marched untidily to achieve this goal. As it was inevitable and was the prime need of the day, the movement received a most support. Political parties played an important role irrespective of INCC or Communist Party. Media support was also decisive to get a vibrant form to the movement. The writings of the great poets like Uloor, Vallathol, nurtured and nourished the dream goal of United Kerala. Side by side the social reform movements awakened the people, become conscious of their rights and accelerated their march to democracy.

End Notes

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THE IMPACT OF FLOOD IN CUDDALORE (1904) – A HISTORICAL STUDY

I. Thamizharasan

Introduction

Natural disasters like cyclones, floods, earthquakes and landslides affect almost all countries in the world. They destroy substantial human and economic resources, and stand as formidable barriers against regional, national or global development at regular intervals, almost every year. Tropical cyclones can be considered

to be the most destructive natural hazard when viewed in terms of their occurrence, intensity and area affected by the disaster.¹

Amongst the average of 80 to 90 cyclones recorded per year all over the world, at least five to six occur in the Indian subcontinent. India ranks high among the countries prone to cyclonic storms. This is because of the special

nature of the coastline, the shallow coastal ocean topography and the characteristics of tides in the Bay of Bengal region. Further, the high density of population, low awareness of the community about cyclones and their risks, inadequate preparedness and cyclone warning systems add to the severity of the problem. India has a coastline of about 7,516 km, 5,400 km along the mainland, 132 km in Lakshadweep and 1,900 km in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.²

History of Cuddalore

South Arcot was a district in the Madras Presidency of British India. It covered the area of the present-day districts of Cuddalore, Viluppuram and Thiruvannamalai in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. The district was divided into eight taluks and covered a total area of 13,510 square kilometers (5,217 sq mi). The administrative headquarters was the town of Cuddalore.³

In ancient times, South Arcot was a part of the Chola and the Pallava kingdoms. British presence in the district dates to 1690 when the British East India Company set up a factory at Fort St David near Cuddalore. South Arcot was the scene of confrontation between the British and the French and the British and Tipu Sultan. The British took over the administration in 1781 and established full sovereignty in 1801⁴.

Flood in 1904

The worst floods the district has ever known were those of 1904. There were two of these ones in November and another even more severe in December. In both, the occurrences, the Ponnaiyar River, Gadilam River and Vellar River were overflowed, and the Gingee River in the Tindivanam Taluk was also affected by the heavily.

From 15th November to 16th November, the rainfall at Cuddalore was no less than 32 inches, and 11 inches was registered on the 7th alone. The stop bank at Edaiyar River constructed to keep the Ponnaiyar from flowing down its old bed the Malattar in flood time was breached, and part of the fresh in the Ponnaiyar consequently swept down the Malattar into Gadilam and two rivers overflowed. The railway lines were breached in two or three places between Cuddalore, Panruti and Port Novo, and also the running of the trains was stopped all the

three check dams on the Gadilam were damaged, and tanks and roads all over the eastern part of the district were washed away⁵.

Cuddalore New Tow was significantly suffered. The Gadilam overflowed to its right bank just above the railway bridge near the town and poured into Tirupathiripuliyur by way of a strip of low lying ground. The place was flooded, and as the height of the embankment on which the railway then ran barred the water from escaping to the sea for some time many houses were destroyed, and some lives were lost. Four arches of the road bridge connecting Manjakuppam and Tirupathiripuliyur over the Gadilam River near railway station collapsed, and the Maidan in Manjakuppam was underwater.

On the 16th December heavy rain again fell the amount received from then to the 20th was no less than 25.05 inches, and 14.40 inches were registered on the 19th alone. The remainder of the Edaiyar River stop bank collapsed, and the Ponnaiyar rushed into the Gadilam with even greater impetus than before. From the afternoon of the 18th till the evening of the 19th, the combined waters of the rivers swept through Manjakuppam and Pudupalayam to the sea. The flood was five feet deep on the Maidan at Manjakuppam and lads were carried away by the force of the current just opposite the judges' house. The then the Collector of South of Arcot District, Huntley Gordon also protected in a boat a man who was being brushed away near the time gun on the maidan. Tirupathiripuliyur was flooded 3 ½ feet deeper than in November, and eleven lives were lost and nine more of the arches of the Gadilam bridge leading to it were destroyed and the Ponnaiyar bridge gave way in the evening of the 17th and during the night its arches were heard to breakdown one after the other with a booming as of heavy guns up until by the morning and thirteen of them had disappeared⁶.

Outside the headquarters, the damage was also considerable. The bridges over the two mouth of the Gingee River the Kilinjyur River and the Ariyankuppam Stream were also destroyed and so was that across the Malattar River on the road from Panruti to Tirukkoyilur all the three check dams (anicut) on the Gadilam once more suffered and the Pelandurai Anicut was again breached the Wallajah lake and the

Perumal tanks under the Lower Anicut was one sheet of water. The railway was swept away in slashes of places to an aggregate length of same four miles the worst times of damage being the seven 150 foot spans of the bridge over the same river on the Pondicherry branch. The Ponnaiyar River and Gadilam River girder bridges stood, but the water was within 5 feet 10 inches of the rail level of the former and within 1 feet and 3 inches. Communication with madras was cut off for more than a month and with the south for an even more extended period⁷.

The collector reported that 956 irrigation sources 177 imperial and 776 miner works were breached twenty bridges large and small wrecked or injured and according to the village officials figures, 13,595 habitations were destroyed and 13,724 cattle sheep and goats were drowned⁸.

To minimize the damage liable to occur in Tirupathiripuliyur from a repetition of such a flood an embankment was made from the edge of mount capper near the Tiruvanthipuram Anicut to keep the Gadilam within confines the height of the railway bank from the bridge over the Gadiam down to Cuddalore Old Town Railway Station was lowered to allow the water to discharge across it to the sea and additional channel was provided in this part of the line. The Edaiyar Dam was also again rebuilt to keep the

Ponnaiyar from spilling into the Gadilam. The four ruined bridges between new town and Pondicherry were eventually reconstructed at higher levels. These steps prevented the great flood at the end of 1904 referred to below from making as much mischief as it would otherwise have affected.⁹

CONCLUSION

Among the natural hazards, cyclone is one of the devastating phenomena that strike the Coromandel Coast. Tropical Cyclones are intense low pressure systems which develop over warm sea. They are capable of causing immense damage due to strong winds, heavy rains and storm surges. The frequency of the Tropical Cyclones in the Bay of Bengal is 4 to 5 times more than in the Arabian Sea. About 35% of initial disturbances in the north Indian Ocean reach Tropical Cyclone stage of which 45% become severe like cyclones and storm surges.

So finally this study concludes that soil, slope and rainfall are plays common role creating flood in the Cuddalore District. Finally the study suggests that the ancient drainage areas must be reclaimed or new drainage canals should be built in the zones of high flood risk to avoid flood in Cuddalore District of Tamil Nadu.

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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION AND RESERVATION IN TAMIL NADU – A PARADIGM SHIFT

A. Thennarasu

Reservation is one of the mechanism of preferential treatment, as a "social policy of the state enshrined in the constitution to ensure the participation of the traditionally neglected

section of the society".¹ Proportional representation is a policy of giving due representation based on numerical strength of every segment.

India, a nation of plenty of resources and wealth but persisted with socio-economic inequalities among the different compartmental social groups. To tackle this perennial issue various measures were adopted in the Madras presidency ever since the times of British period. One of such measures at later evolved was communal reservations. In fact, the centre-stage of politics itself for a long time lies on the issue of reservation and it determined by and large, the political course of Tamil Nadu.

The non –Brahmin movement in south India was evolved during the latter half of 19th century. The movement was forwarded into a giant leap in 1917 when the South Indian Liberal Federation was formed. Soon the nomenclature of the federation was changed into Justice Party. The party was prepared enough to contest the election for state legislature in 1920 based on the recommendation of Montagu Chelmsford Act,1919. In this context, this paper traces the evolutionary process towards proportional representation in the Madras Presidency and its subsequent developments in the state of Tamil Nadu.

Evolutionary Process of Proportional Representation

Justice party's election manifesto of 1920 promised to provide the proportionate representation for all castes and communities in the public services and educational institutions.¹¹ The first election held in November 1920 was fought on only one issue namely, the Brahmin versus non-Brahmin.¹² This issue dominated even in the subsequent elections. The extension of the franchise in elections to masses resulted in the downward trend of Congress, which in turn, served the non Brahmins for the emergence of a powerful force in legislature.

In 1925 the government appointed a committee to enquire into and report on the working of the system of communal representation under the chairmanship of Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar.¹³ However the committee not submitted its report. The non-Brahmins were under-represented in public services even after the six years of first communal order issued in 1921. As the pressure was from all quarters in favour of proportionate distribution of government appointments, the government formulated its own policy on the

basis of communal compartmental reservation system.¹⁴

For the first time, in recruitment to government public services communal basis was regularised and a definite quota for different communities was prescribed in 1927.¹⁵ This was a great turning point in the history of communal reservations since this order was implemented effectively. The credit of issuing and implementing this order was attributed to S. Muthaiah Mudaliar, the then Minister of Registration in the Independent Ministry of Dr. P. Subbarayan Periyar viewed that S.Muthaiah Mudaliar issued and implemented what justice party failed to do so.¹⁶

Table - 1

Scheme of communal reservation under the communal order of 1927

Category	Vacancy Position	Proportion out of 12	Percentage of reservation	Percentage of population
Non-Brahmins	1,3,6,8,10	5	41.6	72
Brahmins	5,12	2	16.7	3
Anglo-Indians and Christians	4,11	2	16.7	4
Muhammadans	2,9	2	16.7	7
Depressed classes	7	1	8.3	14

In an unit of twelve appointments, the proportion of every category was fixed as follows; five for Non-Brahmin Hindus, two each for Brahmins and Muhammadans, two for Anglo Indian and Christians including Europeans and one for others including Depressed classes.¹⁷ Also, it prescribed the rule of communal rotation,¹⁸ while maintaining the communal proportion at the same time. The recruitment to services was fixed in a rotation order as shown in the table¹⁹.

Carry forward rule ²⁰ had been adopted in respect of some services and posts to which the communal rotation rule applied. In respect of other services and posts where communal proportion rule applied, comparatively the least represented community was given preference in every recruitment according to the prescribed

rules.²¹ Though government considered the reservation in promotion as laid down in the Second communal G.O., it did not act so. Muslim members in Legislative Assembly alleged that the communal G.O. was not followed in respect of services like secretariat, Judicial, Police, Educational, Agricultural, Engineering and Medical Departments as they were leastly represented in those departments. Also they demanded to reserve three places exclusively for them in a unit of fourteen.²² However, it was reported by the government that the proportion of Muslims in the Madras presidency was only 7.9 percent and accordingly they should have given only one seat out of 12, instead they were given two seats which means double to their population.

Though measures were taken since 1920s to debrahminise the state services, the predominance of Brahmins' representation was not much altered even in early 1940s.¹⁴⁵ For example, between the years 1923 and 1941 in the Gazetted posts of Madras Provincial services the percentage of Brahmins' representation was narrowed down only to some extent from 38.87 per cent to 35.95 per cent²³ However it must be admitted that though their virtual domination still existed the trend showed the beginning of loss of monopoly. Also the representation of non – Brahmins as a whole shows the upward trend from higher to lower services

The Madras provincial Backward Classes League, which was founded by some members of MLC in 1932, demanded the revision of communal G.O. by making an exclusive quota and a provision entrusting reserved seats in legislatures and local bodies for the Backward classes.²⁴ Further, the league demanded reservation of 50 per cent of seats in technical institutions for the backwards classes. The position of different communities in 1944 in Gazetted post of the government of Madras presidency were as follows.²⁵

Table 2
Performance of various communities in
Gazetted posts of the Govt. of Madras
Presidency in 1944

Communities	Percentage of population	Number of	Percentage of posts
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		Gazetted Posts	
Brahmins	3	820	44.21
Ind. Christians	4	190	10.24
Muslims	7.4	150	8.08
Depressed classes	14	25	1.35
Forward N.B	22.6	620	33.43
Backward classes	49	50	2.69
Total	100	1855	100.00

Note: The percentages of population and the posts of each community are only the rough figures as claimed by the Backward Classes League.

Forward N.B. - Forward Non-Brahmins

The above table illustrates the absolute dominance of Brahmins, while the Indian Christians and Forward non-Brahmins attained far better results than their proportion and the Muslims for their due share. However the Backward classes apart from the Depressed classes were in dire straits. As per the proportion, the backward classes lost 859 posts while the depressed classes lost 235 posts. The extension of franchise to the masses further changed the course of political fortunes in favour of non-Brahmins. They were largely represented in the Legislative Assembly for which elections were held in 1937 and in 1946 under the Constitution Act of 1935.

Out of 215 seats, the non-Brahmin Hindus had secured 127 and 136 seats (apart from the 31 and 28 seats of Depressed classes and one seat each by backward Hindus) which the Brahmins got 31 and 28 seats each respectively. The Brahmins got 31 and 28 seats respectively. The other religious communities got 41 seats each under these both elections.²⁶

The non-Brahmin leaders fought fight to secure communal representation in three major spheres i.e., legislative, government services and education. Their objective was first succeeded in the sphere of legislature. The following table proves this point.

Table 3

Representation of communities in the Madras Legislature

Year	Total seats	Non-Brahmins	Brahmins	Depressed classes	Backward classes	Others
1920	98*	57	17	-	-	24
1926	98*	56	18	-	-	24
1937	215	127	15	31	1	43
1946	215	136	9	28	1	41

* The figures only represent the elected members of legislative council in the respective years

Depressed classes were given representation in proportion to their population in the Madras Legislative council in 1930. For the first time, they got a representation in the top most executive in 1937. when M.C Raja, a Harijan leader was secured a berth in the ministry of interim government²⁷.

Non- Brahmins and Brahmins Across Political Spectrum - Third Communal G.O.

The Communal order of 1927 was issued by the Independent Ministry headed by Dr.P. Subbarayan. Till now, Justice party was considered as the sole representative of non-Brahmins, but the issue of Communal representation united the non-Brahmins across political spectrum. And hence, the interest of non-Brahmins conveniently protected by every party. The Justice party even favoured the entry of Brahmins into its fold to attract Nationalist non-Brahmins of congress party.²⁸ To admit the Brahmins a resolution was passed.²⁹

Since the Congress accepted the principle of communal representation, non-Brahmin leaders such as R.K. Shanmugam Chetty, P. Varadharajulu Naidu, T.V. Kalyana Sundara Mudaliar, E.V. Ramaswami and A. Ramaswami Mudaliar not averted of non-Brahmins joining in the Congress party but stressed unity of non-Brahmins irrespective of the party which they belong.³⁰ In the earlier phase of the Congress movement, the majority of Brahmins attached to it were reluctant to recognize the communal G.Os of 1920s. However, the transformation of the Congress became evident in the 1940s when the party broadened the base under the leadership of C. Rajagopalachari [popularly

known as Rajaji] by influencing non-Brahmins and it eroded the influence of mass base which paved the way for the downfall of Justice party.

Table 4

The state of category-wise Communal representation in the Government services of Madras Presidency as on 11.04.1947 (in Percentages)

Rank	Total Appointments	Brahmins	Non-Brahmins	Scheduled Castes	Muslims	Anglo Indian s & Indian Christians
Gazetted	2876	40.51	39.94	1.36	6.95	16.24
Non Gazetted	68636	27.86	48.18	2.83	11.00	10.13

Source: Report of the Backward Classes Commission 1970 Vol I(T) p.21.

The Harijans demanded to increase their allotment since they were inadequately represented in both public services and educational institutions Table 10 shows the poor performance of Scheduled Castes in both the Gazetted and Non-Gazetted posts of Provincial services. In 1947 the leaders demanded reservation of atleast eighteen and one-third percentage in services as adopted by the Central Government and some other preferred 20 per cent of vacancies in proportion to their population.³¹

In 1944 the Justice party and Self-Respect League were merged and reconstituted as the Dravida Kazhagam which was infused with not only an anti-Brahmin, anti-North, anti-Hindi ideology, but also with separatist sub-nationalism.³² These issues were dominated in the principles and programmes of the party cadres during and after the 1960s. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam which was formed in 1949 by delinking from the parent Association, Dravidar Kazhagam on ideological ground. The party had political ambitions and this dream came true in 1967 when it formed government. Since the party was considered as the successor of Justice party, question arose whether the party will revive the Communal order and provide proportional representation.³³ However, the Dravidian parties were able to provide reservation to a large section of society despite of legal challenges confronted the successive governments.

Notes and References

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2. V.Anaimuthu, (Comp & Ed) *Thoughts of Perivar E.V.R. (T)* (Tiruchirapalli : Tinkers Forum), 1974, p. xxi.
3. Saroja Sundararajan, *March to Freedom in the Madras Presidency 1916. 1947* (Lalitha Publicatins, 1989), p.329.
4. The members of the committee were O.Thanikachala Chetty, Munusamy Naidu, Natesa Mudaliar, Narashimacharlu, M.C.Rajah, Abdulla Ghatala and Arpudhasamy Udayar. See G.O.No.733, public Services dated 3 Aug 1925.
5. It is a fallacy to be called as proportional representation system, since the government order was not laid down for any category proportional representation in proportion to their population, and hence it can be rightly called as communal compartmental reservation system.
6. G.O.No. 1071 Public Ms Nov.4, 1927.
7. Address delivered by Periyar E.V.R at Madras on 13.Aug. 1950 after High court delivered the judgement against the Communal order of 1947.
8. G.O.No. 1071 public (Ms) Nov 4, 1927.
9. Under the communal rotation (General rule 19A) rule while future appointments were made in the cyclical order, no account was taken of the existing state of distribution in the service whereas under the proportion rule (General rule 19B), the existing distribution of appointments in the services was taken into account and future vacancies were filled up form members of the least represented communities in the services. General rule 19 of Madras Provincial and Subordinate services.
10. The rotation was fixed as per the following order-Non-Brahmin, Muhammadan, Non-Brahmin, Anglo Indian or Christian, Brahmin, Non-Brahmin, Depressed Classes, Non-Brahmin, Muhammadan, Non-Brahmin, Anglo-Indian or Christian and Brahmin.
11. Under this rule, if a suitable and qualified candidate belonging to any community was not available for appointment in to the allotted turn under communal rotation, a qualified and suitable candidate belonging to the community next specified in the order would be appointed
- See - Rule 19, General Rules for the Provincial and Subordinate Services, in Madras Service Manual, Vol. 1 150-1.
12. Rule 19 General Rules, *Ibid*.
13. MLAD. Aug 1946, pp. 643 - 4, 62, 666.
14. S.Saraswathi, Minorities in the Madras State p.95
15. By which the League demanded proportional representation on population basis and prescribed a unit of 24 turns as the basis of communal distribution which laid down as Brahmin-1, Christians -2, Muslims-2, Scheduled Castes -4, Forward non- Brahmins-5, Backward classes-10. The League's fifth annual conference held at Ootacamund on sept.19,1943. See G.O.No. 190, Public (Services) dated Jan 20, 1944.
16. Memorandum from the Madras Provincial Backward classes League to the Government, See G.O. No. 690 Public (Services) Mar. 14, 1945.
17. E.K. Ramasamy, (ed.) *Tamil Nadu Satta Peravai Aimbathu Aandugal*, Madras, 1989. p.95.
18. *Ibid*
19. Presidential address delivered by Rao Bahadur B. Munusamy Naidu 11th session S.I Non-Brahmin Confederation held at Nellore ,Oct. 1929.
20. "This confederation adopts the recommendation of the Executive committee of the SILF that such Brahmins as accept the creed and adopt the programme of the Justice Party are eligible to the membership of the Council Party". See O.P.Ralhan, *Op. Cit*, pp.118-19.
21. Views expressed by the leaders in the special session of SILF held in July 1927 at Coimbatore. The confederation permitted its members to join the Congress to have a 'wider field of activity' and at the same time urged all non-Brahmins to join the SILF and to work for the uplift of the masses. (O.P.Ralhan *Op. Cit*, p.100) 98.
22. For example S.Nagappa and B.S. Moorthy, members raised this issue in assembly M.L.A.P. 1947, Vol. IV 214-5 Vol.V p.6-7.
23. RBCC Vol III & IV, 1980, pp.147-8.
24. For example, this issue was raised by T. Martin, a member of legislative Assembly, see MLAD Vol. I, 1967, p.888.

MEDIEVAL POLITY OF VALLUVANAD

K. Ummul Hasna

This paper tried to focus the political structure of Valluvanad in medieval period. Traditionally Valluvanad considered to the strongest political entity during the medieval period. It traces back to many features connected with the political background of Valluvanad, particularly the geographical features, presence of suicide squads and ritual practices etc. it strengthen different sources like Valluvanad and Tirumannamkunnu Grantavaries, *Unnichirudevi charitham* and *Kokasandesham* etc.

According to the British settlement registers, during the medieval period Valluvanad was the largest geographical division of Malabar. On the topographical position Valluvanad northern part it was bounded by Ernad Taluk for 69 miles, by the crest of the Koondahs (Nilgiris) to the North East by the Coimbeture province, and the Nilagiris for 69 miles, to the South by Nedunganad for 56 miles, to the South West and West by Bettadanad and Shernad for 13 miles.¹ Most of the parts Mountains, rivers and forests

directly bounded by Valluvanad, so that it resisted the neighbouring attacks.

Political structure of Valluvanad, inter connecting the collapse of 2nd Cheras in 12th century. The emergence of nadus or different small political units, like as Eralnadu, Valluvanadu etc. The political fragmentation also changed in medieval polity. *Swarupams* was the power centers of nadu, like Nedyirippu swarupam- Eralnadu, Arangottu swarupam- Valluvanadu etc. Political authority of nadu system maintained *Kurvazhcha* or *stanam*.² It implies to privileges and rights each one in ruling family. It decided to their kuru and position among the royal members, known as the pyramidal structure of king, chiefs and land lords. *Kurvazhcha* linked with taravadu in matrilineal joint family. The Tavazhi and Taravadu ensured the political judicial authority in the medieval polity.

The Valluvanad raja was also known as Arangottu *Udayavar*. K.P.Padmanabha Menon translated as the chieftain who holds the country on the other side of the river. His dominion lay to the north of the Ponnani river. According to the *Keralolpathy* when Cheraman Perumal made his partition of Kerala he gave Tirunavaye sand bank and country and privilege of conducting *Mamakam* festival with 10,000 Nairs to with *Valluvakonathiri*. There are several titles used by the head of the *swarupam* of Valluvanadu, such as *Valluvaraja*, *Vellattiri*, *Valluvakonathiri*, *Arangottu Udayar*, *Arangodan*, *Chatan Kotha*, *Rayiran Chatan*, *Vallabhan*, *Valluvanattu Udayavar*.³ Name *Vallabhan* from the Pallava race. According to M.G.S. Narayanan, Irinjalakkuda inscription reveals the strength and status of hereditary governor as well as southern extension of his district into the neighbourhood of Makothi. The chaver song *Chengazhinambiyar pattu* contain reference to the seeking of the grace of Pazhayannur Bhagavati, which may indicate the Connection of Valluvanad, with Pazhayannur. In the same way, the existence of hills by name *Vellattiri mala* at Vandazhi, Palakkad, may also suggest connection with *Vellattiri*. The rise and growth of the kingdom Valluvanad's capital transformed from Arangottukara to Angadippuram. The *swarupam* initially held a small territory which was considered as the original place from where rulers and chiefs moved or expanded to a larger

territory. In fact, in the case of the *swarupams* in medieval Kerala they were known after their original village as in the case of Arangattu swarupam.⁴

Arangottu Swarupam

In the case of Valluvanadu, location of Arangottukara, a small village is at near the Makkaraparamba, hence it was referred to as Arangottu swarupam. The name of the *swarupam* linked to the geographical location of the house. The territorial authority indicated far more than location of the house. Because *swarupam* maintained several powerful lands owning houses who acquired political – judicial authority over particular territories. Valluvanadu raja, he acquired territorial control of Arangottu Swarupam. *Swarupam* had the composition of an extended joint family resided in *Kovilakam*. The succession of all *swarupams* inherited to determine by matrilineal joint family system. The Male members of the house had to assume *Muppu* on the basis of their direct kinship relation with the women of the houses, as uncle, brothers or sons. The segmentation of the houses based on the mother –figure, segments were called *Tavazhis*.⁵ Which were distributed in the regions of political authority.⁶ Four *kovilakams* under the Arangattu swarupam, was the *Kadannamanna Kovilakam*, *Mankada Kovilakam* known as *cherukatta Tavazhi*, *Aripa Kovilakam* and *Azhiranazhi Kovilakam*. *Valluvanadu udayavar* belonged to these four *Kovilakams*.⁷ Political authority over the nadus followed the form of *Kurvazhcha*, which can be rendered as paracellised authority. *Kurvazhcha* implies a gradation of rights and privileges within the ruling houses, with the *Muthakur*, Also implies a seniority order with the *Ilamkur* having claims to succeed the *Muthakur*. The system *Mupumura* Connecting the *kuru*, all members female and male had *kuru*. *Kurvazhcha* mentioned in the *swarupams* with male and female members occupying separate *kur* having land and privileges.

Kurvazhcha in Valluvanad,

- Valluvakonathiri was *Muthakur*, known as *Kothaikadungonaya Kovil Karumikal*.
- Second *Vellalpad* or *Valluvanattukara Nambiyatiri* Tirumulpad or Vellat *Ilamkur* Nambiyatiri

- Third *Thacharpad* or Tachanattukara Moonamkur Nambiyatiri.

- Fourth *Edathralpad* or Edathunattu Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad

These were main *kur* of Valluvanad and fifth Kolathur Mutha vallodi Thirumulpad. Kolathur Thamburatti Muthakur and secondly Kadannom Mutha Thamburatti in women seniority order. Kolathur Tamburatti is called Vedapuratti.⁸ Sometimes the *kur* right would result in the formation of separate ruling houses, was *kovilakams* with *kur* right would also result in certain *kovikams* establishing authority through actual territorial control. Other dignitaries consisted of sixteen chiefs or land lords, including Valluvakonathiri and his four *kurs*. Two Nairs, two Nambutiris, two persons of the royal houses, four *Panikkars*, *Elampulakatachan*, *Kulathur Varier*, *Uppamkalathil* Pisharody, Kakoot Nair, Mannumala Nair and Cherukara Pisharody, they helped to Valluvanad raja. Valluvakonathiri known as Vellodi or Velappanattu Nambidi, this name linked with his caste, his joint family including five families, these were Kadambot, Mulath, Nemmini, Kuttikattil and Pathiramanna.⁹

The presence of Suicide squads or *Chaver*, it is the most attracted one in Valluvanad. It changed the political structure of Valluvanad connecting with rituals, particularly the *Mamakam* festival. Traditional history proves that the Valluvanadu had got the privilege to conduct *Mamakam* festival from *Chera* Empire after their decline. From the known history *Mamakam* was considered to a religious ritual practice but gradually it acquired a political character and it became the symbol of political supremacy. Consequently, continuous warfare took place among the neighbor *swarupams* of Valluvanadu for claiming the Rakshapurusha power of the *Mamakam* festival. Finally, the Zamorin of Calicut was able to capture the above stated position and automatically he became the supreme king of Malabar region. Obviously, it was a bitter experience to the ruler of Valluvanad and he thought to regain the status of Rakshapurusha from Zamorin. It results the origin of suicide squads in Kerala, especially Valluvanad suicide squads. Suicide squads or *chavers* are the special forces of medieval kings and they were considered as a property of territory. Thus the Suicide squads of Valluvanad

were decided to fight up to their death for returning Rakshapurush power from the Zamorins.

Another one is the political legitimacy through the ritual practices performed by the rulers. It is very clear from Valluvaraja's right to conduct the great festival of *Mamakam*. One of the best examples was that he conducted the *Mamakam* festival till twelve or thirteen century A. D.¹⁰ Then he was conducted Tirumannamkunnu *pooram* festival. The main ceremonies like *Kottichira ezhunallippu*, *Kudipooja* and *Thekkottirakkam*. *Kottichira ezhunallip* was the day when the king arrive the temple after *Ariyittuvazhcha*. *Kudipooja* was the special ceremony of king, it headed by Kuttaloor Nambuthiri at the northern side of Thirumannamkunnu temple. *Kudipooja* functioned after the Raja's *ariyittuvazhchza* for blessing of king.¹¹ The *thekkottirakkam* ritual was Valluvakonathiri procession to meet *pooraparambu* with royal guard and this was the ceremonial event of the king's heart to meet the *Malayakutti* (the elder member of Malaya community) and the Panar mooppan (the elder member of Panar) in the presence of the people.¹² It point out the intimate relation to Valluvaraja and his people, it helped to ensure his political legitimacy trough the rituals. Valluvakonathiri legitimized his rule symbolically through political and ritual action. The *ariyittuvazhcha* and the eleven day *pooram* festival in reverence of the goddess Bhagavati blessed to empower the king, Attaches importance of not only the *pooram* but also to the religious festivals and ceremonies. Because king's observances imperative for his sacral legitimation. Valluvanadraja helped to construction of *Tirumannamkunnu* temple and other shrines like modified the Tali Shiva temple.¹³

Another notable feature of this political structure is that the Valluvakonathiri couldn't make any decisions under his own opinion. So that he arranged the *nattukuttam* at his kovilakam. This opinion strengthening with Grantavari, in the problem of Indianoor desham, *deshavazhi* Karuvayoor Moosath and Chandrottil Panikkar conflicted case of Indianoor, in this situation Raja discussed with fourteen chiefs of Valluvanad, including Parakkattil Ittunniyama, Aaru Panikkar,

Vayyankara Chata Panikkar, Unnikothangocha Vellodi, Unni Raricha Eraldi, Thalachola Chatara Menon, Pulikkott Itti Chatar, Ittichirama Pisharody, Naduvilappatt Komacha Panikkar, Ittikotha Warriar, Konnan Pisharody, Nechikkattil Komacha Pnikkar, Ukkandan Pothuwal and Arangottu Unnikannan. He forbidden the Indianoor deshams, and after one year he resolved the problems of Indianoor with the opinions of chiefs.¹⁴ Valluvakonathiri gave a conch and ghungroo to informing *nattukootam* for solving their problem with help of chiefs and ghungroo used to disperse the *nattukootam*. It was the evidence of *nattukootam*.¹⁵

CONCLUSION

This paper tried to identify the political nature of Valluvanad connecting to several

aspects like geographical features are necessary to evaluate the political boundaries of this area. The *Swarupams* were very common in medieval Kerala history and most of them played a seminal role in the politics of that society. In the part of it political power maintained pyramidal structure like *Muthakur*, *Vellalpad*, *Thacharpad* and *Edatharpad* in Valluvanad. The ritual practices and legitimizing rule through the *Thandettam* ceremony and *Kudipooja*, *Kottichira ezhunallip* and *Thekkottirakkam* were including Valluvanad polity. Presence of suicide squads inter connecting with *Mamakam* a special ritual practice carried out by Valluvakonathiri was a symbol of political hegemony in that time. These features strengthen the political entity in medieval period of Valluvanad.

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A NEW NOTE ON 'NIDUGAL CHOLAS'

N. Velu

During the period from eighth to thirteenth centuries A.D., a family of Chola feudatories known as Nidugal Cholas ruled the north eastern part of Karnataka with Penjeru or Henjuru, now known as Hemavathi, and Nidugal as capitals.¹ The former is situated in the Sira Taluk and the latter in the Pavaguda Taluk of Tumkur District. Their inscriptions are found in the Tumkur, Chitaldrug and Bellary Districts. The provenances of their inscriptions in these Districts show the area of their sway.

These local chiefs called themselves "Chola Maharajas" and "Lords of Uraiyur", a

place near Tiruchirapalli, and claimed descent from the Solar race of Karikala, ² the most important of the early Chola rulers of Tamilnadu. The origin of these Nidugal Cholas and their migration from kaveri basin to Anantapur and Tumkur Districts in the Karnataka and Andhra States are interesting. The Kaveri basin is the early home of the Cholas. We have early records in which the Cholas identify themselves as belonging to the suryakula or the solar race. The early Cholas of the Kaveri basin seem to have occupied parts of Southern Karnataka and Andhra. We get frequent references in the Tamil

classics to the Vengadam region. Tolkappiyam³ refers to Vadugars (Telugu speaking people) and Vengadam as the northern boundary of the Tamils. The northern parts of Tamilagam in the Sangam age are spoken of as an area where the language changes (molipeyar deyam).⁴ It is quite possible that the areas north west of Tamil country were also under the control of the Sangam Cholas for some time. The Vadugars were referred to as having been routed near the North West region of Tamil country by a Chola king in the Sangam literature.⁵

There is a reference in the Pattinappalai to Karikala's conquest of the Dakshinapatha which he distributed among the Vellala chiefs from the north.⁶

From these references, we may summarise that the Sangam Cholas, particularly under Karikala, extended their power upto Cuddapah and Kurnool. The sudden emergence of a tribe called the Kalabhras and their occupation of the Tamil country deprived the Cholas of their traditional territory. Subsequently, Cuddapah was under the rule of the Renandu Chola chiefs. During the period of the Pallava Chalukya wars, one branch of the Renandu Cholas from Cuddapah seems to have migrated to Nidugal and Erikalvadi in the Anantapur and Tumkur Districts of the Andhra and Karnataka States. They were the "Cholas of Nidugal".

The earliest reference in inscriptions is to a Chola Dhananjaya Eriga⁷ ruling over the Alvadi Six Hundred, along with one Cholika Muttarsa⁸ as feudatories of Western Gangas in 750 A.D. But B.L. Rice⁹ mentions that Dhananjaya must have been a subordinate to one Gangul Pallava Raja. Most probably, these chiefs shifted their loyalty to the Pallavas when they were actively engaged in the war with the Chalukyas of Badami. By the middle of the ninth century A.D. their country was overrun by the Rashtrakutas, and subsequently by the Imperial Cholas.¹⁰ but the Hoysalas were hostile to them throughout the period. Inscriptions of the period refer to frequent raids in the areas controlled by the Nidugal Cholas until finally Nidugal was annexed by Hoysala Narasimha 112 in 1285 A.D.¹¹

The later line of the Nidugal Cholas commenced its rule in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. and continued to flourish till

the dawn of the thirteenth century A.D. Robert Sewell and S. Krishnasamy Aiyangar¹² have given a genealogical table of the Nidugal Chola family. But their dates of succession, periods of rule and the extent of their territories are not very much known to us. Their genealogy gleaned from epigraphs is as follows:-

1. Jata 2. Brahma Bhogendra 3. Mangi or Kalimangi 4. Bichi or Babbe 5. Govinda 6. Irungola I 7. Malli Deva 8. Brahma Nripala or Bammi Deva 9. Iruhola II or Irungonadeva 10. Vira Bomma 11. Ganesa

Jata was probably the earliest known member of this dynasty, who was succeeded by his son Brahma-Bhogendra. His son Mangi, the destroyer of the Matangas, promoted the fortunes of the dynasty. In an inscription of Vikramaditya VI, a chief named Mangarasa, Lord of Uraiyur and a resident of Kaneyakallu is mentioned. The chief Mangi of Nidugal could be identified with Mangarasa on the basis of area, period and relationship with the Chalukyas. Mangi was succeeded by Babbe deva or Bichi who slew his inveterate enemy Hosagaramesvara. Bichi was succeeded by his son, Govinda and grandson Irungona successively.

Irungona or Irungola Chola I (1101 A.D. - 1128 A.D.)

The most prominent member of the Nidugal Chola dynasty was Mahamandaleswara Virapandya Irungola Chola I, a contemporary of Kulotunga I.¹⁴ The title Virapandya adopted by this ruler would indicate that he was having, close association with the Pandyas of Uchchangi. An inscription describes him as the 'boon lord of Uraiyur, born in the Solar race of Karikala Chola'.¹⁵ His kingdom comprised Rodda Three Hundred, Sira Three Hundred, Haruve Three Hundred and Sindavadi Thousand which may be identified with the region surrounding the peak of Nidugal. He clashed with the Hoysalas. The Hoysala ruler Vishnu-varadana defeated him in 1128 A.D.¹⁶ and captured the powerful Irungola's fort.¹⁷ though he suffered defeat at the hands of Vishnuvardana, his position was little affected. He continued to rule his territory, as a sub-ordinate of the Hoysala king.

The connection between the Nidugal Cholas and the Cholamandalam could be established through inscripational evidence.

Irungola I was the son of Govinda and Mahadevi.¹⁸ There was also another Mahadevi who was the second wife of Ereyanga the Hoysala king and who constructed a tank at Tereyur located in Tumkur.¹⁹ Probably she was a local Chola princess of Nidugal and belonged to the Suryavamsa.²⁰ It should however be added that her father Irukkapala belonged to a family of Uchchangi Pandyas. In 1068-69 A.D., Irukkapala's father who was a Uchchangi Pandya helped Chalukya Vikramaditya VI to regain his throne by defeating and driving out his brother Somesvara II. This, he should have done with the help of a certain Muvendavelan, an Irukkuvel chief of Kodumbalur a famous general of Virarajendra.²¹ He helped him in the battle of Kudalsangamam, against the Western Chalukya, Somesvara II.²² Virarajendra also states in his Tamil records to have conquered the Rattapadi Seven and half Lakh Country and later granted it to Vikramaditya.²³

It seems that in the above mentioned war, Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur established a close relationship with the Cholas of Nidugal, though the exact nature of this relationship is not clear.

The name Irukkupala and Irungola a corrupted form of Irukkuvel are found in the records from the Tumkur and Anantapur Districts.²⁴ The name itself indicates strongly the intimate relationship between the Irukkuvels and the Nidugal Cholas. The epigraphs also affirm their long standing traditional friendship with the Cholas. Some Kannada inscriptions found at Kodumbalur also suggest this connection.²⁵ We have an inscription²⁶ of Irungola I which speaks of him as Mahamandaleswara Irungola Chola Maharaja who made an alliance with Rachamalla, the Sinda ruler of Kurugodu.

Mallideva 1128 A.D. – 1179 A.D.

He was the son and successor of Irungola I, also called Bhogi²⁷. An inscription from Pavaguda states that he was the lord of Uraiyur who claimed descent from the solar race of Karikala Chola of Kasyapagotra. Mallideva appears to have been a co-ruler with his father even in 1108 A.D. He became independent when the western Chalukya monarchy was weakened by the usurpation of Bijjala Kalachuri in 1157 A.D.²⁸

Two of his inscriptions²⁹ from Hemavathi describe his valour. One of them dated Saka

1090 (=1168 A.D.) refers to a Chalukya Chakravartin Vikramadeva. The other inscription in Tamil, dated in the 2nd year of a certain Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola refers to Malli Deva as the lord of Uraiyur. The Chalukya Chakra-vartin Vikramadeva has to be identified with the Chalukya Chakravartin, Taila III.³⁰ The date also corresponds to the last year of Taila's reign after which the Kalachurya Bijjala's usurpation took place. Evidently the chief, Tribhuvana Malli Deva Chola Maharaja threw off the yoke of the Chalukya sovereign immediately after the Kalachurya usurpation in 1168 A.D.³¹ The name Vikramaditya given to Taila III occurs in inscriptions for the first time. Both the title and the surname were borne by his famous grandfather Vikramaditya VI. The king Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola has to be identified with Kulotunga II and not with Kulotunga III since Malli Deva's last regnal year was 1179 A.D.

He had two wives, namely, Lakma Devi and Sita Devi. The latter made a grant to the temple of Nolumbesvara which is described as the Ghatika-Sthana (Educational institution) of Henjerapattana.³² This is the only inscriptional evidence we come across during the rule of the Nidugal Cholas regarding the educational institutions of their time.

Bammi Deva C.1179 A.D. - C. 1190 A.D.

Bammi Deva or Brahma Nripala mentioned in an inscription of 1190 A.D. was the next ruler of Govindavadi Kingdom (Nidugal).³³ He is also described as the boon lord of Oreyurpura. His wife made a grant for the renovation of the temple at Henjerapattana.³⁴

In one of the undated inscriptions of that period, Brahma Deva Chola Maharaja is mentioned as the ruler of Govindavadi and a feudatory of the western Chalukya king Jagadekamalla. The Chalukya Jagadekamalla mentioned could be none other than Perms Jagadekamalla II.³⁵ In that case, Brahma Deva Chola Maharaja could be identified as Bami Deva Chola Maharaja, the father of Irungola Chola Deva.

Irungola Deva II C. 1190 A.D. - C. 1278 A.D.

Bammi Deva was succeeded by his son Irungola Deva (II) Chola Maharaja, who ruled Nidugallapattana independently.³⁶ The same

king is mentioned in another inscription³⁷ (Saka 1200 or 1278 A.D.) as Irungona Deva Chola. He is described as a ruler "born of the Solar race", 'lord of Uraiyur', 'protector of the Rodda Country' and 'Nissanka'.

In one of his inscriptions³⁸ found at Hiriyur (1247 A.D.) he is called "Danava Murari" indicating that he was a Vaishnavite. Though a Hindu, he made a liberal grant to a Jaina Basthi at Niduga^{1.39}. One of his subjects made a grant of 2000 areca palms to Brahma Jinalaya in Nidugal. The Jina Brahmana, the donee, hailed from the village Bhuvalokanatha in Ponnamaravathi Vishaya. Ponnamaravathi is situated in the Pudukkottai District of Tamilnadu.⁴⁰ These facts indicate the religious tolerance practiced by the Nidugal Cholas.

His period witnessed the full fury of the Nidugal Chola-Hoysala conflict. He obtained the support of the Yadavas and invaded the Hoysala territory. In 1269 A.D. the entire force of Irungola together with those of a local chieftain named Guleya - Niyaka raided Anebidra rasinad which was under the control of the Hoysala minister Kumara Vira Chikka Ketaya Nayaka.⁴¹ Again in 1276 A.D., the Irungola king in alliance with Saluva-Tikkamma marched against Dorasamudra.⁴² This was really a rash step since Irungola was no match for the Hoysala king. Immediately after, the Hoysala minister Chikka-Ketaya-Niyaka carried out a successful expedition against the Irungola king.⁴³ The latter fortified himself against further attacks. In 1278 A.D. the Hoysala directed his minister, Becha to build impregnable forts at Nidugal and Haniyadurga "on account of enemies who would not submit".⁴⁴ In 1285 A.D. Narasimha III himself marched at the head of an army to Nidugal and destroyed a village called Bageyakere.⁴⁵ This prolonged struggle ended inconclusively.

Bhoga C. 1278 A.D. - C. 1288 A.D.

No information is available from the inscriptions regarding Bhoga, the son of Irungola who ascended the throne in C. 1278 A.D. and ruled till C. 1288 A.D. From the inscriptions we gather that his son Bamma constructed several fortresses between Haniyadurga and Nidugal.⁴⁶ Bamma had four sons⁴⁷ viz., Bijana Deva, Baira Deva, Irungola Deva, and Bavantiga Deva. Not much could be gleaned from the records about them. This may be due to the fall of Nidugal into

the hands of Hoysala Narasimha III. The last of the Nidugal Cholas, Ganesvaradeva⁴⁸ seems to have exercised his power with Moreyur⁴⁹ as his headquarters.

Finally, the Nidugal Chola rule was brought to an end by the Harati chiefs who were the feudatories of Vijayanagar. After the conquest of Nidugal, the Harati chiefs of Aymangala came to be called as Harati chiefs of Niduga^{1.49}. According to tradition the founder of the family came from the Bijapur country. Before his death, he divided his territory (Chitaldrug District) among his seven sons. Later, they were dispossessed of their territories by the Bijapur army. After this event, one of the sons who ruled Dodderi, retired to Nidugal, which his descendants held till the time of Tippu Sultan. The last representative of this family was put to death by Tippu Sultan who annexed their territory to Mysore in 1761 A.D.

Thus the Nidugal Cholas were a branch of Renadu Cholas who claimed Karikala as their progenitor. They originally belonged to Kaveri basin. They migrated to Cuddapah and Kurnool in Andhradesa during the period of Karikala and then drifted to Nidugal in Karnataka probably in the first half of the seventh century A.D. They were fortunate in establishing their rule in Karnataka with Nidugal as their capital. For six centuries they were ruling their kingdom braving several onslaughts from the Chalukyas, Hoysalas, Vijayanagar rulers and their rule was finally brought to a close by the Haratis.

In their heyday, they maintained a powerful army and a well organized local government. The town assembly of Nidugal was known as Pancha Maha Sabha. The chief of Nidugal, as Mahamandaleswara had the responsibility to protect his subjects by enforcing law and order.

Though the Nidugal Cholas were saivites they patronized all religions equally. This can be observed from the regular grants made by them to the temples of different sects at Nidugal and Hemavathi. The Brahmanas continued to exercise tremendous influence on the mind and faith of the people. Sanskrit continued to be the language of religion and philosophy. Kannada also received equal attention from the rulers of Nidugal. During this period, bhakti also received a new emphasis.

Trades were organized by the guilds. Nidugal and Hemavathi towns seem to have been important trade centres. Spices, leather goods and textiles formed the principal items of sale. The Nidugal Cholas followed a type of

measure called Rajaraja sanchika ⁵⁰ probably named after Rajaraja I. Building activity also received considerable attention from the rulers of Nidugal. They constructed several temples and excavated several tanks and canals.

End Notes

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- 4 Ahananuru, Poem No. 22.
- 5 Ibid., 375.
- 6 I.A. Vol. XLI, p. 149. In Sewell's Antiquities also the section of the Kurumbar is referred to (p. 174). They are described by historians as the people who lived in the region of modern Tirupathi.
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- 45 Ibid., 24
- 46 Ibid., XII, p. 60.
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THE RISE OF TAMIL MUSIC MOVEMENT AND ITS OUTCOME IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY

P. Vijayalakshmi

Introduction:

Tamilnadu is a state rich in age old tradition and culture. Music plays a vital role in the life of Tamil people. The Carnatic Music is more popular not only in Tamilnadu and India but also across the overseas. Tamil Isai is the Tamil Music (Tamil Songs) was also very Popular from the ancient period. Tamil Music was well sung and popular in the age old sangam period but slowly lost its familiarity in due course of time, during the Vijayanagara period and the Nayak's rule in Tamilnadu. More Telugu and Sanskrit songs were sung in the musical concerts. The

negligence of Tamil Music were noted by the Tamil laureates ,Political leaders and they surprised why Tamil songs were not sung in these popular concerts. The question raised in the minds of the people in Tamilnadu. At this juncture in the third decade of the 20th century, to rejuvenate Tamil Music(Tamil Isai),to Propagate and popularise Tamil songs "Tamil Music Movement"(Tamil Isai Iyakkam) was originated. In this paper I am going to focus on the Rise of Tamil Music Movement and its outcome in Madras Presidency.

Tamil Music Movement (Tamil Isai Iyakkam 1935-1944):

The intellectual commitment to retrieve the lost glory of Tamil cultural heritage made its appearance at the end of the nineteenth century. It was an effort to secure a significant place in the domain of modern public sphere. Thanks to the intervention of colonial power, the idea of identity – uniqueness sought to have gained greater currency heralding an era of intense politicisation. The Historical context an attempt to reconstruct the history of Tamil music was said to have begun with the rediscovery of Tamil classical works.¹ In the initial stages there was no specific demand for popularising Tamil songs. But at the same time scholars like Subramanya Bharathiyar, stressed the importance of singing in Tamil. The demand for popularising the Tamil songs became a prominent issue in the second quarter of the twentieth century as a result of caste politics and cultural nationalism. The recent progress achieved in the field of theoretical musicology also further precipitated the Tamil Music Movement.

The real effort in this direction of popularisation of Tamil songs came only in the thirties. The efforts of the Organisers to revive Tamil Music in general may be said to have begun since the holding of the 42nd congress session in Madras (1927). On the sidelines of the conference, a musical session was also conducted with a view to restore the national culture to their pristine glory. It was in this session that a decision was taken to establish Music academy for the promotion of South Indian Music.² The Academy came into being in 1928 and soon became a centre for classical music and dance. The success of the Music Academy stimulated other volunteer associations to undertake similar efforts. In this connection, a plea for the inclusion of Tamil songs in musical performances came to be made in the beginning of the 1930s.³

In the musical concerts Telugu songs and Sanskrit songs were sung. Many Tamil scholars emphasised the need for the inclusion of Tamil songs in the classical concerts along with other vernaculars. This was a quite new situation that no Tamil songs were sung in the musical concerts of Madras Presidency. The people of Tamilnadu could not hear songs in their own mother tongue Tamil.

Causes for the Movement:

In the 1930s and 1940s, in the Carnatic music concerts mainly Telugu and Sanskrit songs were sung from the beginning and it was given more importance. Only at the end of the concert, 3 to 5 minutes which is called as post-tani "Tukkada" segment, the Tamil songs Devaram or Tirupugazh was sung. This was quite disgusting. The audience has to attend the whole concert, waiting to hear the song in their Mother tongue. As a people of their own land they were not able to hear songs in their own mother tongue. This was not the case in any other place other than Tamilnadu. This was said to be the main cause for the origin of Tamil Music Movement.

A plea for the inclusion of Tamil songs in musical performances came to be made from the beginning of the revival of classical music. E. Krishnan, Secretary of the Indian Music Academy, wrote saying that "though most of the kritis are either in Telugu or Sanskrit, pieces in other languages like Tamil should also be sung."⁴ C.R.Srinivasa Iyengar, while delivering a lecture at the summer school of Indian Music organised by Y.M.C.A. referred to the decline of Tamil songs and said that "at the time of his own youth it was the custom to sing the songs of Anantha Bharathi, Kavi Kunjara Bharathi, Gopala Krishna Bharathi and Arunachala Kaviraya at music performances."⁵ He also deprecated "the general tendency of Tamil musicians of today sing nothing but Telugu and Sanskrit songs", and said that "the compositions of the Tamil singers he had mentioned would bear comparison with many of the best Telugu songs."⁶ In a lecture at Madras on 'The Music and Musical Instruments of the Tamils' Dr.U.V.Swaminatha Aiyar discussed the questions of 'Pan' which formed an important feature of the ancient Tamil Music and said that these corresponded to the Sampoorana ragas.

Under these Circumstances the demand for Tamil Songs accelerated among the Tamil People and the voices of elite personalities also gained momentum. R.K.Shanmugam Chettiyar., Bharathiyar, Rajaji, Rasigamani T.K.Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, C.N.Annadurai, Kalki Krishnamurthy, Bharathidasan, Thiru.vi.Ka, E.V.R.Periyar, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar and many more raised the voice for Tamil songs to be given first preference in the musical concerts.

But on the other side ,it was sniggered that Tamil was a non-musical language with hardly any songs. There was no songs in Tamil with suitable Raga and Tala.The Tamil Protagonists opposed this criticism tooth and nail. They said the singers who sung Telugu and Sanskrit songs even doesn't know its meaning.In Tamil language ,we had a treasury of Tamil Songs.It was in vogue from the early sangam period. There was plenty of Tamil songs written by the triumvirate of Tamil Isai Mutthuthandavar, Marimuthappillai and Arunachala Kavirayar. In due course of time,it had lost its fame and popularity. Arikesavu Nallur Muthaiya had sung Tamil songs in a concert at Pachaiyappa's college in 1933. Nayinappillai , his forerunner had sung many Tamil Songs. Abraham Pandithar said "Tamil Music is the first and foremost of world Music, and it is the Origin point of all other music."⁷

"When we sang and hear in our own mother tongue we will be fully satisfied.Our beloved God too hear it" said Rajaji. "As I was born as a Tamilian,I want Tamilisai,Whatever the music in Tamil is there is enough for me" was the thundering speech of the Economist and first Finance minister Sir R.K.Shanmugam Chettiyar. C.N.Annadurai said "The audience before whom the song is being sung, it must be in the language that was understood by them.Then only music will be pleasant and heart-dwelling". Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar who was born and brought up with Tamil and Tamil songs like Devaram, Thiruvagasam couldn't tolerate the criticisms on Tamil songs. He insisted "only when we sing in Tamil our mother tongue people will understand the sweetness of music".⁸ The first successful attempt to include music in the curriculum of higher education was made by Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar.He started a Music college in 1929.Here Devaram,thiruvagasam,Nalayira divya Prabhandham, Tamil Songs and playing of musical instruments like veena, pitil, mirudhangam etc.were taught. Thus Annamalai Chettiyar avowed the purpose of conserving the musical talent of South India.⁹

Origin of the Tamil Music Movement:

Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar was disappointed to see the apparent neglect of Tamil in the development of music. At the same time a number of articles appeared in Periodicals pointing out the excellence in ancient Tamil and

a number of meetings were also held in which the subject matter was Tamil music.¹⁰ All the Tamil Supporters joined together and they decided to start a movement in popularising Tamil songs. Thus the "Tamil Music Movement" (Tamil Isai Iyakkam) was started.

The Tamil Music Movement was an outgrowth of changing patronage and political structures in South India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century .Madras city, as the centre of colonial administration, grew as the status of princely states. "We want more Tamil in Carnatic Kutcheris",the pro-tamil protesters announced insisting that audience will enjoy the pleasure only when the sahitya was in their mother tongue.In 1933 Annamalai Chettiyar presided the South Indian Music conference and said "always we should safeguard and work for the growth of our Isai(Tamil Music)".In all over Tamilnadu,where there might be sabhas only Tamil songs should be given first and foremost preference and Tamil songs should be sung in major part" – was the first righteous voice given by Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar.This gave birth to the Tamil Music Movement. This Movement was started by Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar along with the prominent Tamil Supporters, Tamil Poets, Pandits and Tamil Laureates. They all joined hands together with him to revive Tamil Music. Important personalities of this movement were R.K. Shanmugam Chettiyar, Rajaji, T.K.Chidhambaranatha Mudaliar, Kalki Krishnamurthy, C.N.Annadurai, Bharathiyar, Bharathidasan, E.V.R.Periyar, Thiru.Vi.Ka and T.S.Chokkalingam.

Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar said, "The main motive of Tamil Music Movement was that Tamil songs should be sung and given first preference in the Musical concerts in Tamilnadu. Hearing good songs with music that too in our mother tongue will give more satisfaction to the people. So, I am requesting the singers to sing more Tamil songs".He played a vital role in Tamil Music Movement.The Music college started by him became the bastion of the Tamil Music Movement. The first attempt in encouraging the learning of Tamil Songs came in 1935 when a prize of Rs.750 was instituted for the best manuscript in Tamil on Indian Music suitable for use as a textbook .

Impact of the Movement:

The mass phase of the Tamil Music Movement began with a Tamil Music Conference in Annamalai University in the early 1940s, where Raja of Chettinad offered a special endowment to the Annamalai University to encourage the study and propagation of Tamil songs. It soon spread to other places. Many public meetings were held in the mofussil towns to create awareness among the common people to garner their support. Tamil Music Conference was convened in 1941 in Annamalai University with the objective of finding out the ways and means of popularizing Tamil songs.¹¹ The subject committee in the conference passed a resolution asking All India Radio authorities to give prominence to Tamil songs in their programs intended for Tamil audience. Sangeetha Sabhas should give due place to Tamil Keerthanas and Pathams. There was a strong opposition for the Tamil Music Movement. In the tenth musical conference on December 3rd, 1942, in Thanjavur Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar reiterated that one could only understand and appreciate the beauty, emotion and aesthetic value and style of songs rendered in the mother tongue, then only art can prove itself. He stressed again and again that the Tamil Music Movement is purely for the promotion and development of Tamil Music and Tamil Musical Compositions and there was no communal or cultural prejudice nor it had anything to do with the politics of the state.¹²

Conclusion:

Tamil songs became very popular that it reached the nook and corner of Tamilnadu. Devaram Thiruvassagam, Nalyira Divya Prabhandham, like that of many Tamil poems were set into music and sung. Bharathiyar Songs were sung. M.M.Dhandabhani Desigar had sung many Tamil songs and he has written songs in Tamil not mixing even a single Sanskrit word. He had set music to Thirukkural and sang. Many Carnatic music singers were in the need to sing Tamil songs in the musical concerts compulsorily as it was the wish and demand of the people. M.S.Subbulakshmi had sung many Tamil Songs and it became popular all over Tamilnadu. Nowadays many Popular singers like Sanjay Subramaniam has keen interest in singing Tamil Songs. The Tamil Music Movement has achieved its goal of popularising Tamil songs and it was successful in its aim. It faced so much criticisms. Some has even called it as extremist movement. To all these criticisms the founders of Tamil Music Movement pointed out again and again that their desire is to listen to music set in their mother tongue rather than mere musical sounds. The Tamil Music Movement originated initially as a cultural expression of the Tamil intellectuals and later turned out to be a Popular Movement.

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THE ROLE OF E.V.RAMASAMY IN SELF- RESPECT MOVEMENT

R. Vijimol & R. Edwin Sam

Introduction

After leaving the congress party E.V.Ramasamy did not start a new movement immediately. E.V.Ramasamy having great popularity among the people was invited by the leaders of the Justice party to join them. Being E.V.R expected congress party to change its attitude for the welfare of the society. Acting quite contrary to the expectations congress merged in to a political movement. E.V.Ramasamy started a new movement in 1925. That movement was self- respect movement.

Early life of E.V.Ramasamy

E.V.Ramasamy was born on 17th of September 1879 at Erode as the son of Venkara Naicker and Chinnathai Ammaiyar. He had his early education at the primary school of Erode. His teacher certified him as unfit for school education. E.V.R. was discontinued in school education. After he started a business and kept it as his occupation. When he got interested in the social service, he left his business. Deeply interested in the poor and untouchable in the society he made close contact with them. At this moment he undertook a religious tour to the North which could not give him peace to his problems. He was involved in the struggle for freedom. He was first social reformer to be born in Tamilnadu.

Joined the Congress Party

He joined the congress party which fought for the freedom of the land.

Attended the Non-co-operation Movement

He participated in the non- co-operation movement which was held in 1920 and was sent to prison twice. Attaining the respect of common people. He was elected chairman of Erode Municipality in 1917. But he resigned his Chairmanship in 1919. He was elected secretary of the state congress committee in 1921, and later as its president in 1923, when the prince of Wales visited Tamilnadu in 1922. The state wide strike became highly successful in Erode.

Struggle at Vaikom

As the member of the Congress party E.V.R. himself completely in the socio-religious problems. In those days low castes were not permitted to enter the temples by Brahmins. E.V.R. started a revolt against temple movement. The struggle attracted E.V.R. He also participated in the struggle with his wife Nagammaiyar and Ayyamuthu. Leaders including E.V.R. were arrested. By his participation as a common leader in the inspiring struggle. E.V.R. was called Vaikom Veerar by the people.

Prohibition struggle

Deeply wounded by the consequences of liquor drinking E.V.R. He was determined to start a struggle against the anti- social evil. That time he picketed a toddy shop at Erode in 1921. His wife Nagammaiyar and sister Kannammal also participated the struggle. The first ladies who were arrested for picketing toddy shops in Tamilland were Nagammaiyar and Kannammal. This created a stir among the ladies of Tamil land. Propagating in favour of prohibition E.V.Ramasamy. He cut down his palm and coconut trees worth Rs.10000 which were used for preparing toddy.

Rejected the Congress Party

He rejected the congress party, reason for dominated the Brahmins rules only. The three percent of the Brahmins held 99% of the high posts. Protesting the E.V.R. brought a resolution in the congress conference held at Kanchipuram District to get the support of the Brahmins, the congress neglected and dismissed this resolution brought by E.V.Ramasamy. He and V.V.S.Iyyar also condemned in holding separate rows for Brahmins in gurukulam at Cheramadevi.

The doctrines of Self-Respect Movement

The doctrines of the movement found expression in the speeches of E.V.Ramasamy to the People between 1926 and 1973. This movement insisted Self-Respect, opposed the supremacy of Brahmins and instigated people against it. The self –Respect movement of

E.V.Ramasamy based on some aims and principles was registered legally in 1925.

The principal aim of the movement was to create awakening among the illiterate right less people who were under the clutches of high castes. The movement was very particular about bringing in the life of people self-respect through self- thinking and relief from slavery. The unnecessary rituals and superstitions, followed by the Hindu religion were severely opposed by the movement.

Opposing the existing defective social system, the movement requested the government to give equal rights to all the people. It wanted to bring about changes in the marriage system and severely criticised and opposed child marriage.

Spreading of the doctrines

The doctrines of the self- respect movement were spread among the people through public meetings and dramas held by E.V.Ramasamy. For the purpose he toured the country frequently. Newspapers were published to add to its effect. His public meetings at Madurai, Chengalpattu, and Viruthunagar were of great historical importance. In these meetings, resolutions were passed against untouchability, caste system and capitalism.

Awakened by the inspiring doctrines of E.V.Ramasamy countless Hindus, Christians and Muslims participated in public meeting and conferences held by him. Many books containing advanced thinking were published by him. So many organisations were constituted by the movement against caste atrocities and religious superstitions. Among them 'Superstition Eradication Conference' held at Salem in 1971

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was of great importance. In the procession in connection with the conference the idols of gods were carried and cowdung and chappals were thrown on them. Through he opposed and fought against social maladies courageously and with iron determination.

Anti- Hindi agitation

The Congress party was victorious in the election of 1937 and the ministry was formed under the head of Rajaji. Then learning Hindi became compulsory in schools. E.V.Ramasamy made this issue in to a political storm. Anti- Hindi agitation by thousand of students and common people spread all over Tamilnadu. Police opened fire to suboue this riot, in which Thalamuthu and Naderajan were killed. Several leaders including E.V.Ramasamy were arrested and imprisoned. E.V.Ramasamy was given imprisonment for a year. E.V.Ramasamy who lived in the hearts of people, was elected as the leader of Justice Party in 1940, when he was in prison.

Dravida kazhaham

The Justice party began to decline in importance with its failure in the elections of 1937. Under these circumstances. E.V. Ramasamy reconstituted the doctrines of the party and formed a new party called 'Dravida Kazhakham.'

Conclusion

A number of Political Parties in Tamilnadu, such as Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam owe their origins to thy Self-Respect Movement, the letter a 1972 breakaway from the DMK. Both parties are populist with a generally social democratic orientation.

SANSKRIT AND STATE – GOA FROM 400 AD TO 1024 AD

Aditi Shukla

This article deals with some aspects of the history of Goa from 400 AD to 1024 AD. It is an attempt to inquire into the universality of Sanskrit in Goa. During this period, Goa was a part of larger kingdoms of South India and was ruled by the vassal kings of those kingdoms. The inscriptions issued by the Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas of Badami, Goa Shilaharas kings were studied and analysed in order to examine the prevalence of Sanskrit in Goa. It also analyses the use of Sanskrit by the kings in the

religious, political, social and administrative aspects of their states as well as in establishing the legitimacy of their kingdom. This included the delegation of political authority to Brahmanas, system of land grants, making the gifts of lands tax-free for the donee Brahmanas, dominant role of Brahmanas in state administration and religious works. Such practices were seen from during the Bhojas rule up to the end of Shilahara dynasty in 1024 AD.

IDOLATRY & HERO WORSHIP IN THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF PUDUCHERRY: A READING & ANALYSIS OF THE VISUAL CULTURE OF PUDUCHERRY THROUGH THE BANNERS AND POSTERS OF N.RANGASAMY

U. Ananthkrishnan & Dr.V.Santhi Siri

The paper analyses the posters erected during the birthday of Puducherry's ex-chief minister Mr. N. Rangasamy. It attempts to decipher how posters are employed in Puducherry's popular culture to create a personality cult that actualizes or normalizes hero worship and how it reinstates the common perception of Political/Social personalities. The Tamil Popular Culture has a complimentary and trajectory relationship between movies, film stars and political leaders.

This paper argues that the poster culture has a long standing and echoing effect on how the

'Hero' is manufactured through the culmination of multiple popular culture tools like Films, myths, religion, archetypes etc. They are created with specific interests and also to (re)establish certain relations between the hero and the society that will add to the status quo and power of certain individuals and communities. The construction of such a Hero Image within a particular cultural-political context and infusing them into a single poster creates the perfect concoction for public consumption that instigates fanatic Idolatry.

NAXAL MOVEMENT IN PALAKKAD, KERALA

P.K. Aneesudheen

Naxalism is one of the serious threats to the integrity of India as well as to the Kerala state also. In India the emergence of Naxal movement can be traced back to 1967 with the uprising in the village of Naxalbari area of west Bengal. It was necessitated by the revolutionary politics and ideological differences within the Communist Party of India in 1964, and subsequently Communist Party of India (Marxists) (CPM) was born. The CPI(M) was in favour of actively participating in parliamentary

politics and postponing armed struggle to the day when a revolutionary situation prevailed in the country. It participated in the 1967 election and formed a coalition government with the Bangla Congress in West Bengal. This led to a split in the party. A section of the party, most of them were youngsters, accused the leadership and demanded the immediate starting of armed peasant insurrections in rural areas and gradual extension of the armed struggle to the entire country. They launched a peasant uprising in the

small Naxalbari area of northern West Bengal. Immediately the CPM leadership expelled the rebel leaders and soon they were joined by other similar groups from the CPM in the country. Later they came to be known as Naxalites. Similar parties and groups were also formed in Andhra, Orissa, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Kerala.

The term Naxalism is also used to denote or designate Maoism for comparing a more global phenomenon as it appears to follow Mao Tse-tung's approach which ideally looked at the agrarian class rather than working class, as the key revolutionary force which could transform the capitalist society towards socialism.

ACCAMMA CHERIAN: A WOMAN FREEDOM FIGHTER FROM TRAVANCORE

Anjana Aby

The first decades of nineteenth century witnessed an increased participation of women in the Indian National movement. Kerala witnessed widespread struggles like Vaikom Satyagraha, Guruvayur Satyagraha and Temple entry proclamation for democratic society.

Malabar, Kochi and Travancore were the main regions in connection with national movement in Kerala. While Malabar was directly ruled by British, the presence of nationalist movement was eminent there. The rest were princely states. So activities of Indian National Congress (INC) were comparatively weak in those princely states during the early phase of national movement. Formation of Travancore State Congress to achieve responsible government in 1938 and its ban by the princely state led to the rise of Mrs

Accamma Cherian in Travancore politics. The major political event led by Accamma Cherian in Travancore was the famous Rajadhani March, which brought national attention to her.

The mass movements all over India initiated by Mahathma Gandhi had a prominent role in the increased participation of women in Indian political struggle. Annie Beasant, Sarojini Naidu, Suchetha Kripalini and Aruna Asaf Ali emerged as strong women freedom fighters in the Indian soil. The history of Accamma Cherian (1909 - 1982) the freedom fighter from Central Travancore is not adequately discussed and remembered in the Indian freedom struggle. My attempt is to place Accamma Cherian and her role in the Indian freedom struggle.

THE EMERGE OF POLITICAL AWAKENING IN ANDHRA PRADESH : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Annapurna.C

In this paper an attempt is made to identify the role played by the Regional Political Party and the awakening in Andhra Pradesh after independence. The Indian Independence movement was a mass-based movement that encompassed various sections of society. The emergence of Regional economic imbalances in India has also been a factor in the emergence of regional parties. Several regions of the country have registered a relatively high level of economic development while many others continue to lag behind. The local leaders, particularly who belong to the economically backward or lowly developed regions, cry often exploit the local feelings and form regional parties for representing the regional interests as

well as for strengthening their bargaining power vis-a-vis the national leaders. The emergence of Asom Ghana Paris had, Telugu Desam Patty is an example. The period between 1858 and 1885 saw the growth of several vernacular newspapers and literary associations in Andhra in tune with phenomenon throughout the country. The first Telugu Journal to be published is believed to be the *Satya Doota*, a missionary journal for the propagation of Christianity by the Christian Association of Bellary. To counteract the missionary propaganda, a few Telugu newspapers were started, the most notable among them being *the Tatwa Bodhini* in 1864 by the Veda Samaja of Madras.

MONSOON THROUGH DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE: IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

Febin Sithara

Today, climate change has emerged as the most important environmental issue all over the world. India has a total geographical area of 3.29 million sq.km or 329 million hectares due to the vastness of the country, its different regions have varied climate and rainfall patterns. India has a great diversity of climates with many striking contrasts of metrological conditions. The diversity is perhaps greater here than in any other area of similar size in the world. Kerala enjoys a wonderful diversity in its geography and this is reflected in the diverse climatic trend across the state. Nature has bestowed Kerala with abundant rainfall. The average annual rainfall of the State, situated in the southwestern corner of the Indian peninsula is about 300 cm, which is about three times the average for the whole of India. Kerala is one of the smallest states of India and has an area only a little more than 1% of the country as a whole. The High-

ranges have a cool and refreshing climate throughout the year, while the plains are hot and humid. As part of the changes in the global climatic conditions, Kerala climate also have been changing. Rainfall pattern in Kerala exhibits Uncertainties during the recent decade. Considering the overall climatic distribution of the state, there are four seasons in Kerala that are, Monsoon, Post- monsoon, winter and summer. The average level of annual rainfall in Kerala is quite high when compared to other Indian states.

Various studies have reported significant seasonal monsoon precipitation, on regional and sub-regional scales over South Asia, during the second half of the 20th century. This paper is describes an analysis monsoon through documentary evidence in the perspective of environmental history.

GANDHIAN NON-VIOLENCE AND ITS RELEVENCE IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES- A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

G. Gnaneshwari

India carries somewhat of a reputation globally as the home of spirituality and a champion of non-violence. The combined legacies of Emperor Ashoka, Gautam Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi, and many other renowned gurus and sages have left an imprint on the way India seeks to carry itself on the world stage and also to an extent on how the rest of the world perceives it. Even India's road to independence from colonial rule was paved with the asphalt of non-violence. While

there were elements that fought the might of the British Empire with fire, it was ultimately the peaceful mass movements like non-cooperation, Satyagraha, and civil disobedience that captured the world's attention. Of course, Britain's post-war decline contributed to its inability to hold on to its colonial possessions, but the headlines and history books will always cite the non-violent rebellion as a landmark.

DAWN OF THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE : VELLORE MUTINY- 1806

P. Jayachitra

Early in the morning of *10th July 1806*, at approximately quarter past two, a heavy and prolonged firing of musketry was heard within the walls of the fort of Vellore. Indian troops, employees of the British East India Company, had mutinied. They had begun to attack and kill the British officers attached to their battalions, as

well as a detachment of British soldiers from *His Majesty's 69th Regiment* which happened to be stationed at Vellore. Indian troops formed the basis of the East India Company's power and influence. They far out numbered their British counter parts in the Company army. For example, at the time of this dramatic massacre

there were some 383 British troops garrisoned at Vellore, as against at least 1500 Indian sepoys. Even this proportion of British to Indians was relatively high in comparison to the situation in the Madras Presidency as a whole. The total figures for the Madras army in 1806 were 55,050 sepoys and 7,900 British forces. For an appropriate final comment on the Vellore mutiny

and on its historiography, it is necessary to return to *Rosselli, Bentinck's* most recent biographer. He neatly sums up the problems that faced those who investigated the mutiny at the time and that have continued to face those who have attempted to write its history. Vellore remains unexplained.

MAHARAJA SRI KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR- IV AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN MYSORE STATE- AN ANALYSIS

K.C. Mahadesha

An attempt is made in this paper to analyze the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar - IV and his contribution to modern Mysore State. If Karnataka is today considered as a pioneer in software industry & Knowledge hub, part of the credit must go to Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar IV. Born in 1884, he lost his father when he was just 11 years old. His mother ruled the state till he attained the age of majority in 1902 which heralded a new era for the erstwhile state of Mysore. He wasted no time in triggering a slew of reforms with emphasis on education & industrialization. One of the most admired qualities of the Maharaja was his art of delegation which was rarity among leaders those days, but it is now recognized as one of the top lessons in management. With the interests of the state in mind, he would put all the

necessary efforts into understanding a project and identify the right person who had relevant qualities & qualifications for that project. He would then delegate the project to that person and give him complete freedom (and necessary motivation as well without interfering in the job) to carry out the project. For example, when Sir M Visvesvaraya (Sir MV) was serving as engineer for British India, it was Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar who persuaded Sir MV to quit his job and offered him the post of Dewan of Mysore (Prime Minister) and give him complete authority to carry out large scale projects including infrastructure, industrial, banking & more. Similarly, he identified the right people for promoting Yoga, Music, Arts, Education, Infrastructure and delegated such projects to them.

LABOUR ISSUES IN TAMILNADU DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

E. Manikannan

The role played by Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundara Mudailar (Thiru.Vi.Ka.) and P.Varadarajulu Naidu as Congress Leaders in the labour activities and working class movement in Tamil Nadu is remarkable one. Both of them were not only as Labour leaders of the Congress but also a frontline Freedom Fighters of Tamil Nadu. Born on August 26, 1883 at Thullam in Tiruvarur in Tamil Nadu, in 1917, Thiru.Vi.Ka joined the Congress with the firm belief of rendering service to the Country. Thiru.Vi.Ka. became more and more a disseminator of Gandhian political ideas to the people of Tamil Nadu since 1920. The arrival of Keir Hardie, the chairman of the Labour Party in England had a

salutary effect in the history of the Labour activities in Tamil Nadu. His short stay in Madras and publication of his life history in Newspapers influenced Thiru.Vi.Ka. Then Thiru.Vi.Ka. became a prominent Tamil Nationalist and journalist and also one of the founders of the 'Madras Labour Union' (MLU). Textile Mills contributed much to the numerical strength of the factory labourers in Tamil Nadu. Madras, Coimbatore, Madurai and Tirunelveli were the important centres of textile industry in Tamil Nadu. A good beginning towards organised labour movement was made among the textile mill workers in the Madras city by Thiru.Vi.Ka., B.P. Wadia, and others who took the cause of workers and motivated them.

FORMATION OF VIDUTHALAI CHIRUTHAIGAL PARTY A STUDY

K. Rajendra Prasath

The Indian Politics has incorporated with democracy, equality and religious non-dependency which can highly called as Multidimensional. Even though, Our Indian penal code 17 severely condemned Untouchability. Yet, it has its traces in the disguise of post modernism. Several parties protest against this cruelty. The Viduthalai Chiruthaigal party is the prominent one among them. The party remains as the representative of the Dalit's by voicing against untouchability through their politics and protests in the history of Tamilnadu.

In 1982, under the leadership of Sapitha, wife of Dr. Ambedkar, the Bharath Dalit Panther Movement has laid its foundation at

Tamukkam of Madurai City. A.Malaichamy, Advocated, prosecutor, has taken the responsibility of being the state level organizer of the movement. Later, a public meeting of the administration council of Bharath Dalit Panthers movement was held on 21, January 1990. The members of the movement have nominated Thirumavalavan as the leader of the party. Immediately, he has taken the charge as the leader of the movement and changed.name of the into Movement name of Indian Subaltern Panthers insured of Bharath Dalit Panthers. Later on in the 1991 against the name of the movement was again changed into the Viduthalai Chiruthaigal lyakkam.

'COMPENSATORY DISCRIMINATION' POLICIES AND 'SOCIAL JUSTICE': A HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION.

R.N. Reshma

In this paper : In attempt has been made for a historical exploration and understanding of the concept of reservation. Can social and economic justice reconciled with the contemporary democratic principles? This is what attempt to delve into here. Social Justice theories are still catching up with experience and social realities. While advancing understanding of social justice is both Social justice is a mandatory and progressive concept and the value of social justice can be taken as criterion of radical social change in public sphere and it does so by reflecting the specific contingencies that have marked its colonial past and historical present. The shadow of historicity conditioned the mechanism of coloniality of compensatory policies which must contextualizing an

interactions within and between a multitude of settings.

This paper investigate whether and ,if so ,to what extent, state's policy of reservation and choice of social justice principles are related to the type of colonized state regime they live under, as well as to relook the most crucial policy formulations in three phases ie, The first part deals with Pre- independent period the how British government policies working for the Compensatory Discrimination programmes and their implementation in Indian society . The second part Specifying the evidence of lower caste movements in 'colonial' India and emerging manifestation of reservation.

FINANCE ASSISTANCE FOR WOMEN SELF HELP GROUPS IN TAMIL NADU
(2001-2010)

S. Sumathi Kamalam

In the year 1983, Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Limited was established with the primary goal for the development of socio-economic and empowerment of rural women. The corporation was under the control of Social Welfare Department administration from inception up to 2006. In July 2006, the corporation was come under the control of Rural Development administration and Panchayat Raj Department to bring greater teamwork and superior coordination in executing multiple schemes for Self Help Groups. The vision of Mahalir Thittam of Tamil Nadu Women Development Corporation is "Empowerment of one million women in Tamil

Nadu with special emphasis on the poverty-stricken and deprived. Empowerment of social-economic condition and building of capacity are the goals of the Mahalir Thittam for which the Self-Help Groups are supported as tool. This research work is being focused on fund allocation through which the status of economically backward people to grow from grass route level. It is not only fulfilling the economic needs of the people but also stimulate the social condition of the people which indirectly help their children to good education and other aspects of life. The members of SHGs women became bread winners of their family as men.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS – SOCIAL HISTORY SECTION

THE MAKING OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES IN INDIA

Prof. Bhangya Bhukya

I am extremely grateful to the Executive Committee of the South Indian History Congress for this unexpected honour it has conferred on me by asking me to deliver the Sectional President's Address of Social History of its 40th Annual Session. I feel privileged as my name will be listed among the stalwarts who have delivered this address earlier. I think this is indeed a great honour conferred on my humble work in history. As some of you may know, my major research concern is the histories of subaltern communities, particularly nomadic and *adivasis* (aboriginal people) whose history has largely been neglected in our mainstream history. In this Address, I intend to speak on the ways in which the category of the scheduled tribes was created under the rule of the British colonialism.

The first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, once said, "I have always been vaguely interested in the so-called tribes of India. Why they are called tribes, I do not quite know, because, in a sense, all of us can be called tribes. However, I suppose that there is some suggestion in the use of the word 'tribal' of relatively less development".¹ Nehru thus willingly or unwillingly endorsed the use of the term 'tribal' a category that emerged in the course of the colonial administrative-political practices. And the 'suggestion of relatively less development' has come to be deeply embedded with all its negative implications in the public psyche to the present day.

In the course and as a function of subduing and maintaining its dominance over the sub-continent, the British colonial-Indian state in collaboration with anthropologists, missionaries and influential native informers produced a large body of knowledge concerning various aspects of the life of the subject peoples. Such a production of knowledge necessarily involved classifying, categorizing, naming and also ordering a bewildering variety of formations and groups. In this obviously complex process, those communities and groups which lived for the most part in the more inaccessible hill and forest tracts and survived largely from hunting-

gathering or rudimentary and swidden agriculture, were separated from the others and categorized as 'aboriginals' or 'early tribes'. They were distinguished by their 'clan-based systems of kinship and 'animistic' religious beliefs. Sometimes, they were also defined in terms of their habitat, as 'jungle tribes.' Those amongst them who were constrained to take to 'raids' even occasionally, were branded as 'criminal tribes'. In this way, putting together different related aspects, a category of 'tribe' was created, a body of knowledge about it, and this knowledge was preserved and reproduced in the forms of anthropological and ethnological notes, gazetteers and census reports. Needless to say it was this knowledge that became the framework as well as the guidelines for the administrative practices. As a sub-process, these scattered communities in different places also came to acquire an internal unity they had not hitherto possessed. The common experience under the British colonial rule was crucial in forging this unity between the *adivasis* or indigenous people.²

From the last decades of the nineteenth century, the colonial state adopted a policy of *protectionism* towards these social groups, administratively separating them from their caste-conscious neighbours, as there was intense conflict between the *adivasis* and the non-*adivasis*. This led to the designation of these groups as Scheduled Tribes and their habitats as Scheduled Areas. Importantly this creation of an administrative boundary between the plain and forest areas had many implications for these forest societies.³ Particularly it created an artificial divide between the plains and the hill people. And the *adivasis* were stigmatized as remnants of ancient people. However, the forest-based and plains-based people had been living together both in harmony and tension despite the historically embedded differences between the two. Although this project of protectionism eventually failed in many respects, it ended up stigmatizing the forest communities as primitive, unpredictable, uncivilized, isolationist, barbaric, violent, human sacrificers, criminal, backward,

and different from that of the normal human species in mentality and mode of living.⁴

Parallel however, to this colonial and degraded categorization, these forest communities themselves, provoked perhaps by this very process, were becoming conscious of themselves, their relative historically evolved distinction from their neighbours and the current imperative for self-consolidation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they put forward and elaborated self-given identities for themselves in the emerging public sphere. Along with this new-found self-identification, went the demand for the right of self-direction and self-determination. They claimed in contrast, to be the 'original' or 'indigenous' people of the subcontinent who had been deposed and also displaced by later interlopers. They deployed the Hindi term for 'indigenous'- that of '*adivasi*', to describe themselves. The term *adivasi* is a combination of *adi* (earliest) and *vasi* (resident) meaning original inhabitants. It is said to have emerged first in Chotanagpur or erstwhile Bihar in the early decades of the 20th century and widely popularized by a social worker A.V Thakkar in subsequent years.⁵ The nationalists and anthropologists who later came to know about this concept were largely uncomfortable with this term as it interrogated their description of these communities and more importantly their own presumed Indian origin, and they also saw it as a challenge to the type of Indian nationalism they had begun to articulate. The sociologist G. S. Ghurye, for example, preferred to use the term 'Backward Hindus' and endeavoured to place the *adivasis* within the hierarchies of the caste society itself.⁶ Thus the colonial state and various other parallel interest-groups designated the forest communities with different terms and names, but always with the 'suggestion of relatively less development.' Following however, these communities own self-descriptions, we use the term '*adivasi*' in this chapter to refer to them, thus avoiding the colonial derogatory. In this chapter I examine the ways in which the colonial state classified the indigenous people as a separate knowledge-administrative category, and how that categorization has affected their society and culture and even their own self-perception. Attempts will also be made to explore the politics articulated around the colonial project of knowledge creation in general. Let us

now begin by asking how the colonial anthropology came to construct the term 'Tribe'.

Tribe: A category of Lesser Humans

The construction of the notion of the Tribe with all its implications can largely be attributed to the colonial state and its anthropology. This is not to suggest that the notion is purely a colonial invention, for, the derogatory descriptions of the *adivasis* in the Hindu *sastras* (religious texts) also played equal role in its creation. The Hindu *sastras* postulated the forest communities outside the grand *chaturvarna* (four *varnas*) scheme, designated them as *Vanavasis* (forest people) and sentenced them to live in pits and eat creatures from holes.⁷ There are many such derogatory descriptions of the *adivasis* available in the Hindu *puranas* particularly in the *Mahabharatha* and *Ramayana*. These descriptions became the basis and pretext to the colonial state and its anthropological investigations in setting up a separate category of the *Scheduled Tribe* as the other of and opposite to the caste-Hindu society. The influential, mostly Brahminical native informers had been the teachers and interpreters of these Hindu literatures to the Colonisers. It has been well established in many recent studies that the creation of knowledge about the subject races was a major genre within the colonial milieu as an important means for the extension and sustenance of the colonial power and that this project was clearly a collaborative one. Such a project has resulted in massive literature on almost all communities and was used as a source for legal and general administration. The colonial state interestingly had been widening and reorienting its project of colonial knowledge creation as its control expanded and penetrated farther and farther.⁸

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the European colonisers did not see much distinction between the castes and tribes. All the Indian communities were treated by the colonisers as tribes and they were divided into four categories. When the term 'caste' which originated from the Portuguese and Spanish, came to be used to describe the plains people, more clearly those following the Brahmanical ruling values, a divide was created between the plains and the hill people. The hill people were considered as primitive tribes or as remnants of Indian civilisation.⁹ A clearer demarcation came

to be drawn further from their encounter with the hill people during their early establishment of Pax Britannica. The encounter of the Colonisers with the hills people everywhere more or less was uniformly violent and bloody. Resistance was indeed stiff and pervasive. The colonial expansion into the forests and hills was first resisted violently by the Pahariya Sirdars of Bihar in 1778. With the Assam tribals' revolt of 1816-24, the British approach to the indigenous people changed and they began understanding them as a distinct entity. The Santhal revolt of 1855 was another such landmark, which led to the commissioning of a number of studies of their material and cultural conditions.¹⁰ Thus, resistance or 'revolts' in the colonial language lead the rulers to treat the indigenous communities as tribes, separate and different mostly in the negative sense from the others.

Treatment of the indigenous as a separate species or subhuman was the predominant character of the colonial anthropology and it had another root to draw inspiration from that is, anthropometry.¹¹ The Darwinist (taxonomies of race) anthropology of colonial India developed within the larger framework of the nineteenth century - European racial theories, which in India served the legal and administrative purposes, as well as helped maintaining British hegemony over the inferior races.¹² Much of the early work on racial classification was, as in Europe, undertaken by biologists, and based on a hierarchical classification in which tribes were identified with older races and languages. Biologising of race by anthropologists involved the dividing of human species based on their physical measurements. It grouped the round-headed with new races, and the long-headed with old races.¹³ Based on this distinction, it was argued that elements of the Negritos, one of the oldest races, could be found in the Kadars of Cochin State in South India, and those of the Australoid (brown race) in the some of the other southern Indian hill and forest *adivasis*. Similar primitive groups, according to them, were the Mala Pantarams of Travancore, the Paliyar of Madura district, the Malavetans, Thantapulayan and Urali, all of whom were said to share strong Proto-Australoid traits.¹⁴ Indologists, working on language, claimed that the tribal languages were the oldest ones spoken in India. They unearthed thirty different groups of languages, and asserted that half a dozen of these belong to the family

known as Austric, which was the oldest, and that these were spoken by the tribes. They also argued that probably the most ancient types survived in South India, where the climate favoured the growth of heavy forests that provided a refuge for these primitive social groups.¹⁵

While abstract ideas of racial theory continued to influence scholars throughout the period of colonial rule, there was a shift during the closing years of the nineteenth century towards establishing racial classification based on measurable physical traits. The foremost figure in this exercise was H.H Risley of the Bengal Civil Service. He was the pioneer of the anthropometric survey of Bengal and under his influence the Government of India resolved to carry out an ethnographic survey throughout India at the time of the 1901 census. Edgar Thurston carried out this work for Madras Presidency.¹⁶ He was an anatomy lecturer at the medical college in Madras, and had experience as Superintendent of the Madras Museum. His long association with the Anthropological Survey of India produced seven volumes on the *Castes and Tribes of South India*, a study of the *Todas*, and the famous *Ethnographic Notes* on South Indian castes and tribes. In all his works, the anthropometry that he had imbibed from Risley provided the dominant methodology.¹⁷ Body measurement provided the main criteria for his classification of human species; he measured the foreheads of 30 to 60 members of a caste or tribe, and mapped them under certain racial categories. In some cases only 6 to 7 individuals were measured.¹⁸

Thurston's *Ethnographic Notes* is a huge volume that deals with marriage customs, idolatrous cults, sacrifices, hook-swinging rituals, witchcrafts, mantras (spells), earth eating, and other exotica. With regard to the tribes, he either tries to link their practices with those of the Hindus, or exaggerates their idiosyncrasy as evidence of a supposed primitivism.¹⁹ The sort of descriptions, which merged the identity of the *adivasis* into the Hindu fold, was later replicated by Hindu propagandists. The Hindu organisations like RSS and VHP have, taking their cue from such texts, been converting *adivasis* into Hinduism by sprinkling Ganga *jal* (water of the Ganga) over their heads, a sort of purification act.²⁰ In other respects, Thurston's

primitivism had branded the tribes as Homo Dravida and similar to the Australian aboriginals. He exoticises them in a number of ways.²¹ The *adivasis'* common practice of making fire by friction with two pieces of wood is depicted as a 'primitive' custom.²² This gave a negative connotation to the *adivasi* life and culture; they were portrayed as examples of primitive civilisation and 'museamized'. The supposed primitivism of the *adivasis* was also emphasised in the writings of missionaries from the early nineteenth century onwards. The implication here was that such communities could only be saved and civilised through conversion to Christianity²³

In this way, the colonial anthropology and state had constructed a category of primitive tribe or simply tribe. These classifications of races, languages and bodies continually recurrent in census reports, monographs and ethnographic notes pushed the *adivasis* to the bottom of the colonially imagined civilizational ladder. The *adivasi* culture was branded as uncivilized, while the Aryan (Brahman and the educated) race and Indo-Aryan languages were considered by Orientalist scholars to be more civilized.²⁴ Unfortunately, this stigmatization of the *adivasis* continues to inform the understanding of them in India to this day.

Criminal Tribes: A category of aberrant subjects

Criminal Tribe is another sub-category of the *adivasis* created by the colonial state and colonial anthropology. Under the British rule, the communities found involved in group-robbery were identified and classified as Criminal Tribes under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. Although mainly nomadic communities were classified under this category, many *adivasi* communities also particularly those who were involved in raids were also brought under this category.²⁵ The colonial definition of Criminal Tribe was framed in terms of caste, religion, and the supposedly fanatical, deceptive and cruel characters of the subject race.²⁶ The state largely conceived such notions from the Orientalists' imagination of India by extracting once again from the rhetoric of the Hindu classical texts. In this case, the Orientalists had deployed texts that associated each caste or community with particular social and occupational traits. These stereotypical traits were then reproduced as sociological facts in colonial administrative

reports.²⁷ Thus, stereotypical notions about the thugs, the *dhartoora* (poisoners) and the *budhuks* were derived from the Indian notions of 'otherness'. The phenomenon of 'thuggee' was viewed by the colonial authorities as characteristically Indian, a practice sanctioned and perpetuated by Hinduism.²⁸

These notions however were also sought to be methodically proven by the colonial science. The colonial anthropology, indeed, established a biological basis of the criminality of the *adivasi* communities. It has been pointed out in some recent studies, how the ideology of the colonial state on dacoity was an echo of the European concept of the 'dangerous class'. Important in this respect was Lombroso's theory of the 'born-criminal,' that rested on a belief in criminality as an innate biological and heritable trait. Building on Lombroso's work, Bertillon developed an anthropometric system that claimed to be able to identify criminality on the basis of physical measurements. Such theories and practices provided the scientific veneer for the idea of the 'criminal tribe,' which further legitimised the harsh and punitive measures taken against groups that were already marginalized generally.²⁹

The racial studies of the nineteenth century Europe had encouraged anthropometric studies in India. Indeed, during the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the colonial state became increasingly fixated on delineating and identifying India's various racial and ethnic groups. George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, remarked in 1866 that 'this country, in a far greater degree than any other in the world, offers an unlimited field for ethnological observation and enquiry, and presents an infinity of varieties of almost every one of the great divisions of the human race.'³⁰ These ethnological studies, often deploying anthropometric methods and practices, largely focused on the physical and cultural peculiarities that were entrenched in India's diverse demography. Certain tribal communities were branded as habitual criminals on the basis of their physical features, and this provided a basis for the need for police surveillance and control of these communities. Every police officer and station was equipped with a notebook of criminal tribes of the region, and books by Gunthorpe and Mulla on criminal tribes and Thurston's

ethnographic notes were very popular in police training centres in South India. Thurston was often requested to speak at such places. The ability to carry out anthropometric measurements also enhanced promotion prospects within the police force.³¹

Interestingly, many police officers also began to carry out their own ethnographic studies of 'criminal' communities. These studies not only outlined the morphological traits of each community but also the methods and tools employed by it during a dacoity. As particular modes of robbery were attributed to particular communities and this was seen to help police identify a group responsible for an unsolved crime.³²

This project was largely sponsored by the state. It was an established practice that whenever any gang committed a theft or dacoity, the colonial state would immediately call for a study of that gang. If it were found that the gang had no specific occupation or fixed residence, it would be notified as a criminal tribe or caste under the Criminal Tribes Act. The colonial state went on to publish details about the group and circulate the material among all the Provincial Governments and Princely States. The colonial state thus created a body of knowledge regarding the 'criminal' communities throughout the subcontinent.

In addition to the anthropological studies, the census reports and gazetteers were another cherished achievement of the Indian colonial state. Together, these provided for the bureaucracy the knowledge of the racial and morphological character of each community. These studies were produced and reproduced throughout the colonial period in various forms. In this process, many lower caste Hindus and the *adivasi* communities were marked as criminal, as they were considered the oldest races and with no specific occupations and/or a permanent shelter. Every province and state police department was equipped with a huge stack of such ethnographic notes.³³

As I have argued somewhere else, taking to dacoity was neither an inborn trait nor a hereditary practice in the communities of India or for that matter anywhere else. Rather, some communities took to dacoity when the colonial interventions destroyed their longstanding

livelihood practices and threw them into perpetual impoverishment. In other words, the phenomenon of this sort of dacoity was a response to the vicissitudes of the colonial rule.³⁴

This was because dacoity was generally seen by the state as a political rather than a criminal act. The colonial state had successfully criminalized the political expression of the *adivasi* communities. Historically, it represented a form of *chout* (tax) collected by groups such as the Marathas and *adivasi* chiefs. It was more prevalent in Udaipur, Gujarat, Khandesh and the Nizam's territories in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when power was being centralised in their territories. Skaria shows us how the Bhil's raids in western India at this time constituted a demand for their *haks/giras* (share), symbolising their right to collect an amount as a due from a village. This tax collection was crucial to their exercise of political authority. He says the 'raids could be about demonstrating a raja's authority, or responding appropriately to challenges to that authority.'³⁵ Nevertheless, as stated above, these activities were judged to be criminal acts by the colonial state, with some such groups being branded as criminal tribes and reined in under the Criminal Tribes Act.

Some communities had embraced dacoity and indulged in petty thefts during distress created by recurrent famines. This was compounded by the colonial techniques of surveillance, that is, with the criminal stigma attached to their community in fact pushing them further into dacoity. An administrative category of criminal tribes was created when they were enumerated separately from the 1911 census. Although the colonial state managed to suppress dacoity to some extent by the 1940s, and many communities settled down as peasants and agricultural labourers, the criminal stigma attached to certain communities not only hampered their engaging in an honest livelihood but also severely tarnished their social standing and reputation. Even after decolonization, the Indian government declared about millions people to be 'Ex-criminal Tribes' or De-Notified Tribes.³⁶ Such an identity as 'criminal tribe' continues to be a major concern for millions in their everyday struggle as poor and subordinated communities within the postcolonial India.

Scheduled Tribe: A Category of Isolated People

The creation of the Scheduled Areas or Scheduled Tribes was part of the colonial state's policy of protectionism. The colonial rule had ruthlessly destroyed the long established livelihood practices of the indigenous people and thrown them into acute poverty and scarcity. The indigenous people were banned from utilising the now 'reserved' forests for continuing their old ways of hunting, gathering, shifting agriculture, or grazing livestock. The migration of the land hungry dominant peasants and moneylenders into the hills made the indigenous people life impossible. In general, the tribals, whether living in the plains or in the forests, suffered increasing marginalisation throughout India under the colonial rule.³⁷ This pushed the subordinate castes and classes to adopt more violent methods of resistance to the colonial rule. This was more apparent in the forest and hill areas. This led the colonial state to adopt a policy of protectionism from the last decades of the nineteenth century in order to pacify the toiling *adivasis*. As a part of this project the colonial state had created new administrative categories of *Scheduled Tribe*. The professional anthropologists, who were greatly inspired by the Western romanticism, were crucial in advocating such Scheduled Tribe protectionism.

There was a strong strand also of romanticism in the Orientalist understanding of India that grew out of the eighteenth century Western romanticism. This outlook was shared by certain colonial officials, Indologists, historians, sociologists and anthropologists.³⁸ The romantic understanding of the *adivasi* society was not confined to professional anthropologists but many colonial administrators also internalised these values very strongly. Hardiman and Skariya have shown in a revealing way how tribal masculinity was celebrated by colonial administrators and forest officers in Western India. They equated the egalitarian values (honesty, frankness, communal life) of the tribals with Rousseau's state of nature, seeing them as innocent and childlike. They depicted them as noble, honest, loyal and ruggedly independent. Some officials internalised the *adivasi* values and culture to the extent they took to drinking and hunting along with them. As Skariya says 'this celebration is ethnocentric and ethnocentrism is anti-

ethnocentric.'³⁹ Indeed, the underlying intention was to acquire more knowledge of the *adivasi* world and then encourage them to adopt more 'civilised' ways of life. The officials, after acquiring acquaintance with the *adivasis*, gradually directed them towards settled and commercial agriculture and encouraged outsiders (moneylenders, traders and peasants) to come into the forest so as to incorporate *adivasis* within the wider civilization, supposing that it would then be easy to control them.⁴⁰ Many colonial forest officials were *shikaris* (hunters) and they needed the assistance of forest-dwelling *adivasis* in their hunting. With this intension, the forest officials developed rapport with the *adivasis* by internalising *adivasi* culture and methods in hunting, but this process went hand-in-hand with the exclusion and subordination of the *adivasi*, the *adivasi* free hunter being reduced to a mere labourer serving the interests of British trophy-hunters. As Skariya puts it, 'colonial celebration of the wild and the forest are best understood as a civilized dalliance with wildness - the dalliance that often goes by the name of primitivism.'⁴¹ In fact this primitivism was premised on domination and mastery. Their celebration of primitivism itself alluded to their domination over subordinate *adivasis*, and it all served to extend their control over them. Eventually, it was all to lead to the brutal eviction of *adivasis* from the forests in a phased manner and also serve the forest conservation agenda of the colonial rule.

With the entry of the professional anthropologist from the early twentieth century, the romantic understanding entered a new phase. Anthropologists went into the *adivasi* areas with some presupposed ideas that *adivasis* were uncivilised, innocent and honest, but taken advantage of by unscrupulous outsiders. They tried to immerse themselves in the lives of those they studied, even in some case marrying tribal girls to prove their commitment to tribal culture and life.⁴² Among them Verrier Elwin and Haimendorf were two stalwarts who worked with the *adivasis* of central and southern India; the *adivasis* in these places still have great reverence for them, not realising the wider implications of their work.⁴³ Haimendorf asserted that *adivasi* society was exclusive and isolated, so that any intervention was likely to cause devastation of their simple and naturalistic life. He argued that much damage had been done

by outsiders, including state bureaucrats, and suggested that enhanced powers be granted to tribal leaders along lines adopted by the British in areas of indirect rule.⁴⁴

At one point, partly because of the professional anthropologists' advocacy for the *adivasi* protectionism, the government encircled the *Adivasi* tracts and excluded them from general administration under the Act of 1935. The encircled tract was called Partially Excluded Areas or Tribal Agency Areas.⁴⁵ The history of the creation of a tribal agency goes back to the early nineteenth century when the East India Company formed separate corps to crush the Bhil and Gond chiefs after the conquest of the Marathas. A separate force called Khandesh Bhils Corps was created in 1825.⁴⁶ Similar corps was also formed to check the raiding Gonds in the Narmada valley and Chanda territories.⁴⁷ As mentioned above, after the British took over the Gond territories, they separated the hill and forest tract by keeping them under the Gond zamindars who were again checked by a manager appointed by the colonial administration.⁴⁸

Simultaneously attempts were also made by the colonial state to separate the *adivasi* areas from the general administration. This policy was first started when the Rajmahal Hills tract was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts in 1782. These rules were made into law by Regulation I of 1796. The tract was administered by the collector without any of the regular laws of the British Government made applicable there, making his own rules for the conduct of affairs. This regulation was subsequently replaced by Regulation I of 1827.⁴⁹ With the introduction of famous Wilkinson rules' under regulation of 13 of 1833, a considerable change was brought in in the administration of the *adivasi* areas. This regulation abolished military collectorship of hill areas and put them under a special officer, designated 'Agent to the Governor-General', after which the *adivasi* areas were called as Agency Areas. The Agent was made responsible for the civil and judicial administration of the Agency areas.⁵⁰

Almost all the *adivasi* areas in India were brought under special administration under one or another regulation, excluding them from the general administration. Further, all the Agency areas were brought under a common rule with the introduction of Scheduled District Act of

1874. Following this Act, many densely populated *adivasi* regions were received the status of Scheduled Districts and the *adivasis* living in those districts were designated as Scheduled Tribes. This Act was aimed at providing complete protection to the *adivasis*, protection particularly from the land hungry non-*adivasi* migrants from the plains and moneylenders.⁵¹

Where the *adivasis* were not covered under this Act, they were protected by separate regulations from the late nineteenth century. These regulations banned land transfers from *adivasis* to non-*adivasis* as in the Agency Areas.⁵² A clear and further demarcation of the *adivasi* areas was laid down in the Government of India Act of 1935, under which the Governor could notify any *adivasi* tract as a Partially Excluded Area. The main difference between the Partially Excluded Areas and the rest of the province was that the Acts passed by the Central or Provincial Legislative Assembly would not apply to the Partially Excluded Areas unless the Governor, by notification, so directed; he was empowered to make special regulations for the better administration of the areas. This policy of exclusion of the *adivasi* areas became a political controversy. There were interesting debates between political leaders and colonial administrators. In 1936, all Legislative Assemblies opposed this exclusion. The Indian National Congress, in its Faizapur conference, denounced exclusion as another attempt to divide the people of India into different groups. However, there was a change in the attitude of the political leadership of India on exclusion and the provincial acts were passed by respective Legislative Assemblies to that effect.⁵³ In the Act the *adivasis* were designated as Scheduled Tribes.⁵⁴ This policy, indeed, was aimed at providing self-governance to the *adivasis*. But the colonial state was always suspicious of the *adivasis'* ability to manage its own affairs and never allowed self-rule in the forests and hills. The forest and hill areas were meticulously ruled by the Agents of the Governors.

The Government of India Act of 1935 provided a model for the new Constitution of the independent India. Indeed there was not much discussion or debate on the *adivasi* question after independence. Most of the intellectual baggage that was carried into the Constituent

Assembly drew heavily on the colonial model. The Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights appointed two Sub-committees in 1947 to report on the future administration of the Excluded Areas in Assam and Excluded and Partially excluded Areas other than Assam. These committees submitted separate interim and joint reports largely recommending the same colonial model of administration of the *adivasi* areas. The Constituent Assembly accepted these committees' reports without any discussion on them. The *adivasis* thus came to be designated as Scheduled Tribe and their habitats as Scheduled Areas in postcolonial India.⁵⁵

Although the Partially Excluded areas were not inhabited solely by the *adivasis*, they were stigmatized as primitive people. The fact is that *adivasis* lived in both excluded and non-excluded areas. Thus, the colonial divide between the mainland plains and the hills and forests was dubious. The historically built divide between the two territories was more a political rather than a sociological as constructed by the colonial state and colonial anthropology. Indeed the new divide was an artificial one that served to exoticise and stigmatise a minority of the *adivasis*. The colonial project of *adivasi* construction was in fact designed to deny self-rule and self-determinism to *adivasis*.⁵⁶

Animists: A Category of Primitive Religion

The colonial state also endeavored to carve out a separate religious category called the 'Animists' for *adivasis*. This was largely done through the Census enumeration. Sometimes the terms tribe and animists were used interchangeably to designate the *adivasi* religion as well as the *adivasis* in the colonial census.⁵⁷ In the colonial census the *adivasis* were, irrespective of their will, enumerated as Animists from the 1871 census onwards. However, they were given liberty from the 1891 census to claim any religion. There was mixed response from the *adivasis* to such enumeration, some claimed Hinduism and those who responded with their community names were enumerated as Animists. In subsequent censuses in 1931, all the *adivasi* communities were classified as Hindus.⁵⁸

In the beginning of the twentieth century, it was reported that the *adivasis* were increasingly adopting Brahmanical practices and

worshipping Hindu Gods, and that this allowed them to adopt, not only a 'civilised' life but also modern forms of cultivation and other livelihood practices.⁵⁹ In fact, the colonial rule aggravated the processes of Hinduisation and Rajputisation in the hill tracts. Not only the *adivasi* chiefs, their people too began imitating caste-Hindu practices and often claimed Rajput, and thus *kshatriya* status within the *varna* hierarchy. The colonial state also encouraged such claims, for it held that caste society was more civilised than that of the *adivasi* society; the interaction between the two societies would make the latter more civilised and sober; and it would be then easy for the colonial state to control them.⁶⁰

Following this, there was a debate on how the religion of the *adivasis* should be classified in the census reports. Ghurye argued that the *adivasis* of India were Hindus for the simple reason that they were born on Indian soil, worshipped Hindu gods, and spoke the same regional languages as the caste-Hindus. He also strongly opposed their enumeration in the census under the separate category of 'animists'.⁶¹ Verrier Elwin, who lived for many years among the Gonds, and considered to be a champion of the *adivasi* rights, argued, 'the religion of the Indian aboriginal outside Assam should be regarded as a religion of the Hindu family, with a special relation to the exciting, dangerous, catastrophic, Shaivaite type, but as having a distinct existence of its own. For purposes of the Census, all aboriginals should be classed as Hindus by religion but separate returns of their numbers by race should be provided'.⁶² This was also asserted by Grigson, an officer on special duty to investigate the conditions of the aboriginal communities in the Central Province.⁶³

In these ways, the colonial governmental project ruptured the fluid boundaries between religious identities that had existed in the pre-colonial period and tagged each caste/community within a discreet and particular religious category.⁶⁴ The phenomenon can however be understood differently. As Hardiman has argued: 'it is a historical and dialectical process that in any given society is a synthesis arising out of pre-existing social systems'.⁶⁵ The interaction between twice-born castes and lower castes and *adivasis* produces over the years a fresh synthesis that might not be unambiguously

'Hindu.' Kosambi illustrates the coexistence of mixed cultures where Guru Nanak and Kabir were worshiped by subordinate groups.⁶⁶ They could not be understood as either 'Hindu', 'Sikh' or 'Muslim'. Although while it is true that many communities tended towards the Hindu model, their demand emerged within the colonial context and within the demographic politics of colonial rule, and it was as much a socio-political as a religious one. Interestingly the same *adivasis* who demanded Kshatriya status put forth a serious cultural challenge to the onslaught of Hinduism, in the process, asserting their own cultural practices and values. This was gradually turned into identity politics in late colonial period.

Conclusion:

The colonial state and colonial anthropology imagined the indigenous people of India as a singular and distinct social group. This imagination derived largely both from the Indian notion of 'otherness' as well as capriciousness of European science. The process of homogenisation and individualization of the subject races was tirelessly carried out throughout the colonial period. Indeed the colonial administration and colonial anthropology had worked hand in hand in the homogenisation of *adivasis*. Further, this was transmitted through the creation of colonial

administrative categories of the *scheduled tribe*. Ironically the postcolonial state espoused the self-same colonial imagination of the *adivasis* and continued to designate them in the same terms. However, the forest communities by and large do not assert their identity through the colonial administrative categories, but through their own historically built community names, such as Gonds, Santhals, Bhils etc. And in modern times, responding to the changed circumstances, they perceived themselves mostly as the *adivasis*, meaning the original and genuine. In other words, the terms 'Tribe', 'Scheduled Tribe' Criminal Tribe and 'Animist' designated by the colonial administration hardly matters to the *adivasis* in their articulation of self-consciousness, unless and only when they approach administration for availing special development schemes. However, the way in which these communities were constructed and designated as distinct social group by the colonial state and colonial anthropology is seriously problematic. The process of homogenization of the *adivasi* communities not only excluded them from the larger society but also stigmatized them, that they were criminal, uncivilized and primitive people. As they are judged to be 'primitives' they are considered not deserving self-rule even today!

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INFLUENCE OF MADRASA MOVEMENT IN THE SOCIO CULTURAL FORMATION OF KERALA MUSLIMS

T.B. Abdul Kareem

Introduction

The history of Kerala Muslims can be traced back to the life time of Prophet Muhammad. The ancient trade relation of Arabs with Kerala coast (Kurup, 1975)¹ and many historical evidences suggest that there was a considerable Muslim Population in Kerala at least¹ since 8th century A.D. In course of time many scholars and missionaries came here to guide the Muslim community and further propagation of Islam. Malik ibn Dinar and his companions built ten mosques in various parts of Kerala (Shah, 1974).² These mosques were not only centers of worship but also acted as centers of religious education. It was the early Islamic educational system in Kerala. In the early days the students of these centers were the native newly converted Muslims. So the chief aim of this system of education was to impart basic knowledge about the basic principles, beliefs and rituals of Islam. It was aimed to acquire the capacity to read the Quranic Verses, the knowledge of performing the compulsory rituals like five times Prayer, Zakat, Fasting in the month of Ramzan, and Hajj. The medium of instruction was Malayalam. These primary religious schools were known as 'Othupally'. There was only one teacher in an Othupally. The teachers were known as 'Mullaka'. Usually they were the Imams of local Mosques. There were no prescribed Text books or organized curricula for these Othupallies. By the influence of colonial system of Education there aroused the new Madrasa system in Kerala. It was formed by Chalilakath Kunjahmad Haji (M, 1998)³. He was a great reformer of religious education in Kerala. He was appointed in Drul Uloom, Vazhakkad in 1909 A.D. He introduced class system according to the standard of the students. For the first time in Kerala he provided benches, desks and black boards in a Madrasa. He himself prepared text books like ' Talim al Quran', 'Diniyat', and

'Amaliyat' etc. He even appointed a special teacher for teaching Malayalam in Darul Uloom (Poolappoyil, 2014)⁴. The unique Madrasa system of Kerala under various Madrasa Education Boards of religious organizations like Samastha, Dakshina and Samsthana etc. with systematic curriculum and holds a remarkable role in the socio cultural formation of Kerala Muslims.

Samastha Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyasa Board (SKIMVB).

In British India there were religious teachers in Public Schools to attract the Muslim students. After the Independence of India the Government of India banned religious education in public Schools. Sayyid Abdul Rahman Bafaqi Tangal, asserted the urgent need for a systematic set up for imparting primary religious education in his Presidential address of Samastha Kerala Jamiyathul Ulama at its 16th annual conference held at Kariavattom in 1945 (M, 1998)⁵. In the 19th session of Samastha Kerala Jamiyathul Ulama long discussions were held on the subject of Madrasa education and at last they formed the Samastha Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyasa Board in the year 1951. Paravanna Muhiyuddin Kutty Musliyar was the First Chairman of this Board. The aims of this Board were as follows 1. To establish Madrasas were ever needed. 2. To introduce systematic syllabus and curricula for Madrasa. 3. To prepare Text Books. 4. to conduct Examinations. 5. To arrange periodic inspections and impart training to the teachers of Madrasa. It was a turning point in the history of Islamic religious education in Kerala. Thus hundreds of Madrasas were established and it revolutionized the primary religious education of Kerala Muslims. In later years, for the effective management of the system, it had been decentralized into different ranges. Now more than Ten thousand Madrasas were affiliated to

this Board. Above One Lakh Teachers (Muallim) are working in these Madrasas. Samasthalayam at Chelari in Malappuram District is the Head Quarters of this Board. They provides educational inspectors (Mufattish) to inspect the standards of each Madrasa. The SKIMVB conducts regular refresher courses and training classes for teachers. They are publishing an educational journal in Arabi Malayalam known as Al Muallim. Many reforms were done in the curricula in the recent years.

Normally a Madrasa provides classes at least up to 5th standard and it provides up to 12th standard. The class timing is from 7.00 am to 9.30 am. Children at the age of 5 were admitted to the first standard. In the primary classes one should acquainted with the Arabic alphabets and basic moral lessons of Islam. After completing three years student can read Quranic verses and he may be taught the basic principles of Islamic Faith, rituals and History of Prophet. Up to Third Standard the Text books are in Arabi – Malayalam Language (Malayalam written in Arabic letters – a language formed by Muslims of Kerala). From fourth standard onwards the Arabic language, Fiqh, Deeniyath, Sirah and Akhlaq etc were taught in Arabic language. Samastha Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyasa Board directly conducts half yearly and yearly examinations and Centralized Public Examinations are conducted in standard V and VII (Hudavi, 2019)⁶. The Board issues Certificates to those students who pass this Examination. Many Madrasas have Secondary and Higher Secondary Classes. The Samastha Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyasa Board now runs Madrasas all over Kerala, some parts of Tamil Nadu, Karnadaka, Maharashtra, Lakh Dives, Malaysia, UAE, Bahrain, Kuwait, KSA, Qatar and Oman. More than 25 Lakhs of students are studying in these Madrasas. There is an organization of the teachers of the Madrasas under this Board which is known as Samastha Kerala Jamiyathul Muallimeen. The 60th anniversary of this Organization was held at Kollam on 26th December 2019. The Smsthana Kerala Jmiyathul Ulama and Samastha Kerala Sunni Jamiyathul Ulama under A P Aboobaker Maulavi also runs hundreds of Madrasas in this same pattern. There is a kind of healthy contest among these organizations in the field of Madrsa education.

Dakshina Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyasa Board (DKIMVBoard)

The second largest traditional Madrasa Board of Kerala is Dakshina Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyasa Board under Dakshina Kerala Jamiyathul Ulama. Their head quarter is at Kollam. It was formed in the year 1968 (P.K, 1984)⁷. The first chairman of this Board was Alavi Kunju Maulavi. Present Chairman is A K Ummer Maulavi . The activities of this Board are confined to the Districts from Thrissur to Thiruvananthapuram. It covers the central and southern Districts of Kerala. More than three thousand Madrasas were affiliated to this Board. For the ease of administration these Madrasas were divided under 47 Mekhalas. The teachers of the Board formed an association named Dakshina Kerala Lajmathul Muallimeen. This Association organizes art and literature festivals for the students of the Madrasas every year in Madrsa, Mekhala, Dstrict and State levels. Al Busthan is a monthly Malayam educational magazine by this Organization.

Dakshina Kerala Islam Matha Vidyabhyasa Board is more liberal and reformist in nature than other Sunni Madrasa Vidyabhyasa Boards. They introduced Malayalam text book for the study of the History and culture of the Muslims of India. The syllabi and curricula of D K I M V Board is very simple and easy to study for the children. Students were admitted in the first standard at the age of 5. Every the Board organizes Pravesanolsavam to attract new students to Madrasa education. The Board conducts centralized Public Examinations in Standard V and VII. The students who pass these Examinations were given certificates By the Board. About 6 lakhs of Students are studying under this DKIMV Board.

Kerala Nadwathul Mujahideen Educational Board

The educational wing of Kerala Ndwathul Mujahideen runs more than six thousand Madrasas all over Kerala. The Salafi oriented organization and education board imparts more liberal and modernized madrasa education. Their text books are in pure Malayalam language and they included Arabic as a language in the Syllabus. The students under this Borad study the translation of the Quranic verses in Malyalam language.

Majlis al Talimil Islami

The Jamaath e Islami formed an educational Board for organizing its religious educational institutions in 1980. It is known as the Majlis al Talimil Islami. It is now known as Majlis Education Board. There were about three hundred Madrasas under this Board in various parts of Kerala (Maulavi, 1989)⁸. This Board prepares text books and other study materials for the students of these madrasas. They also conduct Examinations and art and literary festivals for the students. The text books of this Board is in Malayalam language. They impart a more liberal and rational attitude in Madrasa Education. The students are able to read and write Arabic Language after completing the course. The translation of Quranic verses are also the part of curriculum. More emphasis is on the moral and social values of Islam given in their syllabus.

Features of Madrasa Education in Kerala

The Madrasa education in Kerala holds many peculiar characteristics. In many ways it is distinct from that of the rest of India and abroad. First of all the entire Madrasa system in Kerala are under private Madrasa education Boards, headed by various religious Organizations. The expenses for the establishment, running and modification are met by the respective Organizations. No Grants or government aids are provided for Madrasa Education in Kerala. The entire system runs only by the donations from the community and fees from the students. The second feature is that it is so universal like universal primary education system by the Government. We can see Madrasas in nooks and corners of Kerala state. The third feature is there is a systematic and well organized educational management system runs in the sphere of Madrasa education in Kerala.

Madrasa Education and Socio Cultural formation of Kerala Muslims

Madrasa education provided ample circumstances for the socio cultural formation of Kerala Muslims. The Arabi Malayalam

(Malayalam written in Arabic letters) language which specially formed for the purpose of imparting religious education in primary level acted as a window to the world of knowledge for each and every person in the community. In this Arabi Malayalam Language there was 100% literacy among the Muslims of Kerala. Many works were published in this language, even novels and dramas were written. The literacy rate among the Muslim women were very poor if it was calculated according to the knowledge of Malayalam language but it was 100% when it was calculated according to the knowledge of Arabi Malayalam Language. Thus the Madrasa Education empowered the community through effective communication by Arabi Malayalam language.

The Madrasa education imparted the value of social equality because the students of a Madrasa comprised of all strata of the society, irrespective of their socio economical status. It inculcated among the students of Madrasa the feelings of equality, which radiated to the society through the students. The primary Madrasas acted as centers of learning at each and every Mohallas of Kerala. The value based education in an early age molded the students in good character and conduct. Many teachers of Madrasa became the role models of a number of students.

Kerala model of Madrasa can be termed as self financed system of Madrasa. The system runs with its own economic support. No student is denied madras education because of money. The income from the Waqf and donations from the public helps the smooth running of Madrasas. Above all Madrasa system in Kerala provides thousands of job opportunity as teachers of Madrasa (Elippakkulam, 2018)⁹. Now at least one and half teachers are earns their livelihood under various Madrasa Boards of Kerala. The religious harmony and toleration of Kerala also owes to the Madrasa education. In the syllabi of each and every Madrasa Board the importance of religious harmony is included. The real spirit of every religion is love of God and his creatures irrespective of cate and creed.

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FORGOTTEN VOICES OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN PRINT CULTURE IN COLONIAL TAMIL NADU – A STUDY

R. Abida Begum

Cultural development cannot occur in a vacuum it has to be seen in association with contribution of factors like literacy levels, education and mass awareness. Muslim women in India viewed as stereotyped with traditional notions. They were marginalised as minority within minority on the basis of community and gender. While tracing the intellectual perspectives of Muslim women it is quite embracing that Muslim women of colonial Tamil Nadu excelled in the intellectual field and shown their best output through their writings. In the period when Muslim men themselves were voiceless under colonial regime, Muslim women raised their voices to fight against the social customs and traditions, which played a remarkable role in their emancipation. The literary participation of Muslim women in the social reform movements is largely unexplored. The huge gap in the historical documentation invites serious research whereby the contribution of Muslim women to the social, political and cultural realms can be outline. Thus I want to explore the contributions of Muslim from colonial Tamil Nadu to the print media which had remarkable impact in the empowerment of Muslim women.

Origin of Urdu Journals

Muslims adopted the print technology to contest and reform their natives' cultures. In India the printing press changed the nature of social discourses in colonial period. In 1822, the first Urdu newspaper *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa* was published from Calcutta. The role of Urdu journals is found to be the most crucial and catalyzing in Muslim women's emancipation. Women's journals became informative and inexpensive way to exchange the ideas to

secluded women, who were confined in their homes. As such, they are often the only windows available upon the hidden lives of Muslim women.¹ In the beginning many magazines for women were edited, and also written by men later their family women involved in this work.

Urdu journals provided a space to the women which were previously unavailable to them. Using this space, Muslim middle class Urdu speaking women wrote about their ideas and exchanged them with other women. Gail Minault argues in her study on *Early Twentieth Century Urdu Women's Magazines* that despite some limitations of access and ideology, the magazines at least gave women a place where their voices were heard.² It is however not easy to find these journals even in major libraries. The vast collections in libraries seldom saved women's magazines. Also the standard histories of Urdu literature and journalism rarely mention them.

Pioneer Muslim Women's Journals

Tahzib-un-Niswan, *Khatun*, and *Ismat* were the major early women's periodicals in Urdu, two of them lasting until after independence and many of them edited by women. Some of the articles written by women between 1911-1927 in magazines like *Tehzeeb-un-Niswan* from Lahore, *Ismat* and *Ustani* from Delhi, *Awaz-e-Niswan*, *Payam-e-Ummeed* from Sitapur, *Khatun* from Aligarh, were published in a book form titled *Kalam-e-Niswan* (women's writing) in Hindi transliteration. *Kalam-e-Niswan* systematically chronicles issues of culture, education, curricula, governance, right to women's suffrage, gender relationships and women's rights movements from across the world. It also presents the socio-

economic and educational situation of those days.³

Core Agenda of the Journals

Women print culture played a transformative role in the lives of women. The women's journals not only acted as a means to challenge the patriarchal notions of the society but they also expanded the frontiers of women's roles and consciousness. They give insight into the issues of women and provide an opportunity to discuss their realistic-life in order to emancipate women from their confined situations. Some women break their silence and attempt to document the stories in the form of oral paintings. Women authors recommend living with self-perpetuated creativity denying emotional, social and psychological dependence on others. The growth of women's journals and women's associations increased public discussion of purdah, and the interpretation of Islamic law in ways favourable to greater freedom and rights for women, which were among a few of the social developments indirectly related to the movement for Muslim women's education and empowerment⁴.

Media for Muslim Women's Educational Movement

Education of women became an important element of the entire social reform project. The role of Urdu journals is found to be the most crucial and catalyzing in women's emancipation, through providing female education.⁵ The reformers started establishing schools for girls and published reading material for them. As a part of their educational mission, Muslim women through print media carved out for themselves in a literary space by means of short stories, novels and magazines etc. Petitions, memorials and articles in newspapers and journals demanded schools for Muslim girls. Muslim philanthropists rarely contributed to opening schools that imparted English education.

Muslim Women Writers in Urdu Journals

Muslim women themselves were actively started working for reform. They wrote books, edited magazines, founded schools and training centres, and set up women's associations. As an outcome of the writings of Muslim women and various organizations for women a feminist trend emerged in India. The first Urdu journal was

Akbar-e-Nisa (Women's Newspaper) started in 1887. However, the first important paper was *Tahzib-e-Niswan* begun in 1898 by Mumtaz Ali and his wife Muhammadi Begam and later edited by his daughter Waheeda Begam.⁶

Atiya Fyzee was one of the first elite Indian Muslim women to receive a modern education, made important contributions to reformist journals for women in Urdu, including *Tahzib Un-Niswan* and *Khatun*. While studying at a teachers training college in London in 1906-7, she also kept a travel diary which was published as *Zamana-e-Tahsil* (A Time of Education) in 1921.⁷

Attia Hosain involved with the All-India Progressive Writers' Association, a group of socialist writers. She also began to write short stories. A long-time BBC Urdu programme presenter to both India and Pakistan, she also had a successful career in theatre and other media for half a century until she died on January 23, 1998.⁸

Roushan Begum, an educated woman wrote about the Hindustani life in families and expressed how with the help of education got respect, fame and wealth. The book discusses on the thoughts of conservative and moderns ideas.⁹

Rashid Jahan penned short stories and plays. Though she trained as a gynaecologist, Rashid Jahan had a strong interest in writing short stories. She published *Angaaray* in 1931 which got caught in a lot of controversies. *Angaaray* was a collection of short stories that talked about the struggles of women in a patriarchal society, double standards of clerics and the inequalities in the society. Also, she started the Progressive Writers' Movement in 1936.¹⁰

Jeelani Bano was one of the foremost Urdu writers. She had written short stories, novels, radio-plays, screenplays, stage plays, essays and children's stories. She dealt with social and cultural oppression, bonded labour, poetry, powerlessness, the stress of urban life, and the suffering of women.¹¹

Ismat Chughtai emerged as a prominent independent feminist voice in the world of Urdu literature in South Asia. A lot of her work was considered controversial and thus, was banned

in South Asia. She wrote about male privilege, injustices, sexuality and struggles that women have to face in a patriarchal society. Her most notable and controversial work was *Lihaaf* (The Quilt), which dealt with the issue of homosexuality, in Aligarh.¹²

Qurratulain Hyder, popularly known as Ainee Apa, she was a short story writer, Urdu novelist, an educationist and a journalist. Her most notable work is *Aag Ka Duriya* (River of Fire). Her short novels *Dilruba*, *Sita Haran* and *Agle Janam Mohe Bitiya Na Kijo* explore gender injustice in the sub-continental context. She managed to change perceptions regarding gender stereotypes through her writings. She portrayed the fate of Muslims of India before, during and after the partition.¹³

Begum Sharifa Hamid Ali formulated a model *Nikahnama*, or marriage contract, says that women should have right of divorce.¹⁴

Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain considered being the pioneer of women rights movement in Bengal. A writer, philosopher, educationist, activist and feminist, she has a long-lived legacy when it comes to advocating women's rights through her works and writings. Her most notable works include *Sultana's Dream*. She used her writings to promote gender equality. She founded the Muslim Women's Association in 1916.¹⁵

Razia Sajjad Zaheer represented the new woman who questioned social restrictions and began to assert herself in a male world through her novels, *Sar-e-Sham*, *Kante*, etc.¹⁶

Wajida Tabassum was an Urdu language writer of fiction and songs. Wajida received a degree in Urdu language from Osmania University. She started writing in the monthly publication called *Beeswin Sadi* (Twentieth Century).¹⁷

Iqbalunnisa Begum obtained her BA degree and a gold medal by correspondence in 1930. In 1933, she travelled to the UK for her Master's in Education at Leeds University, thus becoming one of the few middle class Muslim Women from India to obtain a degree from the UK. She represented India at the Twelfth International Women's Congress at Istanbul in September 1935 and was a keen member of the

All-India Women's Conferences. She is the author of several books including *Changing India: A Muslim Woman Speaks* (1940) and *Purdah and Polygamy: Life in an Indian Muslim Household*.¹⁸

Most of these writers belonged to traditional households, with traditional education, except a few, who dared to set up new trends in education and media. Later, these journals started publishing such material which was both educative and conscious-raising. The benefits of education mentioned by him indicate grooming of a good personality, good morals, as well as 'civilized nature, enjoyment of life for husbands, service of the husband and in-laws, better household work according to religion.' This style of argumentation is found in many writings of the day.¹⁹

Muslim Women Writers in Tamil Nadu

In Tamil Nadu, women were not different from rest of India in the field of literary and reform movement. There were many intellectual Muslim women in the colonial period, were not came to limelight instead of their great social works and literary genius in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. Their works were published in Journals like *Asmat*, *Mushir-e-Niswan*, *Bazm-e-Adab*, *Tehzib-e-Niswan*, *Khatun*, *Maghzar*, *Al-Nisa*, *Zenana*, and *Taj*.

The unknown Muslim women Urdu writers from Tamil Nadu were Haleema Bi, Hasina Bi alias Bi Sahiba, Amtul Rahem her famous book was, *Unwan-e-Athfal*, and she wrote for *Daily Machha*. Abbasi Begum, Nayeema Begum, Nawab Begum Amtul-Hai-Mubshir Unissa Begum (Haya), Amtul Azeez Begum, Habeebunissa, Hijab Imtiyaz, Hajira Begum, Amtul Rab Begum, Khadija Zia, Aadilah Begum, Amtul Wali alias Walia Begum, Dr. Zakira Ghouse, Husna Begum, Hajira Begum alias Hajira BiBi, G.Z. Raziya Begum, Sayeda Athaullah, Naseema Khadri, Amtul Batool, Faiz Unissa, Nayeema Parvez, Kazima Begum, Rathima Rayis were some of the notable Muslim women Urdu writers in Tamil Nadu. Their writings were preserved in Madrasa-e-Muhammadi Library and Amanati Library, Chennai and also published many other journals of North India.²⁰ Even though they well versed in literature and other fields their voices were

curtailed by the society, so they were not come into prominence.

Tamil Muslim Writers and Social Workers

Tamil Muslim women not lag behind in the literary field. Siddhi Junaida Begum is a decisive and liberating woman from Nagore in Tamil Nadu. She started writing at the age of sixteen, desired to change the status of women. Siddhi Junaida Begum published *Kadhala kadamaiya* (Love or Duty) in Tamil on 2/2/1-28 at Nagore. But it was reported as an adaptation of Anthony Hope's novel called *Prisoner of Zenda*. Shenbagavalli Devi or the South African Appalachian Family written in 1947, Islam and Women A collection of essays, published in 1995, King of the Mountain - Noorul Islam continued in the press. Halima or Karpin Manifestation, Woman's Husband published in 1946. Khaja Hassan Fasari (Rah): The History of the Muslim Highness A series of articles in Noorul Islam.²¹

In a modern Tamil fiction, Salma has written a full length novel on Muslim society in Tamil Nadu, *Irandaam Jaamangalin Kathai* (The Story of the Midnight), delineating especially the Muslim women's aspirations and their struggles. The novel deals with the oppression that a Muslim woman faces in her family and society. The anthologies are titled *Oru Malaiyum, Innoru Malaiyum* (One Evening and Another Evening) and *Pachai Devadhai* (The Green Goddess).²²

Impact of Journals on the Empowerment of Women

Writing about themselves gave women immense pleasure and confidence which helped them to contest those cultural notions which deemed women intellectually weak. The new information available in women magazines enthralled women because they considered it

very important for their intellectual development. All most all women magazines continuously gave coverage to the various women organizations by publishing their activities. This connected women to the public space without even crossing the threshold. The foundation of progressive writer's movement in 1934 provided a new stage to many vociferous women writers who openly challenged the patriarchal elements of society. However, it was not possible without the base prepared by the earlier women writers for them.

Conclusion

Knowledge pools created by women, like writings and oral traditions, offer an insight into their individual perspective as also of the community of a specific period. The vision that home and the world were interdependent was entirely in keeping with the ideology enunciated by male social reformers in the late 19th century, in which women were to be trained better to fulfil their traditional roles, not to undertake new ones. More specifically, Muslim social reformers had plenty of precedents from their own tradition to call upon in meeting modern challenges. All these themes appeared in the literature of social, religious and educational reform and were repeated, with variations, in the periodical press. Women authors and editors developed their own variations on these themes but did not challenge the basic ideology. Many changes were reflected in the pages of these Urdu journals, the growth of women's education and activities, and the parallel increase in the range of vocabulary, subject matter, and views were expressed. These, in turn, were the keys to the spiritual reform and the worldly advancement of the Muslim middle class as it confronted the economic and political challenges of the 20th century.

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TRACING THE ROOTS OF INDIAN TAMILS IN SRI LANKA – A STUDY

J.J. Ahilan Joe Woutres

Introduction:

The relationship of South India with Sri Lanka is more than 2000 years old History. Socially, culturally, politically Sri Lanka is very close with South India. This closeness came through the geographical proximity of these two Lands. The story of Migration from South India to Sri Lanka was started from the dawn of Historical period onwards. But this process of migration was minimal. The flow of Emigration reached to the peak during the British colonial domination of South Asia from the last two decades of eighteenth Century. Emigration is the relocation of people from one country to reside in another. People emigrate for many reasons; include increasing one's chance of employment or improving quality of life.¹ Dr.kingsly Davis the demographer explains the two factors controlling the emigration pattern of Indian labourers. First factor was the economic condition of Host country and the second one was the Legislative enactments in India.² This paper attempts to provide understanding about the Colonial emigration pattern of South Indian Tamils to Sri Lanka from the nineteenth to first half of twentieth century. The paper also explores the economical transformation of South India as well as Sri Lanka under the colonial domination of British rule. This also explained the major difference between the Indigenous Sri Lankan

Tamils and Indian (Hill) Tamils. This research article critically examine the creation of Sri Lankan Plantation fields as well as to answer the question like, why the indigenous labours of Sri Lanka were not recruited in the coffee plantation and later in the tea plantation. This paper traces the reason for the attraction of British capitalist to the Tamil labour community for their tea plantation in the Kandyan Hills.

Historical relationship of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka:

The urbanization in South India had possibly started from 1st and 3rd centuries A.D. onwards, in the period known as 'Sangam' after the name of the Sangam academies in Madurai. Sangam literatures are believed to have been written during this period. The south Indian sources like Sangam poems, has mentioned facts about the Yavanas bringing goods by ship into the port of South India located at Coromendal Coast where especially they set sailing for Southeast Asia through the Sri Lanka. The trade with Roman declined in the third and fourth century AD, and India, especially South India traders turned to Southeast Asia and China. The ancient trade route from South India to China was through Sri Lanka and Kadaram (present day Singapore). The Kaveripattanam and Perimula (Situating Near to Rameswaram) were the two import trading centers of Ancient

Tamilaham. These centers were closely associated with the Sri Lanka, especially with northern coast of Sri Lanka. Tami Nadu and Sri Lanka had maintained close contacts since protohistoric times due to their geographical proximity.

From the early period onwards, the South Indian mercantile communities like Vanijha, Sattu, Aiyavole, Nanadesis and Tisai Aiyirattu Ainurruvar and their medieval associated Military communities like Varakkotiyar and Velaikkarar in different periods played an important role in the economic and political history of the Island.³ The traces of inter-regional trade can be substantiated with archaeological evidences like grave goods or raw-materials used for making the ornaments. Especially in the peninsular region, there had been network extended along the Andhra and Tamil coast into northern Srilanka and Southeast Asia in accordance with the deposits of copper, iron and highquality garnets. The important ports such as Mammalapuram and poompuhar had been splendid from pallava period then Nagapattinam became the richest port of this region during Chola time. The scenes of the flourishing markets and buildings are vividly described in the Tamil literatures. Under the Chola rule merchant associations appear to have dominated the internal and external trade of south India and parts of Srilanka from the last ninth century to the thirteenth century. The Chola Kings Rajaraja-I and his son Rajendra-I had occupied the northern part of Sri Lanka and appointed their own viceroy named as 'Chola-Lankesvara'. Polonaruwa was the seat of Chola rule in Sri Lanka.⁴

British Colonial Establishment in South India and Sri Lanka:

The age of geographical explorations begun from the second half of the 15th Century CE onwards. Different European countries sailed to east among them Portuguese were the pioneers to found the sea route to India. Following to the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, English and French came and did trade with South Asia. Among these countries British established the political supremacy over the South Asia from the mid of the 18th Century onwards. And they have ruled the South Asia more than two hundred years. British had a very humble beginning in India. The English East

India Company (EEIC) was formed in 1599 under the auspices of a group of merchants known as the Merchant Adventurers. Then this got the royal charter from the Queen Elizabeth on 31 December 1600.⁵ 1707 with the demise of Aurangzeb, the Mughals declined rapidly and many senior officials tried to become independent of the Mughal central government in various parts of India. Among the 'successor states' set up by such senior officials in South India was the Nizams of Hyderabad and the Nawab of Arcot⁶. Conditions in the South India were more favorable to the English, because they did not face a strong power in South India⁷. Through the Victory of three Carnatic Wars and four Anglo- Mysore wars British established their political paramountcy in the South India.

The Madras presidency was created at 1802. In Sri Lanka, 1505-1656 Portuguese occupied coastal regions. Then the Dutch East India Company (1656-1796) succeeded the Portuguese in the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka both politically and economically. The Dutch retained the indigenous administrative system which the Portugues had inherited from the Singhalese Kings. Nevertheless, the British had more significant impact on Sri Lanka than the Portuguese or the Dutch. As a first step, The British colonized the costel regions of Sri Lanka taking it from the Dutch in 1796 and it continued to capture the whole Island by 1815⁸. British found Sri Lankan mountains were suitable for the coffee plantation. In the beginning British concentrated to the cinnamon trade, after the 1830 they have shifted their concentration to the coffee plantation.

Coffee plantations were the major modern enterprise in Sri Lanka set by the British capital during the 1830s. Between 1835 and 1837 four to five thousand acres of forest land had been cleared and planted with coffee around Kandy. The area devoted to coffee expanded to 31,843 hectares within a span of five to six years. In 1841 alone 14,973 hectares was planted. Most of the initial entrepreneurs were employees or ex-employees of the East Indian Company. Coffee production went into a decline afterwards due to a fungus outbreak, shrinking from 1, 01,981 hectares in 1880 to 39,659 hectares in 1886⁹. For the plantation work they need more labour force, that labour force they got from the

Madras presidency through the Emigration process.

Tamil Labour Emigration:

Tamils were well aware about the concept of emigration and its importance from the ancient period onwards. There are plenty of literary works deals with the early Tamils emigration to other countries. Till the eighteen century the emigration was happened through the self interest. After the Colonial establishment that has changed based on the colonial masters interests. The 1830's saw the advent of the 'coolie migration,' when large number of Indians, particularly Tamils were forcibly taken from their homeland to work as indentures labourers in British plantations in the West Indies and the South Seas, as well as countries in Asia and Africa such as Burma, Ceylon, Malaysia, and Mauritius.¹⁰

Tamils were emigrated across the sea in nineteenth and twentieth century through the Indenture system, Kangani system and Maistry system of recruitments. The British colonialism was the major cause for this mass emigration of Tamils in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Before the abolition of slavery in the First half of nineteenth century many people went to the West sugar plantation fields as an Indenture labourers. Then after the abolition of Slavery (1833) this emigration pattern becomes the mass Emigration circle. Compared with the west countries Tamils were emigrated at large number to the South East Asian countries. This emigration is merely temporary, and by no means in the nature of permanent expatriation. Emigrants were worked as a harvester in the Ceylon tea estates, in the Strait Settlements emigrants worked in the rubber plantations; and in the case of Burma emigrants were worked in the rice mills.

Tamil Labour Emigration to Sri Lanka:

Ceylon was come under the British Indian administration province of Madras presidency until the 1798. After that Ceylon was became separate colony under the British crown. From the first half of eighteenth century onwards the process of emigration started from the Madras to Ceylon. But this was not that much successful one. In the year 1815 the Madras government requested to the Tanjore collector to send the Coolie labourers to Ceylon.¹¹ In 1818 the

assistant commissioner-general, Ceylon wrote to the collector that the government had entered directly into a contract with *Maistries* who had agreed to find 600 labourers from them.¹² but this system was failed. Many Labourers came back due to the hardship of the agricultural farms. After the year 1830 the coffee plantation was developed in Ceylon. British capitalist invested huge money for Coffee plantation. They imported the labourers from the Madras presidency for clearing the forest and other works in coffee plantations. From the year 1839 onwards many recruiters known as *Kangany* came to Madras presidency and took labourers with them. In 1847 the emigration to Ceylon from Madras was not considerable, but in later years it increased very substantial; between 1843 and 1867 there were 1,446,407 emigrants from Madras to Ceylon, of whom 839,897 returned.

The Ceylon records give figures of emigration from and to Ceylon from 1871 onwards. The Ceylon census figure for 1871, 1881 and 1891 show that 98 to 99 percent of the foreign born in Ceylon were of Indian origin. It has been estimated that about 90 percent of the Madras. Emigration to Ceylon reached a peak of 150,000 in 1877-1878 following the great famine. Emigration declined sharply with the collapse of the coffee plantations from 1880 to 1890 but was revived again by the growth of tea and rubber production in Ceylon.¹³ In the report on the Ceylon census of 1891 it is stated that 234,957 'Tamils' and 24,559 Moormen (Musalmans) were born in India. Probably at least 255,000 of these were natives of Madras. In 1881 the number of 'Tamils' who 'had their origin in the Madras presidency' was stated to be 256,611.¹⁴ Emigration to Ceylon, Selam, Coimbatore and north Arcot to give a few examples, are unrepresented.¹⁵

Registered Emigrants from Madras to Ceylon.1911-1922

Year	Number of Registered Emigrants
1911	72,549
1912	93,925
1913	97,564
1914	70,654

1915	83,742
1916	99,643
1917	42,877
1918	41,961
1919	103,580
1920	38,126

Source: Census Report of India (Madras), 1922, p.49

The number of emigrants registered by Ceylon labour Commission in the decade was 7,44,621. For the years 1911 to 1914 particulars are given for men, women, Children and infants, who emigrated in the proportion of 601, 203, 132 and 64, and although these details have not been tabulated of recent years there is every reason to suppose that the proportion remains fairly constant; infants are children below five years of age. Children are male between 5 and 14 and females between 5 to 16. For the years 1917 to 1920 figures are given separately for emigrants proceeding to Ceylon for the first time and those who have been there before. It was only in 1919, the year of bad season and high prices, when the number of emigrants rose with a bound that the new emigrants Out- numbered the old; in the other three years those returning to Ceylon after one or more visits numbered about 78,000 and those going for the first time were only about 44,500. The Ceylon Labour Commission recruits only for estates,

consequently practically all those who emigrate through its agency are agriculturists by occupation. The majority of them are drawn from the Parayan, Kallan, Vellala and Pallan castes who together have contributed 6,19,000 out of 7,44,500 who have emigrated during the decade. Most of them are from the Trichinopoly.¹⁶

Conclusion:

Indian Overseas emigration was obviously the result of the working of British colonialism both in India and abroad which is highlighted by the fact that the vast majority of Indians migrated particularly to the British colonies. While the expanding capitalist economy of the British Empire generated a great demand for labour and non-labour in India.¹⁷ The majority of Indians who emigrate gain little from their emigration: they exchange one situation of casual, intermittent, poorly paid labour for a similar situation in the new country.¹⁸ The Tamils who were settled in plantation fields of Sri Lanka faced the high level exploitation from the colonial masters. And there struggle is continuing in the second decade of the 21st century too. This emigrated Tamils were known as Hill Tamils. They faced lot of exploitation under the colonial masters as well as after the Sri Lankan Independence of 1948 onwards they are facing struggle to get their right under the Sinhalese Governments.

End Notes

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN MEDIEVAL KERALA; AN ANTHROPONOMICAL ANALYSIS OF INSCRIPTIONS

K.R. Ajitha

Social stratification refers to a system by which a society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy. Anthroponomastics is the study of personal names. The study of Personal names gives an interesting glimpse of the culture, the political and social organisations, the religion, the various castes, and mutual relationship among them, it also shows the thoughts and customs of the inhabitants. It is well known that in case of ancient South Indian states Epigraphy and Archaeology form the most reliable source of information¹. Panini observed that changes in naming pattern from period to period show changes of belief, social customs, society as much. The present paper is based on inscriptions of Kerala. They were studied from a different perspective to study the naming pattern, society and culture.

The personal names are studied in different parts of India. However no serious study has been done on the personal names of medieval Kerala. The main purpose of naming is to provide a symbolic system of identification. The relationship between the name and the bearer is a complex one. The inscriptions, most of which are from temples contains names of large number of individuals figuring as witnesses to transactions donees and also numbers of managing committees of temples. The names generally consist of three segments. The name of the family, fathers name and the ego's name eg; Vanralaicceri Kotai - Iravi. In a few cases there would be one more segment before such three segmented names eg; Mulikkalattu Kurrampalli Chuvakaran Tamotiran. Where the first segment signifies the village from which the individual originally hailed. There are however cases where one or more of these segments are omitted.

Identification of Brahman and Non-Brahman names.

In studying these names Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai did not distinguish the members of the temple committees from the donors and witnesses to the transactions². There are certainly names of non- brahmanas but they figure mostly as donors. In other cases it can be demonstrated that the names are of brahmanas. However the absence of the brahmanical suffix 'sarman' the total absence of references to names of gotras and the transformation of personal names in to unrecognizable dravidian forms (like Cattan for Sastrasarman, Kantan for Nilakantha, Rupan for Subrahmania Uruttiran for Rudra etc.) led Pillai to assume they were names of non brahmanas. Apart from the absence of gotra names or the Sarman suffix, what stood in the way of Pillai's appreciating the brahmanical character was the inadequate consideration of the context in which the records appear. His lack of familiarity with conditions in central and northern Kerala from which regions most of these records come may have prevented him from appreciating this. In fact many of these records are from temples which are reputed as gramakshetras of brahmanas- a tradition which Pillai ignored. Nor did he knew that many of the houses mentioned in them survive to this day and that they are brahmana houses. This knowledge is essential to realize that the names of those who figure in the records in the capacity of witnesses and members of the sabha are brahmanas. But then Pillai mixed up all names figuring in records and argued somewhat theatrically, that a large number of them were non-brahmanas. The reality however is that the list included many brahmana names which he failed to identify as such. Such non-brahmanas as are present are in the capacity of donors or tenants and not as those who controlled the land of temples. It was this failure in the understanding which initiated his findings in relation to the

character of the temple centred agrarian corporations in Kerala³.

Toponymy of Personal Names

Place names are hidden treasures. They often hide fragments of history and geography. The geographical features of a country are best preserved in its placenames. The importance of placenames studies is clearly described by F.T. Wainwright as quoted below.

"Place names supply in full measure linguistic information of a kind that is absent in archaeology and usually blurred in the historical record. They also supply fairly precise conclusions on the intensity of settlement, linguistic boundaries, origins, and relationships with occasional comments on social and economic conditions"⁴. As I mentioned earlier the first part of a personal name consists of a place name of that person. Placenames like Palli, Ambalam, Kottam came from the influence of Jain and Buddhist religions⁵. Similarly the influence of nature is also manifested in placenames. Godavarma points out that in any country, the place names can be seen as having a large part of them based on different aspects of the landscape of nature. Place names were also influenced by Aintinai mentioned in the Sangam literature. The place names like Neythal mangalam, Mullakkal, etc. show the influence of Aintinai.

There are placenames with *Palli* seen in inscriptional records along with personal names. *Kanayapalli, Kamakanapalli, Kurumpalli, Koyipalli, Pullipalli, Velliyampalli, Malayipalli, Muthampalli, Makkandapalli, Njayaripalli, Kanjirapalli, Varikkampalli, Sivaripalli, Tevarpalli, Palliviruthi, Mullapalli* etc.. The term *palli* indicates the Jain or Buddhist connection. Jainism in Kerala has a long history about one thousand years. The place names with *kulam, kuttam, aru, eri, chira, moozhi, mada* etc. show the presence of water bodies. For example *Cherumattapuzha, Attoor, Vanjipuzha* etc.. There are many place names in personal names. For example *Pazhavor, Kannanur, Nalur, Kunnalathur, Panthavur, Panavoor, Attor, Punalur, Vevoor, Maranellur, Kizhperur, Kalloor, Vayakanellur* etc. The place names ending with *Kottam* show the Jain influence. For instance, *Chirayankott, Perumanaikottath, Varanakottath, Kummarkottath* etc.. Place names were also

influenced by the names of plants and trees. For example *Tekkinkavil, Mulakkad, Tirunelli, Kamukancheri, Panamattam* etc.. Placenames like *Pichakacheri, Mullakkal, and Mullapalli* denote the name of flowers.

Land terms with prefix *kadu* also indicate the existence of productive spaces near the forest or the formation of such spaces out of forested areas because of slash and burn and forest clearance⁷. The terms found in the inscriptions either suffix or prefix such as *kadu, kara, thuruthi* indicate the forest clearing, reclamation of estuarine lands and water-laden areas. The conjoining together of *kadu* to the terms denoting lands in these areas and terms signifying the agriculture practice in the flood plains, waterlogged areas and estuarine regions indicates the process of agrarian practices⁸. There are a number of *kari* lands in the inscriptions of the area, *Kirankadampanar kari, Chennan Chennanar kari, Uralachennankari, Govindanarkari, Paravanar kari, Indranilan kari, Pattiarkari*. Thiruvalla copper plates mention a number of *kari* lands. The *kari* stands for the land spaces reclaimed from the estuarine and waterlogging areas. *Parambu* as mixed crop cultivation space began to be developed in the laterite areas in the midland because of the proliferation of settlements and clearing of forest in this region. *Thottams* are monocrop gardens. *Kirankadampanarkari* and *iyankattumattam* mentioned in Vazhapalli Copper Plate indicates the process of reclaiming lands so created for cultivation. The peoples like *Kirankadampanar* and *Ayyan* or their ancestors might have engaged in the creation of these lands for production operation. It was because of this that their names were attached to the lands and these land names continued to appear even in the land deeds⁹.

Religion and Personal Names

Shramanas interacted with Saiva Vishnavites resulted in cultural blend and transcendence. The following are the examples for this.

Jain + Vaishnavam : *Iyakkam Govindan, Iyakkam Inthirayudhan* and *Kannan Iyakkam*.

Jain+Buddhist ; *Yakkam Chathan*.

Jain + Regional ; *Yakkam Keralaan, Yakkam Kuntapozhan* and *Iyakkam Kothai*.

Jain + Saivism ; Iyakkan Chirikantan and Irayiran Chathan.

Vaishnavism + vaishnavism ; Kannan Vikkiran, Kanta Kannan, Kanta Narayanan and

Kantan Kiruttan, Kannan Kumaran, Kannan Chuvaran and Kanta Tevan.¹⁰

The ancient Yaksha Yakshi a concept was adopted by the Brahmanical, Buddhist and jaina religions in many ways. The terms Iyakkan for Yakshan and Iyakki for Yakshi are used in Tamilakam. The terms Yakka and Yakki is closely related with the Yakkan and Yakki in Buddhist language Pali, and Jakkan and Jakki in Prakrit, the Jain language. Many temple inscriptions in Kerala mentions people with names like Yakkan and Yakki. They were generally speaks about the gifts given to the temple. From ninth century onwards more than twenty yakkans are mentioned in more than ten temple records. Important among them was Tiruvalla Copper Plate related to Tiruvalla temple, it includes 41 copper plates, a few of these leaves have been lost. If we exclude the Tiruvalla copper plates the term Yakkan first appear in Kandiur temple inscription of AD.947. The Chera inscriptions like Kollam Rameswaram inscription of AD 1102 and Perumchellur Copper Plate of 1145 also mentions about Yakkan. Thrikkakara, Nedumpuram, Trikkadithanam, Tiruvannur, Thazhakkavu inscription and Tirunelli Copper Plate also mention yakkan. These inscriptions indicates that the Yakkans were landlord and prominent men of highrank.

Dr. V.V. Haridas in his work *Yakshisankalpam* has putforwarded the hypothesis that Yakkan were jains¹¹. They might be Jains and later became Saiva Vaishnava believers. The purpose of this landgrants may be to show their loyalty to their new faith. Persons like Yakkan Govindan an administrator under the Kizhmalai chief made donations to Tiruvalla temple. Amayamangalath Yakkan Chathan of Tiruvalla copper plate was a witness of donations. When we analyse the structure of names the word Yakkan is usually appear in middle part. The only exception for this is Kumaran Iyakkan and Chuvaran Iyakkan. For atleast two generations ago the name Yakkan may have been used for the Jains. As per the

available inscriptions so far, only one Yakki appears in the inscriptions. It is Yakkiamma, the wife of Pallath Kuntan Iravi mentioned in Tiruvalla copper plate. The Thiruvannur temple inscription indicates that the Yakkan is the name of a jain believer or trace of jain relationship. Kanayapalli Yakkan Chellan in this inscription shows that his personal name was Chellan and his fathers name was Yakkan. The term kanaya also refers to Jaina connection. M.R. Raghava Varier points out that the Kanam or Ganam was a Jain group in south india. From tenth to twelfth centuries Yakkans are found in inscriptions. They are generally obscured in later writings and texts. The following table shows the names that contain Yakkan in the inscriptions of medieval Kerala. This table will help us to understand the use of Yakkan and Yakki names in medieval Kerala¹²

Table 1 : Names of Yakkan and Yakki found in inscriptions

Kandiyoor inscriptions	AD 947	Punnacherri Iyakkan parameswaran, Iyakkan Keralan.
Thrikkakara	AD 950	Pantithuruthi Yakkan Kuntapozhan.
Thrikkakara	AD950	Pantithuruthi Yakkan Kuntapozhan.
Nedumpuram Tali	AD 950	Manalmantathu Iyakkan Inthirayudhan
"	"	Nedumpurayur Iyakkan Ayyan.
"	"	Iyakkan Chathan
"	"	Manalmattathu Iyakkan
Tirunelli Copper plate	AD 1005	Amayamangalathu Yakkan Chathan.
Trikkadithanam	AD 1010	Mulakkad Iyakkan Govindan

Tiruvannur	AD 1044	Kanayapalli Yakkam Chellan
Thrikkadithanam	AD 1050	Manalmattathu lyakkam Chirikantan/lyakkam Srikantan.
Tazhakkavu	AD 1051	lyakkam
Tiruvalla Copper Plate	AD 900-1100	Yakkam
"	"	Peruvayalur Yakkam Kotha
"	"	
"	"	Kidangupara; Ponni Yakkamayan
"	"	Kumaran lyakkam
"	"	Yakkam Govindan
"	"	Mayi Yakkam
"	"	Yakkam Amma
"	"	Pakaiviruthi Kumaran lyakkam
Perumchellur Copper Plate		Cherpalaikattu Chuvaran lyakkam

The personal names in medieval Kerala will also help us to understand the nature, designation, titles of administrative machinery of medieval period. Personal names helps us to understand the persons occupation, position, caste, etc. of people. Masculine gender, feminine gender, geographical features, flora, fauna, caste, religion etc, can be understood from the personal names. The study of personal names embody alot of things underlying them. They give us insights in to the culture, political and social organisations etc.. The names and their laws on naming and caste , religion of people, professions can be understood from them. By studying all peronal names in medieval kerala we can understand that certians names are frequently used by people the table given below illustrate this. The repotation is mostly due to the naming convention followed.

Table 2 : Frequency of Names in Inscriptions.

NAME	REPITATION	NAMES	REPITATION
Narayanan	88	Vikraman	15
Kumaran	47	Tamotiran	13
Kantan	41	Pozhan	12
Tevan	30	Tuppan	9
Kovinnan	32	Ayyan	9
Kothai	30	Chikantan	9
Kannan	29	lyakkam	13
Chathan	28	Tayan	8
Chankaran	22	Purayan	7
Chennan/Chennanar	22		
Keyavan/Kesavan	19		

Women names appear in inscriptions. They were given in the table below.

Table 3 : Names of women in Inscriptions

Tillaisthanam	Kadamba queen wife of vikkiannan
Chokoor inscription	Chuzhiyil chittarayil Nangayar
Thrikkakara	Kizhanadikal
Tirunandikkara copper plate	Murukan chenthi
Kollur madam copper plate	Deviyar, mother of Vallabhan Kotha
Kilimanoor Copper Plate	Umayamma (mother of Manikantan tiruvadi)
Mampalli Copper Plate	Thrikalayapurath Athichan Umayamma

Kilimanur Copper Plate	Kizhperur Manikandan Mathavi alias pillayar tiruvadi
Chitharal Thirucharanam Jain Document	Naranakuttiyar
"	Kunanthakikurathikal
"	Pathmini padar
Kadinamkulam Inscriptions	Umayamma (Mother of Sri Veeraraman)
Keralapuram Inscription	Neelammakutty (daughter of Mathamma) Mathamma (daughter of Eechakutty)
Tiruvalla Copper Plate	Illamkunnunadu Nangayar Ekkiamma (Ponpallath Kunnan Iravi's wife)
Panthalayani Kollam Inscription	Eeswaran Nili (daughter of Chiyamanapollamma Nayithi)

From this table we can assume that only a few names of females appear in inscriptions. Many of them were ruler's wife, mother or daughter etc. They were not find any existence of their own. A kind of male dominated society existed in medieval kerala as like those of other parts of India. The inscriptions of Kerala are not unhistorical thoughts it is true that they fail to yield as much political history as those from other parts of india¹³. The greater majority of these inscriptions are not royal grants or charters but resolutions of village assemblies or the executive committees. Religious toleration of rulers can be seen from Paliyam copper plate, gift to Srimulavasam. The chronology of the rulers and naduvazhis and their titles can be studied from inscriptions. For example the only copper plate of Rajasekhara opening with the benedictory phrase 'namasivaya' describes him as 'Raja Rajarajadhiraja Parameswara Bhattaraka'. The second name of Bhaskara Ravi remained unknown till recently. The discovery of Pullurkoduvalam inscription has cleared the point and proved that he was known as Bhaskararavi alias Manukuladitya. The inscriptions also provide the names of different

occupational groups. Kurumbranattu Kunjikutta Varman's Tirunelli inscription mentions about the Vellalars. At that time people were known by their local names. Examples are the Paraiyan Kalkarai, Pantithuruthi Yakkan Kuntapozhan of Nedyatali, which are found in later inscriptions. Family names appear when talking about Tali's and Uralars. Family names of four tali members were available from inscriptions. There are only names of local rulers appear in inscriptions on a few among them their areas also mentioned. Various brahmin families receive their share of (Padakaram) in brahmin villages. So they were known by family names¹⁴. The later chera period witnessed the growth of temples. In the temple there were a growing number of people managers like santi's, Potuvals, temple servants like bartenders, oil suppliers, wickers and tenants paying for various expenses were grown up of all these except the santis came from non brahmanic sect. Various occupations related to temple also developed Stone carvers, carpenters, goldsmiths, and other metal workers, oil bearers and others are prominent among them. Another group was army of three hundred, six hundred and a thousand of local rulers or naduvazhis. Terisapalli copper plate mentions about Adhikaran, prakriti, nizhal, athikaran, panyum nadu vidava kaiyum jointly made the facilitation of the temple. All these evidence shows the growth of officers and military groups surrounding the rulers. It was from them the upper sections of later period emerged. Inscriptions gives us valuable insights into culture, political and social organisation, religion, and various castes existed in medieval Kerala. Medieval period witnessed the development of caste and its rigidity.

The inscriptions are windows into the past. Anthroponomy will help us to understand the naming pattern of that period which indicates the social ideology. This paper tried to analyse the naming patten of medieval Kerala and its structures. How the social stratificaton existed in medieval Kerala and how it can be identified from the inscriptional evidences etc., the formation of castes and its growing rigidity, the spread of agrarian practices and how it affected the social stratification etc were analysed in this paper. Toponomy and Anthroponomy gives us valuable insights to the social stratification existed in medieval period.

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CHALLENGES AND PROBLEMS OF MARGINALISED: HISTORICISITY OF PANIYAN EDUCATION MILIEU

C. Althaf Hussain

INTRODUCTION

Education as a process, it has a supreme importance in empowering people, especially the weaker sections of the society. Through which one becomes politically responsible to the fellow beings and thereby enhances their individual and collective well-being in the society. In the context of the marginalized sections, education is claimed to be the weapon for their liberation and an agency that enhance their radical expressions and negotiations. But rendering of education in the present contexts are observed to be the reproduction of certain hegemonic power structure in the society. The paternalistic natures of the urban and middle-class consciousness are deep rooted in the pedagogical operations by providing little concern to the knowledge systems of the marginalized section legacies by the influence of the colonial education.

In the whole educational processes the values of democracy have been violated by providing no equality in terms of knowledge and culture. The long histories of exploitation and oppression continue to operate in the tribal mindset and consciousness in the very corner of their lives. As such, emancipation from these exclusionary mechanisms requires a negotiating and contesting self-determination from the oppressed voices. To materialize this ideal, the process of education has to perform an important role. Dr.B.R. Ambedkar's vision becomes

extremely importance in this scenario. He envisioned education as an instrument to liberate the marginalized sections from illiteracy, ignorance and superstitions and thereby enable the tribal people to fight against injustice, exploitation and oppression. It should be understood that education has an inherent relationship with the culture and locality of the specific people since their way of life is very much bound with it so that it has to perform particularly a major role in the tribal societies.¹ As Choudhury (1982) points out, the tribal's are victimized by development projects and external interventions and have been exploited to a large extent by taking advantage of their relative state of backwardness. Those measures have been mainly in the form of constitutional safeguards, legislations, financial incentives, reservation in educational institutions and so on.

Nevertheless, contemporary researches show that the tribal children are not really attracted to the processes of formal schooling and there exists a wide educational gap and inequality between the tribes and other weaker sections in Indian society. There is strong consensus that development efforts made in the country have not succeeded in empowering the tribal communities, but in fact, have arguably created a subjugated consciousness among the tribal people. It also reinforced the unequal exchange of socio-economic resources between the disadvantaged and privileged sections. This

phenomenon is applicable to the educational arena also to a large extent. Researchers have founded that along with many other constraints prevailing in tribal education, the alien contents and irrelevant information provided by the curricula have become the main cause of students' disinterest towards the schools.² The high dropout rate and low enrollment status shown by the tribal students are not only due to the physical constraints such as access to schools, but also have some relationship with the existing patterns of curriculum and knowledge imparted thereby. Hence, the present inquiry on the school education system among the tribal people is done by analyzing the different contexts which finds critics in the existing patterns. The learning environment in school, the socio-economic profile of tribal students, their own stated preferences and perceptions, and hindrances faced by them are examined in this study. The inquiry tries to assess qualitatively how far the indigenous know-how is important to the tribal people in the present context and how much the formal education system has recognized the importance of such indigenous values.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PANIYAN TRIBES

The major communities in the district are Paniyan (44.77%), MulluKuruman (17.51%), Kurichian (17.38%), Kattunaikan (9.93%), Adiyar (7.10%) and UraliKuruman (2.69%). They are categorized in three major types, as agricultural laborers, marginal farmers and forest dependents. Paniyan and Adiyar communities who were traditionally bonded laborers and UraliKuruman, traditionally artisans constitute the major part of agricultural labourers. The Paniyas are the largest scheduled tribe in Kerala among other 36 tribal groups in Kerala in which altogether contribute 22.5% of the total tribal population. They spread in Wayanad, Kannur, Kozhikode, Malapuaran and Palakkad districts and in some parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu states. The overwhelming majority (72%) of the total Paniya population in the state is concentrated in Wayanad district. Earlier most of the Paniyan population resided in the hilly tracts of Wayanad and portions of Ernad, Calicut, Kurumranad, and Kottayam, taluks of the Malabar, ahashams of the Nilgiri District and other areas.³ These districts formed part of Kerala

when many areas in Kerala including Malabar were under Madras Presidency before 1956. Damodaran has noted Paniyan as shy and hidden tribes.⁴ Though much cannot be evidently said about historic past of the Paniyan but details recorded by Gopalan Nair, Somasekharan Nair Aiyappan and Kulirani reveals the Paniyan led a food gathering way of life. According to anthropological descriptions, they are dark in skin, long headed with broad noses, short physique and curly hair. There is a long wide variety of features regarding the ethno history of Paniyas. Historical studies show Paniyars were first considered as hidden tribes and led a food gathering way of living. When they were exposed to people from outside, diverse changes occurred in their socio-economic and political life. In a later stage, they were made bonded labourers by the landlords.⁵ Over the years, the living contexts and surroundings had changed by the influence of migrants who being planters and cultivators established their dwellings in the district as settlers. The transformation of Paniya from being a bonded laborer to a wage laborer occurred during this period. The settlers more precisely the Christians and Muslims who migrated from the southern part of the state extracted labour from the Paniyas at abysmally low wages. These exploitations have created the major shuffle in the socio-economic condition of the tribes in this region.

The livelihoods of Paniyas were based on forest and their knowledge systems were closely linked to nature. They practice unique models of indigenous systems against their social occasions like many other tribes in the region. They have a primitive model of problem solving mechanism in which they discuss their problems and find solutions by sitting together in the presence of a chief (Chemmi) and thereby retained a logical way of maintaining social justice.⁶ This is one of the examples for indigenous self-governing system. A modified or different form of this is common in many rural villages of south Indian states about their own practices to solve the issues.

THE LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN

There are many opinions regarding their origin of the Paniyan. About the Paniyan, as mentioned by Thurston a common belief based on their general appearance prevailed among the

European planting community that the Paniyan are of African origin and descended from ancestors who were ship wrecked on the Malabar Coast.⁷ This theory however, breaks down on investigation. Of their origin, nothing definite has been brought into light. It is a commonly believed among the Paniyan, being adivasis that they were the original habitants of Kerala. The Paniyan claim that a Malabar king had brought them to Wayanad. They are not very sure of this as whether they came from a different place or have been in Wayanad always. Most probably, more advanced groups might have compelled them to move from plains to hills. However, nothing can be said authentically about it. The Paniyan themselves have much to say about their origin. The legend about their origin as described by Somshekarani takes us back to *Vaalarnkotamala*, a hill in north Wayanad. They claim to be known as *ippimala makkal*, 'the children of a legendary mountain range'. The story begins as, at first there were only two people a brother and a sister, *angala* and *pengala* who did not have even cloths to put on.⁸ It unfolds that the brother and sister were subjugated by the Gounder and Uralikurumba, an artisan tribe. The Gounder, a Jain i by religion are a small group of Kannada speaking cultivators who pioneered the colonization of Wayanad from the Kamataka side. Further it narrates, the ancestors of the Paniyan, sister and brother who were young (girl older to boy) were trapped by the Uralikurumba for his Gounder master and reared in captivity. When they grew up they were to treat themselves as brother and sister only from waist up and were permitted to be husband and wife below the waist. Thus they reproduced and had ten children; again five boys and five girls who were also allowed to marry among each other when they grew up.⁹ The Paniyan refer to the above twelve ancestor as *pantheerappanmara*, (who are venerated as their early ancestors). Another version of the legend as quoted by Thurston "The Nair Janmis say that, when surprised in the act of the some mischief or alarmed, the Paniyan calls out 'Ippi! 'Ippi!', as he runs away and they believe, this to have been in the name of the country from they came originally; but they are ignorant as to where Ippimala, as they call it, is situated ".¹⁰ It further states that the Paniyan may recall of different places as their home land but are not very sure about. They do not know about their arrival in

Malabar. Somsakaran writes about them as though fear was their family member, fear was their '*kudaparuppe*'.¹¹ They use to run with fear whenever they saw a stranger. As the legend continues, the Paniyan used to destroy the cultivation of the outsiders at night. The Gounder and the *Chetti*, a merchant saw this practice and both of them wanted to catch the Paniyan. One night they planned to trap down at least one of them. A Paniyan man was trapped in the net that they had prepared for him while others ran away. Thus they took the Paniyan and trained him, or '*innaki*'. They gave him to eat and then sent him away. This was a trick. The man, who was brought from the forest, had seen the world outside and could understand the life waiting for them so he persuaded others to follow. Thus he brought others and they started to work for the *Chetti* and Gounder, and thus they became slaves from *ippima*.¹² The Gounder and *Chetti* realized that the Paniyan work very hard and it was better and profitable for them to make the Paniyan settle in the village. Since then they never went back to dense forest to settle down except on occasions. Briefly, the forest dwellers, food-gathering, roaming tribe, the ippimala children were trapped by Gounder and Chetti to work as slaves. Somsakaran explains the situation as follows: "It may be true; the clever people train animals for their use and the cleverest make humans work by training them". Earlier they were known as '*Cheetiyana Paniyaru*', the Muslim Paniyan. '*Thiyana* ', the '*Thiyar Paniyan*' and '*Achana*' the Kurichar Paniya and they liked to be known in the same manner".¹³ The masters under whom they work were commonly called as the *mellala*(superior person). They themselves call *kachavamaru* (inferior) while comparing to the *mellalvarum*. This was the beginning of the enslavement of the Paniyan tribe by the landowners. Gradually they came under the control of the big *Janmi*, the Namboodri and Nair and others who controlled the land. Purchasing and selling of the slave became a common thing for the landlords. The historical developments in both Wayanad and Malabar bear importance to the historical changes in the Paniyan community in the entire region. Before coming to the details of their life under circumstances of slavery it would be enriching to have a glimpse of the history of the districts which were home to the Paniyan. Wayanad has been called as tribal land. Though

the Paniyan were mostly concentrated in Wayanad they were linked to their kinsmen in other parts like Kozhikode and their frequent migration to different parts. In ancient times, this land was ruled by the Rajas of the Veda tribe. In the medieval period the Vedar king of Wayanad was defeated by the combined force of the Malabar Kshatriya Rajas of Kottayam and Kurubarnad principalities that paved way for a long period of feudalistic rule of Wayanad by the Nayar gentry of Malabar.

With Wayanad coming under the rule of the Pazhassi Rajas of Kottayam royal dynasty, there were little changes in the mode of treatment meted to the Paniyan by the landlords. Under the feudal administration the entire land was the property of the king and the janmis such as the Nairs, their custodians.¹⁴ The cultivators like the Wayanadan chetty, Embrandiri, Gounder Kurichiyar, Mullukuruman and others were retainers or tenants of the janmis. The Paniyan among other tribes like Adiya were bonded labourers under various ownership categories. Later, Wayanad was restored to Kottayam Raja under the ruler ship of Tipu Sultan after the Sreerangapattanam truce he made with them. But qualitatively this event did not change the livelihood pattern of the communities like that of the Paniyan. At the political level the Sultan appointed new Nayar janmis in the place of those who were loyal to the Rajas of Malabar.¹⁵ Wayanad had further interference from outside as there developed encounters between the British and Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja of Kottayam. The British acquired control over the area against the Pazhasy Raja of Kottayam and his tribal militia of Kurichiyar and Mullukurumar after the fall of Srirangapatanam in 1792. Thus Wayanad fell into the hands of British which brought a turning point in the history of this area. Even the British regime did not change the tenant system based on janmi-kudiyan (feudal lord and tenant) system nor did they take any action against the enslavement. Though, according to Aiyappan : the East India Company had attempted to stop slave trade from Malabar Coast by the early 19th century it continued for a long time till the first decade of 20th century.¹⁶

PANIYAN EDUCATION

The language of Paniya tribe is 'Paniya'; a mixture of ancient forms of Malayalam and Tamil which has no script. For any indigenous

community, the role of language is not merely limited as a medium of communication rather it conveys the history of their culture and knowledge. The legends, myth, history and struggles are conveyed and transmitted by folk songs and stories through oral communication. Animals, birds, trees, God etc. are become the characters of these traditional chants. These traditional songs can be seen as the strong narrations of their culture and identity. In many songs, they convey several myths about their origin and exploitations experienced in their history. Their struggle against oppression and exploitation is embodied within these songs.⁵

In terms of the schooling of the children it is observed that School dropout is one of the major problems prevailing in the study area. The dropout rate for the Wayanad district in the three stages of schooling (lower primary, upper primary and high school) put together is 6.6%, which is the highest in comparison with all the other districts. For the lower primary school level as well as upper primary school level, the dropout rate is highest for Wayanad district. However, dropout rate for ST students of Wayanad district at high school level is lower than many other districts. It is very common in the area that most of the parents prefer to stop their children's education in the midway. There are some habitations where the Paniyas did not even think about sending their children for schooling. When the children reach the age of six, they participate in the income earning processes of their household. Boys will go for working as agricultural labourers, and girls will assist in household activities like looking after the infants in the home. In short, the schooling of children in these communities is so much dependent on the household's decision. The child's interest is the underlying causes which thwart them to withdraw.

CONCLUSION

The opinion collected from the students establishes the fact that majority of the students are facing difficulties in understanding subjects taught in the class. It is quite surprising that the major difficult subject is Hindi, which signifies the role of language in the learning process. The perception as such negotiates for the inclusion of indigenous language for their learning process. The traditional art forms like folksongs and group games emblematically represent the tribal

culture and the very part of indigenous knowledge. However, the new generations of school going children are weak in acquiring these folkways. A majority of the students are not aware of any of the traditional art forms of their community and no encouragement is given for those who interested to perform in the schools. The majority of the students have a good interest in their traditional occupation like farming and agriculture.

From the teachers' point of view, it is authentically substantiated that tribal students are facing difficulties in understanding subjects. Students' disinterest in attending school as well as classes is the main problem. The issues such as unfamiliarity of contents in the curriculum, difficult topics in the subjects are also the main hurdles for students. Teachers strongly agreed that students are interested to have the indigenous knowledge in the curriculum. The majority of the teachers observed that tribal students participate more actively in the classroom when the discussions are being held on community related topics. Moreover, the teacher respondents have represented their own

critiques on the existing curriculum, and agreed to include the indigenous knowledge in the curriculum for the effective practice of education for tribal children.

The community people consider traditional knowledge as an important part of their culture and they would like to preserve it through younger generations. However, the new generation children are not showing much inclination in learning it the community knowledge. The community gives prime concern for education of their children. They strongly believe that education is the only aspiration that can bring progress in their community. The sustenance of the traditional knowledge system of the Paniya community is heavily dependent on the new generation particularly the students. In the same way the social activists explored the socio political aspects of the problem which becomes very relevant in the tribal educational regime. Tribal students face social exclusion in the name of caste, colour and language from the society and the school as well. These practices often lead students to get de-motivated and humiliating through the pedagogical practices.

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CHILDREN AND EDUCATION: SOME ASPECTS OF TEA PLANTATION LABOUR IN MUNNAR

S. Anagha

There cannot be a capitalist production without the working class¹. The colonial regime in India was not only created an administrative structure it also triggered up the process of capitalist production in India. The nineteenth century in India witnessed the emergence a working class population in the plantations, cotton and jute mills, mines, railways etc. This was the period of industrialization of the economy by the foreign capital.

The land of Kerala was never in the industrial map of the country except for the spices and other agricultural products. But the dense forests in Western Ghats attracted the planter community among the colonizers and they established the plantations along the Western Ghat region. The emergence of plantations created new socio economic scenario in the hills. The planters brought migrant workers from distant lands. Most of this migration was family migration.

Coercion, low wages and immigrant labour were initially the three important or rather, inseparable, components of the plantation system.² Even though most of the plantation regions are sparsely populated the workers never got any benefit from the owners. During the formative years, plantations faced the problem of acute labour shortage.³ In many cases the workers were brought to the plantations by coercion sometimes the poverty lead them to the area. The labourers were permanently settled by the planters in and around the plantations mainly because recruitment was family based, which saves recruitment cost. Also this supplemented assured labour supply to plantations with wages determined by planters.⁴ They preferred the additional income added to the families by the children.

The International Labour Organization(ILO) defined child labour as the work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children and interferes with their schooling by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school, obliging them to leave school prematurely, or requiring

them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.⁵

This paper is trying to delve into the problems created by the industrial capitalism on the children giving particular reference to the plantations. Most of the tea plantations were owned by the Britishers and a very few were owned by the Indian capitalist class during the nineteenth century. Most of these plantations employed migrant labour and the production was based on the family labour. The geography and other conditions forced them to employ the family instead of individual workers for the need of maximum exploitation. The plantations created a distinct form of social relation in the working class people. It is the only industry which employed women than men. The family recruitment policies also accelerated the employment of children in the plantations. Even in the post independent era the employment of children in the plantations continued.

The people in the plantations were migrant labourers in most cases and planters welcomed the family migration by giving them housing and other menial jobs to the entire household. In the hill regions of Kerala were the population density was very low necessitated the migration of labour. Most of these migrations took place from the neighboring state of Tamilnadu. The recruitment and organization of plantation labour was done through institutionalized intermediaries called kanganies, remarkably similar to the jobbers on plantations the world over. They thus appeared in dual roles: as recruiters in the villages, who then reappeared as supervisors on the estates earning a double income in the process in addition to enticing the workers with promises that were more imaginary than real, coercion and brute force were used unhesitatingly to mobilize the workers and to retain them as resident captive labour directly under the sway of planter capital, with limited opportunities of out-migration.⁶

The workers were permanently settled by the planters in and around the plantations mainly because recruitment was family-based. In the earlier period the planters encouraged families

rather than individuals to migrate for work on plantations. This served two purposes. Firstly, since the planters wanted cheap labour they had to have workers who would be permanently settled in the industry and who had no scope for alternate employment. Therefore, by encouraging families to migrate they ensured that the workers were more or less cut off from their places of origin and were settled in the plantations which were isolated from the outside world. The entire family-male, female as well as children-worked at wages the planters determined. Secondly, family migration ensured that labour could be reproduced thus solving to a large extent the problem of further recruitment in future.⁷

The plantations processing a dual identity they were porous yet they were enclaves.⁸ An understanding of the plantations in this sense is necessary when giving special emphasis to the education sector. Most of the hill stations in the colonial times worked as colonial enclaves and they were separated from the main lands.

Education was denied to the children in the plantations as they became the workers. Even parents were not concerned about the problem in the initial periods because most of them were trying to cope with the conditions in the area and were illiterate. In the pre independent and for long time after the independence the planters controlled the system of education. The government's absence and the negligence shown by the company resulted in the backwardness of the area in education. This can be seen in some of the official correspondence of the government and company.

In a letter no.B1-14/50 dated 30-1-50 from the inspector of primary and middle schools, Muvattupuzha to the division inspector of schools, Muvattupuzha stated that "The Malayalam P.S. is at present run by the K.D.H. P Co. as a result of the earnest request of the Malayalam speaking people of the place. The company has agreed to run the school for only this year. They have informed me that they will stop running the school next school year irrespective of whether the government starts a new school or not. If such a contingency arises the Malayalam speaking people of the place, especially government servants will be put to very great difficulties in the education of their children".⁹

In another letter the inspector of vernacular schools Travancore wrote to the director of public instruction Travancore that "The attendance of pupils in the Kanthalloor primary school in Devicolam taluk has been going down in the month of makaram 1105, the average attendance was only three and that the villagers do not care to send their children to school.

In the circumstances, I request you to be so good as to permit me to close the school temporarily. The only teacher in the school may be transferred to a permanent vacancy in another school, the place at Kanthalloor being left vacant".¹⁰

The workers were in the initial periods also preferred to send their children doing some menial jobs in plantation or in the household itself. So most of them didn't send their children to school. Also the distance from their place of living to the schools and lack of transportation facilities accelerated the decrease in the number of children in the schools.

Despite the fact that the authorities disregarded the region they paid attention to the problems of the planter's issues. In a letter by the Anglo Indian and domiciled European association of southern division to the dewan of Travancore persuading him for sanction in teaching in their mother tongue English. "We are proud to see that the schools have commenced to teach all the subjects in the mother tongue of students. Thus a familial or a malayalee student is able to understand and study his lessons in his own mother tongue Tamil or Malayalam. But at the same time Anglo Indian children whose mother tongue is English find it extremely difficult to study the subjects in Tamil or Malayalam. As a result most of our children are forced to join the European schools at cochin and Malabar side incurring heavy expenditure and the few that and learning in the Munnar school find very difficult to learn all subjects and keep their standard equal to the other children".¹¹

The director of public instruction Travancore in a letter to the chief secretary to government for the permission for changing the school timings for Munnar private English school. He mentioned that he accepted the need for changing the working hours in Munnar secondary school in the high ranges after understanding the circumstances explained in the letter from the

manager of the school. Also the working hours remained the same. He requests the government to sanction his action.¹²

In another letter the director of public instruction Travancore to the chief secretary discussed the wages in the schools in high ranges. "The annual expenditure under grants in aid to the vernacular schools in the high ranges as per the present rates is Rs. 3,072 and that as per the rate proposed in my letter no 1057 dated the 26th July 1935 it would be Rs. 3,384. In this connection I would invite the kind attention of the government to the fact that as reported in my letter (no.1057) referred to above, the teachers of the Anglo vernacular school Munnar are already in receipt of higher rates of aid. This school is at present in receipt of an annual receipt of an annual grant of 1,104".¹³

The company at the same time paid attention in extending their help in education at other part of Travancore. Kannan Devan trust was formed for the object of giving endowments to the students for their academic excellence on post graduation level research in agriculture and other technical subjects in 1939. The endowment amount was one lakh British rupees¹⁴.

Though the education of the worker's children was not a priority of the planters and the government, there were few reports and regulations in the end of 1930's. In the royal commission on labour report of 1930 it is stated that the "The regulation of the labour of children has always been bound up with the question of their education. We feel that the case of the plantations presents certain characteristics which make it not unreasonable to look to the employer for a bigger contribution towards the education of the actual and potential child worker. Their labour has been recruited from a far field and frequently brought into an area populated by an alien people. Moreover the bulk of the plantations are situated far from government educational facilities. Nor does the provision of land for a school site or the cost of erection of a suitable building provide any of the initial difficulties in respect of scarcity of floor space and high costs of construction which often characterize the problem in a big city".¹⁵

The most important intervention on the working of children was plantation labour act.

This act of 1951 made some intervention for the welfare of women and children. The important provisions were 1. Crèches—(1) in every plantation wherein fifty or more women workers are employed or were employees on any day of the preceding twelve months, there shall be provided and maintained by the employer suitable rooms for the use of children of such women who are below the age of 6 years.

(2) Such room shall—(a) Provide adequate accommodation (b) The adequately ventilated and lighted (c) Be maintained in a clean and sanitary condition and (d) Be under the charge of a woman trained in the care of children and infants. 2. Recreational facilities—the state government may make rules requiring every employer to make provisions in his plantation for such recreational facilities for the workers and children employed therein as may be prescribed. 3. Educational facilities – where the children between the ages of six and twelve of workers employed in any plantation exceed twenty five in number, the state government may make rules requiring every employer to provide educational facilities for the children in such manner and of such standard may be prescribed. 4. Prohibition of employment of young children—no child who has not completed his twelfth years shall be required to allowed working in any plantation. Night work for women and children—except with the permission of the state government, no woman or child worker shall be employed in any plantation otherwise than between the hours of 6 AM and 7 P M.¹⁶

In the report of the minimum wage committee for plantations Travancore and Cochin mentioned about a few things regarding education and children's right. Most of the estates run primary schools for the benefit of the children of the working classes but the standard of educational facilities offered varies considerably. The majority of the schools are unrecognized and many of the teachers employed are unqualified. Also mentioned about the free noon day meal for children between the ages of 2 and 12 years is a practice in many estates. There is further a cash allowance of 5 paise a week being paid to the children of this group in most estates where a grain compensation allowance is paid.¹⁷

Despite these acts child labour continued in the plantations for a few years. The insufficiency of the basic educational facilities leads to the

denial of the children from moving out the plantation system. Most of these children continued working in the plantations rather than opting other professions. Even after the

independence the systematic efforts by the planter community in controlling the labourers continued.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE INQUIRY ON EARLY ISLAMIC PRESENCE IN NORTH KERALA

C.A. Anaz

The monsoon wind system made the vast maritime expanse of the Indian Ocean navigable and, to some degree, predictable; it also favoured some routes and connections over others, shaping the very structure of communication, commerce, and cultural change between the coasts it buffets. (Sebastian R. Prange, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, Cambridge University Press, UK, 2018, p. 27)

Early medieval is a contextual term in historical studies which deals the origin of the change in socio-economic structure that coined as feudal. Internationally, the periodic division of history has been continued mainstream academic real with critical norms. In Indian history, the sense of division is very evidently using to denote the feudal structure of socio-economic status quo. When we consider the Kerala history the 'divisional dilemma' is more crucial for lack of evidence in many areas.¹ The

paper 'An Inquiry on Early Islamic Presence in North Kerala' intended to seek the early establishment of institutions and social formations of Islamic society in Northern Kerala.²

North Malabar- geographical location

North Malabar refers to the geographic area of southwest India covering the state of Kerala's present day Kasaragod and Kannur Districts, the Mananthavady taluk of Wayanad District, the taluk of Vatakara in the Kozhikode District of Kerala and the entire Mahe Sub-Division of the Union Territory of Puducherry. North Malabar begins at Korapuzha in the south and ends at Manjeshwaram in the north of Kerala and traditionally comprises the erstwhile princely principalities and fiefdoms of Kolathu Nadu, Kingdom of Kottayam, Kadathanadu and southern part of Tulu Nadu.³

Indian Ocean Trade Network

K N Ganesh's analysis goes, "Eleventh century marked the beginning of a major expansion in the Indian Ocean Trade. The Abbasids and Fatimids in West Asia and Egypt, the Sung state in China and the kingdoms of South East Asia and the Chola State in South India emerged as the major states linked by this trade. The trade organization was apparently initiated by the Fatimids of Egypt, in which the Karimi merchants played a central role from the later half of Eleventh century. Merchants from Persian Gulf, Yemen, Iran and even from Armenia became active in the Indian Ocean by thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Development of Indian Ocean network resulted in the more frequent visit of ships in the ports of trade in Malabar Coast, both from West Asia and South East Asia. The geographical features of the Malabar Coast enabled the merchants to use the coast as an effective stopover, and the merchants also gathered the spices and forest products from Malabar.⁴

Cheraman Legend

According to the traditional oral narration deals that the last Chera ruler Cheraman Perumal converted to Islam and visited the Prophet Muhammad at Mecca during the 7th century. It is a legendary story about early Islam in Kerala. Keralopathy and Kerala Mahatmyam which are the two historical chronicles that tells the story. Historically it was in the 12th century event that the ruler was Ramavarma Kulasekhara (980-1122).

A description shows to the location mapping of the northern part of Malabar; read, "On the basis of the survey of source materials related to the region of Kolathunadu of different periods, the present study puts forward certain premises on the extension of the nadu. Ezhimalai and its surrounding hillocks and its slopes had witnessed the formation of early settlements. In the early medieval or even in the medieval time, Kolathunadu seems to have been existed between the Perumba river in the north and Valapattanam in the south. The core area of the nadu developed in the surrounding resource area of three rivers Perumba, Kuppam, and Valapattanam rivers. It extended to Madayi creek of Ezhimalai in the West and Western ghats to the East. It further extended beyond the south of

Valapattanam river in the colonial times, under the rule of Chirakkal Kovilakam.⁵

Some of the tomb stones Pantalayani Kallam dating to AD782 are Maimun Ibn Ibrahim, Muhammad Ibn Mahin Ali, Uthman Ibn al..all signify a considerable Pardesi Arab presence. Regarding to MGS Narayanan, "With regard to the religion of Islam we have even less of tangible evidence. The relation between the last Ceraman Perumal and the introduction of Islam in Kerala, as reflected in Hindu as well as Muslim tradition, has been discussed before. Suleiman, the Arab merchant of the middle of the 9th century, who wrote with knowledge about the kingdoms of Western India, says expressly that "in Malabar he did not know of anyone of either nation (Chinese or Indian) that had embraced Mohammadanism or spoke Arabic". However, it has been pointed out that graveyard inscriptions found on the beach outside the mosque in Pantalayani Kallam record the death of one Abbu Ibn Udthorman in Hijra 166. These are certainly old tombstones and the mosque itself contains a fragmentary inscription of Bhaskara Ravi. However, the date of the tomb deserves to be re-examined. Masudi of Bagdad (896-956 AD) speaks about contacts between Malabar and Arabia and this is confirmed by Ibn Kurdad Bah (869-885 AD) and Abu Zaid of Ziraf (916-AD). These early contacts increase the possibility of the Ceraman legend being genuine. Moreover, the plaque at the mosque of Madayi recording its foundation shows the year 1124 AD. This agrees with the last known date of the last Ceraman, i.e. 1122 AD and supports the tradition that the first ten mosques of the West coast, including Madayi, were founded by the friends of the converted Perumal who was the last of the Ceraline.⁶

"According to the legend, Sarafibn Malik, Malik Ibn Dinar, Malik Ibn Habib, Ibn Malik, and their wives and friends were responsible for the establishment of the first mosques at Kodungallur, Kollam, Maravi, Fakanur, Manjarur, Kanjirakkuttu, Jarfattan, Dahfattan, Fandarina and Caliyath. Of these places Fakanur (Barakur), Manjarur (Mangalore) and perhaps Kanjirakkuttu (Kasergode) lay outside the Cera kingdom. Maravi is the present Madayi mentioned as Marahi in the Musakavamsakavya. Jarfattan may be identified as Kharapattana, now known as Kari patt, where, according to Keralolapatti, a

palace of the Kolattunatu kings existed. Dahfattan may be Dharmapattana, now known as Dharmatam. Fandarina is the same as Pantalayini Kollam, known to Arab merchants as Fandarina. Chali yath is the same as Chaliyam near Beypore. All these places developed into big centres of Muslim in the later period and this may be taken to signify the truth of the tradition. Moreover, Calicut or Kozhikode, which became the greatest centre of Muslims in Malabar in the medieval period, is left out of the list and this indicates that the tradition itself was formed before the rise of the principality of Calicut-an event which followed the disintegration of the kingdom of Makotai. Thus the common tradition that Islam was propagated in Kerala towards the close of the Cera period with the goodwill and blessings of the last Ceraman is acceptable to the historian as it is confirmed by all available circumstantial evidence.⁷

A run Thomas describes with the help of some important early sources, "The port town referred in classical accounts as 'Naura', was identified as Cannanore. Valapattanam, Matayi and Dharmapattanam were mentioned by travellers as medieval trade centers. Matayi is situated on the bank of a large river, the Taliparamba (Killa). Ibn Batutha, recorded Matayi as a "large and well built town situated on a bay navigable for large ships." Matayi is described by Duarte Barbosa as a Mappila centre, there were, however, Jewish and Hindu merchants engaged in various business. Valapattanam, situated on the south bank of Valapattanam River, was the royal city of Kolathunad as well as one of the early ports of Ezhimala kingdom. Dimishqi and Ibn Batutha mentioned it as 'Buddfattan'. Ibn Batutha noted that it was under the rule of Raja Kawayl (Kolathiri). During the medieval period, Cannanore had no importance because of the presence of Valapattanam and Matayi very near to it. But during the time of Portuguese, it became a major trading centre of Malabar. According to Tome Pires, "The Kingdom of Cannanore is large and has a large city and much trade and many people."⁸ The presence of the plaque is also attested by William Logan, District Collector and Magistrate, Malabar District.⁹

Medieval Madayi

The local legends, both Islamic and Hindu, say of the arrival of Malik ibn Dinar and his company with them royal letters from the

Ceraman Perumal [the last king of the Cera Perumal Kingdom, c. 1089- 1122 AD] to different native chiefs seeking their assistance to the missionary activities and establishment of mosques. the Madayi Mosque was built with the assistance of the Kolattiri Raja to whom also there was a letter from the last Cera Perumal. According to Shaikh Zain ud-Din Makhdam, the first *qadi* of the new mosque was Malik ibn 'Abdu Rahman.

The mosque contained a marker/plaque listing (Arabic inscription) the year 124 AD (H. 518) as the date of its construction. As a part of renovation, the old structure was pulled down in 2006, and a new structure in Indo- Saracenic model has been built on the old foundations; the marker is preserved and incorporated into the floor of the new building, but the original date is no longer legible. Madayi Mosque Inscription is this; "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. The mosques of God shall be visited and maintained by such as believe in God and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and pay zakat, and fear none except God, it is they who are expected to be on true guidance. Dated on the 5[18]th year on Friday of Rabiul Akhir"

At the rear of the mosque an old wall has been retained incorporating the original mark of the qibla, while beside it stands the first pulpit (mimbar), a simple and visibly ancient raised stone platform; the second mimbar, also old, has been retained in the new mosque. It has four carved wooden posts holding up a flat canopy that is covered with painted flowers on its interior.

Medieval Ezhimala

Ezhimala was also a flourishing seaport and center of trade at least by the start of the Common Era; and later was also one of the major battlefields of the series of Chola-Chera Wars in the 11th century; some believe that Lord Buddha had visited Ezhimala. *Mooshika Vamsham*, written by Athulan in the 11th century, throws light on the recorded past of the Mushika Royal Family up until that point. The first recorded king of Mooshika Vamsham (the Mooshika Dynasty) was Ramaghata Mooshika and his capital most probably was *Pazhi* (ancient Pazhayangadi). Athulan describes the later kings of this dynasty who are now better known as the Kolathiri Dynasty. King Ramaghata Mooshika's

successors shifted their capital to Ezhimala, Valabhappattanam (Valapattanam), and eventually Chirakkal, among other nearby places, over the following centuries.

In brief, the investigations are facing difficult to connect one another in chronologically. Recent archaeological excavations are may lead some clarification on the gaps between the centuries. The paper is only a preliminary one in this sense.

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FEMALE HEALTH REGULATION AND MANAGEMENT IN COLONIAL TRAVANCORE: CONSTRUCTION OF VICTORIAN MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

P.R. Anjaly

The introduction of western medicine in the Indian subcontinent by the British was a landmark in the area of health care. Indigenous medical system followed by the natives and which was closely connected with the religious beliefs and ritual practices of the people. Colonialism strictly opposed indigenous system and argued for western medicine. It became a crucial component of the project of colonial modernity. The process of eradication of indigenous medicine had come through the dissemination of scientific medicine and it became part of the colonizer's civilizing mission. The Indian Medical Service was established for the medical needs of Britain in India in 1764 was the first step taken for the expansion of western medical science. As a part of this civilizing mission in the field of medicine, Calcutta Medical College was established in 1835¹. Following the year's number of medical institutions established different parts of the country especially in Madras and Bombay presidencies. Women health was a major concerned area of

the civilizing programme and western medical system directed at Indian women on a large scale began with the coming of missionaries. Dr. Clara Swain, an American and the first female medical missionary to India arrived in 1869. Missionary also sponsored for the medical care of Indian women.

The health of women come under the interested area of colonial medical gaze because they were considered as one of the deprived and marginalized sections. The medical care for women folk was actually an agenda of colonialists who sought to legitimize colonial health policies. The colonizers considered women health was the best platform for the spread of colonial medicine in India. Making of an imperial empire was somehow a major goal of British colonialism. Western medicine played key role in the process of colonization and used as an instrument for making an empire. According to David Arnold, colonialism used or attempted to use, the body as a site for the

construction of its own authority, legitimacy and control². Through the creation of colonial institutions, they create an authority all over the country and exert power up on the body. At the same time female bodies were subjected to increased regulation, constant monitoring discipline and surveillance. For beginning their authority over the women medical field first they concerned about the creation of lock hospitals mostly for prostitutes harbouring venereal diseases near the military cantonments. The second field of medical intervention centred on the Maternity health care measures was seen on the mortality rate of women during their delivery time. It was a striking challenge to the European desire to show the colonial pride in the medical arena.

At the prompting of Queen Victoria the Vicereine in 1885, Lady Dufferin launched the National Association for Supplying Medical aid to the Women in India. It was the first systematic attempt to extent the western medicine to Indian women. As a part of Dufferin Fund, number of female health care programmes were launched. Women health care gained much importance in Travancore later the second half of the nineteenth century. For the treatment of women sanatoriums were started and among them the most prominent was at Thycaud during this time. Therefore this paper is an analytical study of the regulation and management of female health in the princely Travancore on the context of Countess of Dufferin Fund and the establishment of Victorian Memorial Hospital at Quilon. Though the welcoming of maternity hospitals, disciplinary control over the women through the western medical system is started. Hence the study stated that, the Victorian hospital at Quilon was not the first maternity hospital in Travancore but it was established with a special agenda of the native rulers. This paper is the analytical observation of the formation of Victoria hospital on the context of the women health policies which was vested on the interest of native rulers.

In nineteenth century various types of hospitals existed in India and they placed under four broad categories. First category comprised of military hospitals, second is consist of all such hospitals either at the metropolis or the district. The third group encompassed of general hospital and the fourth and last type was the

charitable hospitals which were mostly the outcome of native efforts³. Travancore rulers take initiatives for the women health and they established Lying in Hospital. It was the European forms of postpartum confinement, the traditional practice involving long bed rest after giving birth which was created because of the influence of colonial medical sciences. Travancore state started a Charitable hospital at Thycaud later emerged as a Lying in hospital, which was the first effort taken by the government for the women health.

In 1865, there were four hospitals at the capital of Travancore, the newly opened civil hospital to which was attached a Lying in Hospital, the Charity Hospital, the Jail Hospital and the Brigade Hospital. There were also hospitals at the Quilon and Alleppey and dressers where located other principal towns of the state⁴. The medical department of Travancore appoint a matron for the Lying in hospital in 1865, and this hospital introduced a new health care policies among the Travancore native women. The medicalization of women bodies started with the emergence of these new women hospitals.

On this health context, the colonial government introduced Dufferin Fund for the Indian women. It was the first program with authorized aid to focus on medical care for Indian women during the colonial epoch. The central mission was to provide scholarship, train doctors, nurses and sponsor hospitals and dispensaries for women⁵. The Dufferin Fund was Queen Victoria's personal. According to them it was introduced because of queen's concern about the lack of western medical care for Indian women. The purpose of the Fund was 'to bring medical knowledge and medical relief to the women of India' by providing women health care workers⁶. It focussed on three areas of women health includes,

- Medical training to women as physicians, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives.
- Establishing hospitals and dispensaries for the treatment of women and children in the colonial India.
- Trained female as nurses and midwives to care for women and children in hospitals and private houses.

Another fund raising programme during this time as like countless fund was the Jubilee collection in 1887 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne. Both Dufferin's Fund and Jubilee collection aimed at the progress of Indian women in the field of medicine and the spread of western medical ideas among the native women. According to Maneeshalal, Dufferin Fund constituted the single most important factor in the institutionalization of gender in the history of colonial medicine.

Travancore was a princely state come under the indirect rule of the British Crown. His Highness, Sree Moolam Thirunal ruled Travancore at the time of the implementation of the Fund. In 1885, a central committee of national association was formed and by 1886 onwards financially and administratively independent branches of the committee founded in the provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Burma, the Central Provinces, Oudh and Punjab⁷. In Travancore, the Fund implemented as a part of Madras branch of female medical agency and done their work through the creation of women and child dispensary. Following the Fund, midwives of the state attended hospital or in the patient houses⁸. The colonial authority opposed Indian system of medicine and followed the superiority of the western medicine, which was evident in the implementation of the Dufferin Fund. Travancore rulers not opposed the western medical systems and they also encouraged the medical activities of the Britain.

VICTORIAN MEMMORIAL HOSPITAL-QUILON

One of the major initiative taken by his Highness maharajah of Travancore for the wellbeing of female healthcare was the establishment of the Victorian Memorial Hospital at Quilon. It was opened as a part of the Golden Jubilee celebration of the late Queen Victoria and Dr. E Poonen, who was placed in charge of the hospital. This hospital leads to the expansion of western medicine among the women and the East India Government paid more interest to the maternity health care system and the fund was a strong action from their side. The Maharajah sanctioned for the establishment of a school at Quilon mainly to train up midwives and nurses and also provide donation to the hospital for the Gosha women⁹.

In its initial stage, the Institution began to function as a training institution and which trained girls belonging to several castes. Strict instructions for the midwifery pupils was implemented by the durbar physician part of this new institution¹⁰ Important rubrics were: the midwives come under the immediate orders of superintend, regular time schedule given for them, they must pay special attention to personal cleanliness at the time of emergencies, they shall take night duties at the hospital etc., Under these rules a strict governance over the midwives was carried out by the durbar physician which create a uniform system of medical care to the women. This rules and regulations shows that western style of women medical care and institutionalisation of female health was one of the speciality of this newly formed institution.

A detached Gynaecological ward was constructed in 1894 in order to provide better treatment for the pregnant women admitted to the hospital¹¹. In the last decades of nineteenth century Victoria hospital became a centre for the maternity healthcare in Travancore, 144 lying in and 400 Gynaecological cases were treated in the hospital and a batch of pupil midwives trained in the following years¹².

The traditional medical system of Travancore was male-oriented and they largely ignored women diseases. The traditional medicine for the women also concentrating on the obstetric matters. In colonial period, spread of western medicine made impact upon the female health practices. The Victorian Hospital had certain peculiarities compared to the other maternity hospitals in Travancore, because it was constructed by the Travancore ruler in order to support the colonial authority in their medical practices. As a princely state, Travancore rulers followed favourable attitude towards the medical practices of the imperial authority. Interpreting to the British view point, they imposed western medical system among the Indian women for making India into a progressive one. For getting the status and recognition to the princely state's they blindly supported the policies of the Britain. In the case of Travancore the Victorian hospital started by the native government to get recognition and to create the state in to a civilizing one.

CONCLUSION

Travancore was a princely state and not free from the clutches of colonial power. The introduction of western thoughts and ideas was come as a part of continuing the power and sustaining the authority of Travancore rulers over the state. There had a necessity among the rulers to follow new health care policies introduced by the Britain. The creation of Victorian Jubilee hospital at Quilon and the implementation of Dufferin Fund are two major steps taken by the princely state for westernizing female healthcare system. Both these steps are directly and indirectly sponsored by the colonial authority. Indigenous medical systems followed by the natives of Travancore and there were no separate medical system for the women can be existed before the coming of colonial power. But under the medical efforts of the British

government they expanded their control over Indian female subjects and make female body as a medical object. Body is considered as an important tool for the empire during the colonial period. Female health regulated and managed through the introduction of new institutionalised forms of health care measures. The process of medicalization of women body emerged with the formation of new hospital system. It can be also seen in the medical reforms in the realm of women's health introduced by the Fund. The new medical knowledge and reforms about the gynaecological knowledge further contributed the stereotyping of women. As a part of this process new gynaecological wards in Victorian hospital and medical institutions for the female health were established. Both colonial and native power groups contributed for the women health of the state.

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HANDLOOM WEAVING IN KERALA SOCIETY : TRADITION AND MODERNITY

S.R.Arya Kumari

India was a forerunner among the countries of the world in the performance of the beauty, art and texture of the hand-woven cloths. It was the most famous cotton manufacturing region in the world before nineteenth century. England, China, Burma, Japan, Europe, part of Africa and Persia were the prominent nations in the world which consumed the Indian hand-woven textiles on a large scale in those days. It is a traditional and hereditary calling which used traditional methods of production of cloths through their best craftsmanship. Handloom cloth meant any

cloth woven from any material including silk, cotton, artificial silk, staple fibre and wool, on looms worked by manual labour. A French traveller Francois Pyard De Laval argues, "The Indian cotton fabrics clothed everyone from Cape of Good Hope to China, man and woman from head to foot.

The handloom weaving industry in Kerala could enjoy the patronage of the rulers in the initial stages of the establishment of the trade in the state. But in due course, it lost its support and

protection on account of the advent of the mill made fabrics from the west.¹ The colonial administration was also silent about the encouragement of the traditional handloom weaving industry in the state. Of late, the colonial administrators also came forward to extend helping hands to the handloom weaving industry in the state.² But it was not sufficient to enable the industry to get out of the troubles in which it was overwhelmed.

In the post independent era also the position of the handloom weaving industry in the state was no better. It continued to falter year after year. Though there were handlooms in several houses in the state the number of houses with handloom weaving continued to decrease every subsequent year. The only exception was that there was an increase in the number of weavers' co-operative societies in the state. Neither the number of looms in the handloom industry nor the number of co-operatives increased over the years.³ Massive amounts of money were wasted every year in the guise of the protection of the handloom weaving industry in the state.

The handloom weaving industry was an important source of livelihood for two hundred and fifty thousand people of Kerala. There was one lakh twenty-five thousand looms there. In the past Kerala formed a part of the ancient *Tamilakom* and in the early centuries of the Common Era textile production was next only to agriculture in *Tamilakom*.⁴ Being one of the three necessities of life such as food, shelter and clothing that man might have learned the art of weaving either from the birds or the spiders. These excellent weavers of nature weave their nests and webs beautifully with artistic perfection and dexterity from the very beginning of civilisation in this part of the earth. At the commencement of the Common Era, cloth constituted one of the seven commodities being traded by the merchants of *Tamilakom*.⁵ Gold, grains, salt, oil, plough and jaggery were the other six items which belonged to the group. It is "evident from the available literature that the production of hand-woven fabrics in the state was either domestic or local market-oriented. In those days the weaver would exchange his products with the local people for his requirements. In due course, there was an expansion of the textile market which induced

the local artisans to cater to the needs of an expansive consumer hood. The weaver was a poor person having no additional resources to procure the raw materials required to continue his works uninterruptedly.

Handloom Weaving as a Monopoly

Traditionally handloom weaving was the monopoly of certain communities who were engaged in the art for several generations together. However, in due course, this custom had undergone tremendous changes, and even the people belonging to the non weaver castes joined the trade. It was the hereditary occupation of certain specific classes like the *Saliyan*, *Devangas*, *Kaikolans*, and *Khatris*.⁷ The Jolahas or Momins among the Muslims were also traditional handloom weavers in the northern parts of the country. Therefore 'the skill and secret of the job were passed on from father to son for countless generations together.'⁸

The *Saliyans* were the major weaving community in the Malabar district during the colonial period, and their presence was experienced everywhere in the district, except Waynad. They were also found in considerable numbers in the different taluks of the erstwhile princely state of Travancore like Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Shertalai and Vaikom at the end of the twentieth century.⁹ The *Saliyans* of the taluks of Vaikom and Shertalai were also called *Pattaryans*. The settlers of the Southern Travancore spoke Tamil, and the Northern part spoke Malayalam. The former claimed their descent from the Gujarat region and the latter, the Gangeticplain.¹⁰ The *Pattaryans*, claim that they were brought to Kerala by one of the Cheraman Perumals of Thiruvanchikulam and in due course, they moved to Shertalai and Vaikom which became their permanent seat. Though there is no sound evidence to prove the migration of the handloom weaver castes into Kerala, it is accepted that some of them were the migrants from Kanjeeपुरam and Tanjore in the Tamil country in the past. Ernakulam, Alleppey, Kottayam and Thrissur were the main areas of concentration of the *Pattaryans* in the state.¹¹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Francis Buchanan made a mention that in Kollengode in the Palghat district weaving was carried on by a very few number of Weavers

belonging either to the *Devanga* caste or the *Kaikolarcoste*.¹² They wove coarse varieties in a small scale which was found inadequate to fulfil the requirements of the local people. The *Chaliyans* and *Kaikolans* of the Princely state of Cochin also undertook the practice of weaving the counts of yarn up to the twentieth century. Their coarse varieties were in high demand among the poorer sections of the society, and they had ready markets for their commodities in their vicinity even during the early part of the twentieth century.¹³ In Trichur, the *Padma Saliyas* were the dominant weaver caste, and the *IdangaiSaliyans* were dominant in such places like Cannanore, Mangadu, Payyannur, Nileswaram, Kurinjimangalam and Kanjankau. At the same time, the *ValankaiSaliyans* were prominent in Azhikodu, Idaikadu, and Tellichery. They were also found in Mannayard, Kannadiparamba, and Kuthuparamba besides Cannanore. In the Malabar district, each amsam had its own Weaver groups. However Panniyangara and Kacheri in the suburbs of Calicut, Kizhakkethara, a hamlet of Kollengode, Palappuram in Walluvanad, Taliparamba, Chirakkal and Tellicherry had larger colonies of weavers in the district during the colonial era.¹⁴ The migrant weavers of Travancore were the people from Nagercoil and its vicinities and settled at Balaramapuram, Amaravila and Unnamalakkudi. Most of the *Saliyan* streets in Vadasseri in Nagercoil were named after the Travancore Rajahs such as Ravivarman Theru, RamavarmanTheru, Lakshnipuram Vadakke Theru, and Lakshnipuram Thekke Theru, who ruled over this extensive tract of land in the olden days. Lakshnipuram represented Sethu Lakshmi Bai. The Saliya weavers of Cannanore were engaged in the weaving of handloom fabrics using handlooms as well as pit looms.

The weavers of Kuthampully are called *DevangaSaliyar*. They resemble the Saliyans in some ways like their life in the *theru* or street, weaving as the traditional occupation, and the sale of their products.¹⁵ *Devangas of Kerala* was believed to have been the migrants from Mysore. *Chettiyar* and Chetty were the other names in these people were known to the society.¹⁶ The term *Seniyan* was used to denote the sale Weavers. However, at Konjeevaram it was applied to Canarese Devangas. The *Devangas* spoke both Tamil and Telugu, and the Tamil speakers did not intermingle with the Telugu

speakers. The *teunSedan* is a synonym for the *Devangas*. They worshipped Chaudeswari as their tutelary deity. Most of them were Saivites. It is believed that the Weavers of Kuthampully were the soldiers who, during the invasion of Tipu Sultan, got lost their direction and settled in this region.¹⁷

The *Kaikolanweavers* were found in the Chittoor and Thalappillytaluks in the erstwhile Cochin state in the early twentieth century. They were the Tamil immigrant community and were called Kerala Mudaliyar or Mudaliyar in the Palghat District.¹⁸ They were believed to have migrated from Coimbatore and Tamil constitutes their mother tongue. Mattison Mines has presented the *Kaikolan* community in south India as a predominant community in the medieval period with all the power to exercise their will whenever necessary. Handloom weaving was their traditional calling. The whole community had their separate areas of concentration or settlement, and they co-operated each other in the completion of their works.

However, most of the communities in the Cochin state were engaged in various activities associated with the textile industry. These were the Arayans, Konkani Brahmins, *Chaliyan*, *Chetti*, *Devangan*, *Duvan*, *Kaikolan*, Kammalan, Kanakkan, Kaniyan, Kavundan, KudumiChetti, Nair, Veluthedan, Vettuvan, Jonakan, Ravuthan, I Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and White Jews. In the princely state of Cochin, the Syrian Christians were also engaged in handloom weaving. The *Kaikolans* wove coarse clothes and the *Pattusaliyas* weave silk fabrics. The *Kaikolans* were also considered to be a group within the *Padmasaliyans*.¹⁹ The Weaver castes never valued education, and in the early decades of the twentieth century, only fifteen per cent of the *Chaliyam* in Cochin State were literate. It was 22.7 per cent for the *Devangas*, and 8.8 per cent for the *Kaikolam* respectively. However, female education was neglected among the weavers.²⁰ Moreover, 84.43 per cent of the Chaliyans, 85.7 per cent of the *Devangans* and 95.5 per cent literates among the *Kaikolam* were males.²¹ The career of a weaver starts at the very tender age,¹²¹ and once he was initiated to the looms, his whole life was tied to the loom, and he had no freedom whatsoever. He remained illiterate throughout his life.

In the initial stages, the *Saliyans* did not give any importance to education and boys were introduced to the pit loom at very tender ages and were tied to it until their death. He never got freedom from his inherent poverty and though clothed the society for centuries together his lot was not improved.²² The handicraftsmen inherited the crafts from their ancestors, and they were men of no serious ambitions. Most of them were illiterate, and they never quit their traditional callings even though it did not give them any sufficient means of subsistence at all. Since a sort of conservatism was the leading force behind them, they valued customs and relationships than anything, till the advent of new lights into their own lives. The use of fly shuttles, however, has led to an increase in the output of cloth to two-fold.²³ The handloom weaving industry in the state was organised mainly on three lines consisting of the organised private sector, the co-operative sector and the unorganised private sector comprised of master weavers and individual weavers. The organised private sector was constituted by the registered factories in the state. During the post re-organisation era, the process of organisation of the handloom weaving industry in the state on co-operative lines has assumed new heights.²⁴

In the initial stages of the settlement of the *Chaliyans* in Travancore, they, received good

support and encouragement from the royal family and were concentrated in the manufacture of finer varieties. However, with the expansion of the surges of the most famous industrial revolution which revolutionised the whole textile industry in the world along with other industries in the nineteenth century, the hand-woven finer fabrics gave way to the attractive, cheaper and finer mill made cloths.²⁵ The royal family also found it attractive and was more affordable even to the poorest in the society. The handloom weaving industry was found scattered in almost all the thirty-three taluks in the suff. In the absence of an agency to organise the industry, the poor weavers were dependent on the merchant intermediaries for financial support. The advancement of education among the weavers had forced many a weaver to leave his traditional calling it was felt *infra dig* to him.²⁶ The traditional Handloom weaver always had a hand to mouth existence everywhere in the state. The manufacture of handloom fabrics in the state in those days was local-market-oriented.

Though the state is said to have been a land known for the manufacture of handloom fabrics, experiences would show that it was never sufficient in the production - of handloom fabrics as it was forced to import textile fabrics from the outside world to meet the cloth requirements of the people of the land in the past.

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WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: A REVIEW OF KUDUMBASHREE IN KERALA

S. Aswathy

Women empowerment -The Concept

The word empowerment has multiple meanings and different authorities have been describing it in different ways to suit their purposes and that its definition varies with time and in context. Empowerment is a process having personal, economic, social, and political dimensions; with personal empowerment being the core of the entire empowerment process. The most noticeable feature of the word empowerment is that it comprises the term 'power'. It is a process of creating challenges against the existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the source of power, wisely called 'Empowerment'.¹

However, empowerment of women is a global issue and it is an active multi-dimensional process that enables women to recognize their full identity and powers in all spheres of life. It involves social, political and economic changes in the process of development. In case of poor women she cannot overcome powerlessness in individually. This can be only achieved collectively by women by organising and contributing equally in decision making, collective control over resources and managing the mechanism for sustaining this gain. This collective mechanism offers a great access to knowledge, information and resources, self-learning, more independence in decision making, better capability to design lives, greater control over situations which influence lives, and freedom from rituals, traditional barriers and practices.

The Genesis of Kudumbashree and its objectives

The Kudumbashree mission is a registered society under the Travancore Cochin Literary, Scientific and Charitable Societies Acts 1955 and has become an all endeavouring Self -Help Groups (SHG) in Kerala. The mission was officially inaugurated by the Prime Minister of India Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 1st May 1998 at Malappuram. It is part of a State Poverty Eradication Mission which have been built around three crucial components namely, Micro Credit, Entrepreneurship and Overall Empowerment.² The Government of Kerala in 1991 introduced an innovative poverty reduction technique as an experiment in seven wards of Alappuzha municipality with community participation, which acted as its precursor.³ As a part of this experiment, a three-tier Community Based Organizations (CBO) of poor women was formed to implement Urban Based Services and Urban Basic Services for the Poor programmes. For identifying the poor families' nine non-monetary parameters were used. This was women oriented participatory and convergent approach to eradicate poverty was later known as 'Alappuzha Model'. This fetched enormous responsiveness and was further experimented in all thirty six wards of Alappuzha municipality in 3rd February 1993. In 1995, as a measure to scale up this programme, the state government introduced it in entire urban areas. In 1997, a Commission was formed including three erudite scholars/administrators namely S.M.Vijayanand (Central Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation), Dr T. M. Thomas Isaac (State

Planning Board) and Dr Prakash Bakshi (NABARD), for studying the validity of the project. The Commission submitted its report at the same year and recommended to form a State Poverty Eradication Mission.⁴ Further on, the 1997-1998 Kerala State Budget included the Commission recommendation with its importance and formed the State Poverty Eradication Mission on 1998 later it was merged with State Urban Development Agency.⁵

The success of Urban CDS model paved way for the expansion of this model to the entire State under the name of Kudumbashree in 1st April 1999. Kudumbashree in local language means 'prosperity of the family', which enables to utilize the economic opportunities by a good number of poor women in rural and urban Kerala.

Objectives of the Kudumbashree mission

As outlined earlier, the state poverty eradication mission prominently called Kudumbashree mission introduced by the Government of Kerala is considered as a massive poverty eradication programme. The main objective of the mission which is reflected in its statements, 'to eradicate absolute poverty within ten years through concerted community action under the leadership of local self-governments, by facilitating organisation of the poor combining self-help with demand-led convergence of available services and resources to tackle the multiple dimension and manifestations of poverty, holistically'.⁶ In short the principle objective of the mission is absolute poverty eradication from the state of Kerala. The other objectives of the mission are following,

a) **Empowerment of poor women-** Women empowerment is the major thrust area of the mission. Kudumbashree mission is working for the uplift of women folks in improving their individual capabilities by organising them into NHG (Neighbourhood Groups) at local level, ADS (Area Development Societies) at the local government ward level and CDS (Community Development Societies) at local government level.

b) **Self-identification of the poor families -** It expedites self-identification of poor families through a nine risk index composed of generally accepted indicators of poverty through a participatory survey.

c) **Confirming better health and nutrition-** Kudumbashree mission ensures better health and nutrition for the economically backward families.

d) Access to **basic** amenities-ensuring access to basic facilities to the poor like sanitary latrines, shelter, drinking water and healthy environment.

e) **Educational developments-** another important objective of Kudumbashree mission is to promote functional literacy among the poor and provides opportunity to continuing their education. The mission stands for ensuring zero drops out in schools for all children who belonged in lower strata of society.

f) **Annihilate social evils-** Kudumbashree mission objectives included to make the poor to fight against the social evils like gender religious and caste discrimination, violence against dowry, alcoholism, smoking and drug abuse, etc.

g) **Promote administrative participation of the poor-**enabling the lower strata of society to participate in the decentralisation process through the community development society, as a sub system of local governments.

h) **Creation of employment opportunities-** in order to eradicate absolute poverty from the state, the mission acts to improve the income of the poor through up gradation of vocational and managerial skills and to increase self-employment and wage employment.

i) **Develop saving habit among the poor-** the inspiring motto of the mission is to encourage the poor thrift and credit habits, by developing community development societies to work as informal banks of the poor.

Structure of Kudumbashree Mission

The community development programme Kudumbashree consists of a three tier system. The mission begins its function from the lowest stratum of society. The needy women are organized through prominently called 'Ayalkootam' in local language (the Neighbourhood Groups) consisting of 20-40 members with five volunteers. The volunteers are the Community Health Volunteer, Income Generating Activity Volunteer, Infrastructure Volunteer, Secretary and the President.⁷ The

NHG members meet every week in the house of a member and their thrifths are collected for impending needs. The NHG members also discuss upon different issues faced by each member and the emerging problems are resolved amicably. This in turn empowers them with a sense of courage, individuality and problem solving skill. In each Neighbourhood group from among the poor women, five volunteers are selected from undertakings various functional responsibilities. They are community health volunteer, she deals the health related issues of the members including children, women and the aged. Important programmes undertaken by community health and social welfare department are also facilitated under the leadership of community health volunteers. The collections and consolidation and maintenance of book of accounts and register in connection with thrift mobilization are looked after by income generation activities volunteer. Infrastructure backwardness of the groups is with the help of various ongoing programmes tackled were dealt by infrastructural volunteer. Finally recordings of proceedings of meeting and provide necessary leaderships and guidelines to the group members are the duties of the secretary and president respectively.

Empowering the Destitute

In order to contain the most marginalised sections of the society which were still unaware of the benefits of such missions and implementation, in 2003, the Government of Kerala introduced an anti-poverty sub plan in all local self-governments under which a participatory micro-level planning would be done by the three-tier community based organization (CBO) of Kudumbashree, which would be adopted by the local government. It was further decided that the social strength of the CBO could be utilized to extend social security in its widest sense to the ultra-poor. This gave birth to 'Asraya' a project of hope for the excluded as a distinct component of the anti-poverty sub plan.⁸

The 'Asraya' programme is created to rehabilitate the destitute families and attempt to integrate them with the mainstream. The destitute are the poorest of the poor. They are identified through the transparent Nine Risk Index⁹ and a participatory need assessment is

made to assess the needs of each family. If a family satisfies seven out of nine point's criteria and with checking one additional point, the family is considered as a destitute and will be a beneficiary of the plan.

The 'Agathirehitha Keralam' or the Destitute Free Kerala follows a multidimensional approach. It is different from other poverty eradication methods in the sense that instead of concentrating on a particular aspect of poverty, it endeavours to look into various dimension of the society.¹⁰

GSLP-Initiatives for Women empowerment

In 2007, Kudumbashree devised a special project called the Gender Self-Learning Programme (GSLP) that directly caters to women's empowerment.¹¹ The intention behind the programme was to understand the importance of self-learning and using it to take advantage of the innate potential of women. The GSLP re-interprets the concept of learning by positioning women in multiple roles such as participants, information providers, and knowledge creators.

Firstly as participants, women take part in Neighbourhood Group (NHG)-level discussions on subjects and situations where they believe a disparity in treatment or discrimination against them as a gender exist. Secondly as an information provider's women converse on their rich life experiences (including both discrimination and recognition) and in the process provide valuable pieces of information. Finally as knowledge creators, a gender sensitive knowledge base is created at the grass root that can be recognised as such or contested through participation. At the same time, this knowledge base is integral to the local planning and implementation processes. In short, GSLP takes the collectives through all dimensions of discrimination and disparity and shows women how to analyse their plight and raise their voices against everything unjust in it.¹²

Kudumbashree provides learning ground for all the 2, 60,362 NHGs in the GSLP network presently. The main objective of the GSLP programme is to convey the perception of women's rights, status, equality, and justice towards the society and women itself. The other important objectives being ;to initiate women to have access to, and control over assets,

widen the platform for participation in local development, analyse gender status on the basis of rich life experiences, equip women against domestic violence, strengthen the network beyond collectivization etc.¹³

An adoption of innovative method for imparting deep-rooted learning is an effective way of Kudumbashree. Differing to conventional learning, the rich life experiences of women are translated into percept's for practice, thus developing them as 'knowledge base'. Cascading channels of resource persons, mostly women, are capacitated and trained for this purpose. Resource persons at the state, district, block, panchayat, ward levels, and facilitators in each NHG, play a pivotal role in taking the learning process further down to the grass roots module-based discussions are conducted at the grass roots and consolidated for preparing status report.¹⁴ The status reports are then integrated with local plans and Community Development Society (CDS) action plans for implementation. Observing events specifically significant for women '*vanithasabhas*', or women's councils and recasting age old proverbs into gender-sensitive ones are some of the major tools that supplement learning.

Gender self-learning programme functions through a theme based modules that capture the life experiences of women from different socio economic sectors. Each module caters to a theme such as women and work, women and health, women and sexuality, women and the environment, women and power, and so on.

There are innumerable activities working under Gender Self-Learning Programme for women empowerment. Women councils are the creative learning groups of Kudumbashree women. In the councils, women share, understand and recognize experiences. They come up with concerns and solutions that eventually influence policy decisions. '*Pusthakayathra*' is another programme organized to collect the books published by Kudumbashree CDSs containing life experiences of Kudumbashree members during their course of Kudumbashree activities. These experiences can be regarded as a learning tool for Kudumbashree members themselves and also act as a research material for those who venture

to comprehend about Kudumbashree and acts as a study material for Kudumbashree to revise the existing programme.

Community theatres popularly known as '*Rangasree*' also functions under Kudumbashree GSLP programme. Women belonging to neighbourhood groups, who have clandestine talents, get a platform to exhibit their skills through it. It acts as a support system for making social change with aims to disseminate the messages of social justice, equality and sustainable development.

Nirbhaya, is a well organised programme launched by Government of Kerala to prevent sexual abuses against women and children. It to be acquainted with the problem and has declared its serious commitment to end sexual violence, child abuse, and sex trafficking in the state.¹⁵ This programme is linked with all the agencies working for women issues. Likewise, the Department of Social Justice selected Kudumbashree mission to take up this project for the initial grass root level implementation, owing to its strong network of women force within Kudumbashree units throughout Kerala. This was implemented through different levels such as NHG, ADS, and CDS. More than 5000 trained resource persons coordinated the Nirbhaya scheme. Panchayat level training and crime mapping process was also introduced in the selected CDS. It is a process of learning and self-learning, to analyse the present situation of women in Kerala and existing gender disparities.¹⁶

Kudumbashree and Tribal Empowerment

Kudumbashree's effort for the empowerment and rising of tribal womenfolk is indeed commendable. In 2016, tribal empowerment was flagged off the then by Minister for Social welfare under the banner, '*GotraPraveshanam*'. It is an event marking the completion of the formation of Kudumbashree neighbourhood groups (NHGs) among tribal women at Kambalakkad in Wayanad district.¹⁷ It is the first district that has completed the constitution of NHGs among tribal women in the state. During this period 43,556 women got registered under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme.

Several issues contributed to the backwardness of tribal community like poor self-esteem, low income, domestic violence, and malnourishment and so on. Kudumbashree tries to address these key areas through building up of neighbourhood groups and developing activities based on that platform, based on their inherent capacity. Well organised and empowered exclusive tribal NHG in tribal hamlet will help in instigating self-esteem, negotiation power, critical analysis of life situations and collective work towards social transformation. Kudumbashree tries to reconstitute the drained tradition of tribal culture and connect to them into outside world through skill training. For promoting their employment skills and to improve marketing abilities, mission organised food, art and craft festivals within the time intervals.¹⁸

Education is an important tool for women empowerment. In tribal hamlet this system is weak because many show inconsistencies in studies and they need special help to overcome the causes of being a drop out like, poor self-esteem, and inequality faced at educational institutions and language related issues. Kudumbashree mission organised bridge courses for tribal improvement.

In Thiruvananthapuram, Kudumbashree tribal Units is spread over four Panchayats i.e, Nedumangad, Kuttichal, Kattakada, Vithura where the Kanis form the majority of the population.

Peppara Kudumbashree Unit: A Case Study

Peppara wild life sanctuary is situated in the western slope of the southern region of the Western Ghats in Nedumangad taluk of Thiruvananthapuram district. 5.82 sq.km of this zone is the water spread area of Peppara reservoir. The tribal community were the most affected owing to the construction of the reservoirs. Ten Kani villages were totally or partially submerged with in this area. After the establishment of Peppara dam, Kani villages were forcefully displaced and hence had to succumb to several socio-economic and cultural hazards. They lost their productive assets, source of livelihood, homesteads, cultural identity, families and kinship, social relations, community structure, traditional authority and potential for mutual help that come

out of these relationships.¹⁹ The rehabilitated Kanis, have suffered impoverishment in different ways. This was the then hoary situation of the Kanis. However, in the later period, new initiatives were implemented by the various Governments of Kerala for the betterment the tribal community.

The initiation of the Kudumbashree mission was a boon to the all deprived tribal community of the region. The Kudumbashree initiated a Tribal Special Project in collaboration with the Tribal Department to address the special issues of the tribal population in the state in a systematic manner. The main aim of the project was to bring the marginalized tribals under the aegis of the Kudumbashree network and provide them with facilities which were otherwise less accessible or denied, as part of its poverty eradication mission. Case studies reveal that Kudumbashree's intervention made drastic changes in the socio-economic life of tribal women folk in Peppara tribal area alone.

Presently there are 19 Kudumbashree units functioning in Peppara. Among them one of the most productive units was taken for a brief survey on the effect of Kudumbashree on the socio-economic status of the tribals and their empowerment.

The Kudumbashree unit named 'Aavani' that commenced in 2013, includes twelve members and is functioning exemplarily well within their confines. Most of the members of the groups belonged to Kanikkar tribes. They are engaged in micro enterprises like handicrafts, handloom, tailoring, and agricultural activities. Their products especially the mats, baskets, handicrafts etc., made of *eeta/eera* (*Ochlandratravancorica*) canes are of high demand in which two members of the unit concentrates. The handicrafts unit or bamboo products are manufactured in the name 'Maatrika'. The unit often participate in the Fairs organised by the government and other bodies, exhibit their products and fetches considerable financial benefits. The food products were also supplied during Kudumbashree fairs. The members of the units feel that they are self-reliant and confident enough to run households with the benefits of Kudumbashree, and are free from domestic bondage; they are in high praise for the initiatives and are well satisfied with the

financial aid they receive from it. However one has to note that the needs and value of money is considerably different from that of the urban area. For the forest dwelling people, even a mere 10 rupee is a substantial sum to meet their needs.²⁰

Jayakumari, a sixty year old Kani who is one among the trained in the production of handicrafts made of *eeta/eera* is of high praise for the initiatives, for the remuneration she gets on selling the products has been more than her wants. The products are being sold to both the Government and private agencies. She was jobless and depended on seasonal agriculture which rarely satisfied her needs and of her family.²¹

One respondent named Basurani, 25 years old observe; "I got 35,000 rupees under Kudumbasree tribal schemes. I used few parts of the amount for my house maintenance and remaining amount was used for my children's educational purpose. In my personal experience, Kudumbasree paved way for our better life'.²² Another respondent's Kausalya, 55 years old Kanikkar women says, "I belonged in Kanikkar community. My son is presently an employee in the agricultural department. So, as a mother of a Government official, I was denied loans from Government on being applied. But after joining of Kudumbasree units, I get some incentive from it. This supports me in satisfying my personal needs without depending upon anyone else".²³

Third respondent Lethika,³⁴ years old women, who is the President of the unit, was much responsive in delineating the activities and influence of Kudumbasree in their lives. To her; "I joined Kudumbasree unit before six years. I received 22,000 rupees loan as a Kudumbasree member from the Government. I used the amount for agricultural purpose and also used for meeting domestic needs. I am personally very satisfied with Kudumbasree activities because instils upon us an ability to take self- decision and provide a lot of self-confidence".²⁴

Another lady Lelitha of 58 years too responded that she was able to raise a loan of Rs.19000 to facilitate her agricultural needs. She is proud to tell that she is the mother of a teacher. Her daughter teaches in a school within the

Nedumangad town and the former assures that she could keep the house needs going with the savings from the Kudumbasree activities.²⁵ Each and every Kudumbasree group in peppara tribal community functioned in a systematic manner. They collect Rs 50 rupees in monthly basis especially for urgent hospital needs from each. The particular collected amounts are used for meeting the member's personal requirements inclusive of healthcare, marriage needs, and other unanticipated requirements.

Lethika, President of the Unit revealed that the total monthly savings until December 2019 amounted to Rs 8570. This would fetch to about one lakh rupees annually. Though meagre, to the underprivileged tribals, this amount ought to be a considerable sum which is much sufficient to meet their limited requirements. They deposit the same in the banks and withdraw in case of need. In the case of tribal women folks, Kudumbasree has not only contributed for their personal benefits but also for the wellbeing and empowerment of one's family and community. To Lethika; "Kudumbasree has enhanced entrepreneurship and leadership and skills of tribal women to work together and earn together."²⁶

Education and awareness is imparted in the unit's Balasabha and Bala panchayats, an initiative of Kudumbasree that enables to impart voice, face and power to the children hailing from poor and vulnerable socio-economic backgrounds. The children's issues and concerns are brought to the notice of the local development planners or the LSG's.²⁷ The unit president observes; "the Balasabha focussed on providing rights based debating space on the one hand and opportunities for involving children in local development oriented activities. They are introduced to awareness programmes on various issues, residential camps, science study classes, nature camps, '*krishipaadham*', holistic health programs, co- living camps, and children's parliament." She says that "these initiatives of the Kudumbasree have instilled confidence among the vulnerable tribal children to confidentially assert their privileges and know the rural urban divide to a large extent. Most of their wards are enrolled in Government schools and has less drop outs. It was surprising to find successful graduate and post

graduate students pursuing higher studies in city based colleges. It was due to the earnings and savings that we acquire from the Kudumbashree activities enable us to provide fair education to our wards. We expect more constructive programmes in future for our elevation".²⁹

CONCLUSION

The achievements of Kudumbashree mission have been very remarkable. Studies on Kudumbashree women oriented programme has revealed that all of their welfare activities have taken into account the experiences, needs, and contribution of women by removing structural barriers. This gender focused programme has created awareness among the women as well as sensitized the society around. Women in rural and urban area equally showed self-confidence and self-worth. Kerala had a massive educational system for women at all levels, favourable gender /human development indices, and good utilisation of services and awareness leading to multiplier effect of Kudumbashree. Kudumbashree provides

opportunities for saving and credit and it has directly linked to panchayat administrators. This means that women are directly linked with state machinery. Women are still agents of development, but with added earning capacities and the expectations is that they will continue to play a central role in producing development, with innovative bureaucratic support. The establishment of SHGs as a basis for the social and economic empowerment of deprived and disadvantaged women especially the tribal ones, have been found to be successful mechanism for the organisation, mobilization and self-department of women. Kudumbashree has been welcomed all over Kerala on this context. Its influence and drastic changes brought forth in tribal community within southern Kerala is seldom studied. In case of tribal women folks they reveal that the activities have instilled in them unity and problem solving skills, self-respect in family and society as wage earner, lessened domestic violence and above all empowered them socially and economically than ever before.

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VIRUTHI: THE SYMBOL OF OPPRESSION IN TRAVANCORE

A. Balakrishnan

Viruthi was a kind of bonded labour system in Travancore. The word *viruthi* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *visti*. The word *visti* means the obligation to render labour services. It was a permanent tenure so long as the holder continued to render service regularly. They rendered certain services on the prescribed occasions in temples and charitable institutions like *uttupuras*. In return of their services, the *viruthi* holder received land on light assessment. This land was known as *viruthi* land and the holders of the *viruthi* land were called *viruthikkars*.

Viruthi was purely a land oriented system. It is an important tenure under the *sirkar* lands. Under this tenure, the holder did not have any permanent right over his land. The *viruthi* holders paid several taxes to the government. During the times of exigencies, additional services were demanded from the poor ryots. Those *viruthikkars*, who failed to do the service, were severely punished. If a *viruthikkaran* failed to perform the prescribed duties for three times consecutively, without genuine reasons, he was irrevocably expelled from the land he possessed.

In the early period, the *viruthikkars* were obliged to render military services to the society because, they were primarily a military class. In lieu of their services, the *viruthikkars* were assigned tracts of land. But in the later period, the *viruthikkars* became mere suppliers of provisions and materials to the temple *uttupuras* and royal palace. In return of their services, the *viruthikkars* were paid certain *pathivu* or fixed rates which were below the market rates. There were different types of *viruthis* for different services in Travancore. The *viruthikkars* formed the lowest rung of the official hierarchy in Travancore. In the beginning stage, the system of *viruthi* was a fair

contract, but later it lost its old vigour and elasticity

The *viruthi* system was found in the early years of the Kulesekharas of Mahodayapuram. Reference to *bhattaviruthi* has been found during the period. The Manalikkara Inscription of 411 M.E and the Padmanabhapuram Inscription of 412 M.E throw some light on the *bhatta-viruthi*. But the authors of the Land Revenue Manual were silent on the *viruthi* system of the period.¹ During the time of MarthandaVarma (1729-1758), the services of the *viruthi* holders were classified by his minister Ramayyan Dalawa.²

In Travancore, the system of *viruthi* was found in all taluks except Thovala, Agestiswaram and Shencotta. In Travancore, different caste groups received *viruthi* land from the government. Various services were rendered by them, but the main duty was to supply articles of provisions at the *ulsavamattam* on occasions of *ulsavam* and *bhadradeepam* festivals in the Sree Padmanabha Swami Pagoda at Trivandrum, during Maharaja's birthday, *murajapam*, *tulapurushadhanam*, *hiranyagharbam*, royal marriage, *thirumadambu*, *punnyaham* and other ceremonies.

The Nair *viruthi* system incorporated all the lands granted at concessionary rent or tax in return for the performance of certain services.³ The Nairs were the major caste group in Travancore and got *viruthi* land from the government. The Nair *viruthi* formed an important class of tenure during the 18th and 19th centuries. It was otherwise popularly known as *oozhiyam* or *irayali*.⁴

On the basis of its nature, the system of *viruthi* was categorized as personal *viruthi*,

munnila viruthi, *vazhathoppu viruthi* or *kandukrishi viruthi* and *viruthis* for the collection of vital statistics. The personal *viruthikkar* rendered certain personal services to the temples, Brahmins and the *uttupuras*. In return of their services, they received land. The *munnilaviruthikkar* assisted the village authorities or *proverthikkar* in times of tax collection. They also acted as supervisors to collect materials and supplied labour services to the government and *devaswams*.⁵ Besides the supply of provisions and materials, they were used for certain manual services to public work. The village authorities had the right to demand additional duties from the *viruthikkar* in times of emergency. They were also used to carry head loads from distant places to the capital. All these supplies and services were nominally paid by certain *pathivu* or fixed rates, which were always below the market rates.⁶

The *viruthikkar* forcibly rendered *oozhiyam* services to the temples. Apart from the professional caste, the temple had a lot of non-specialized workers who performed various menial services to the temples. The *atikkumavar* or sweepers, *virakitumavar* or suppliers of firewood, *ilayitumavar* or suppliers of plantain leaves, *vayirkkalanirkkumavar* or gate keepers, *arikuttumavar* or rice-pounders, *vilakketukkmnambi* or the lamp-attender and *atakkainalkumavar* or distributor of areca nuts.⁷ In the temples, different types of sweepers like *akattatikkumavar*, those who swept the holy courtyard of the temple and *ecciliatippan* or those who swept the dining hall of the *uttupuras* prevailed in the state.

In Travancore, different kinds of tenures and *viruthis* were granted for different services in the temples, *uttupuras* and the government. There was *canti viruthi*, the land allotted to the priests and the *panikal viruthi* that allotted to the temple servants. In addition to this, there were *kotttatikkal viruthi* or land allotted to the drummers, *panicca viruthi* or land allotted to the *panikkar* or fencing masters, *palli viruthi* or land to the servants of the *palli* etc. *Kaval viruthi* or the land of the watchman, *parayana viruthi* or land of recitors of epic poems, *thirunandavana viruthi* or land assigned for the livelihood of gardeners, *cakkaimar viruthi* or land assigned to the traditional actors were some of the *viruthis* that prevailed in Travancore. *Urpotuval viruthi* or

land assigned to the village secretary, *uvacca viruthi* or land assigned to drummers, *tali viruthi* or land for temple officers, *purappotuval viruthi* or land given to the village secretary for outside services, *kalavaniya viruthi* or land assigned to the potters also mentioned in Kollur-Madham Plates of 1189 A.D, which are claimed to be the re-issue of a prasasti of the time of Srivallavan Kota.⁸

The *viruthikkar* forcibly rendered gratuitous services such as constructing sheds, finding supplies during the royal tours, thatching public buildings and performing other miscellaneous functions.⁹ They also assisted the village officers to collect taxes from the people and also the police to maintain law and order. The *oozhiyam* duties inside the temples was performed by the Nairs because the untouchable *oozhiyam* servants strictly kept the distance fixed by a kind of arithmetic precision from the temples and the higher castes. The *viruthikkar* were also used to carry palanquin of the rulers and Brahmins in times of their travel.

The village authorities compelled the *viruthikkar* to supply paddy, rice, fruits, plantain leaves, milk products, coconut, gram, jaggery, sugar, molasses, salt, oil and firewood to the *uttupuras*.¹⁰ At the time of festivals like *murajapam* and *lakshadeepam*, thousands of Brahmins arrived in Trivandrum and were freely fed in the *uttupuras* at the cost of poor *viruthikkar*. The *Viruthi* Committee Report shows that during the extra-ordinary festivals of Sri Padmanabha Swami Temple at Trivandrum such as *bhadradeepam*, *tirumasam*, *thulabharam*, etc., nearly 3000 Brahmins had to be freely fed on all days at the *uttupuras*.¹¹

The living condition of the *viruthikkar* was abject and deplorable. They suffered heavily from the government authorities and the Brahmin land lords. Ramayankar, the settlement Dewan Peishkar of Travancore writes that "the *viruthikkar* were reduced to destitution and formed a class of semi-serfs struggling to draw a bare subsistence from their hated *viruthi* land from which wretchedness there is no escape. It is impossible to overrate the evils of this state of things in its bearing on the trade and industry of the country."¹² Sir.T.Madhava Rao, the Dewan of Travancore, also wrote about the *viruthi* system that "it involved a good deal of oppression and vexation and interfered with the

freedom which industry of all kinds is entitled to".¹³

Nagam Aiya, the Settlement Dewan of Travancore, was also severely criticized the system of *viruthi* and *vilayartham*, the levy imposed upon the *viruthi* land. According to him the system universally complained of serious grievances to the ryots all over the country.¹⁴ He also warned that the government should immediately amend the laws and avoid unnecessary pain and heartburning of the ryots.

During the 19th century AD, large scale religious conversion happened in Travancore. Large number of low castes embraced Christianity; they feared that otherwise they would be forced to lead the life of slaves. With the help of the Christian missionaries, they submitted several petitions and memorandums to the authorities for abolishing the social evils such as slavery and *viruthi*.

Sree Moolam Tirunal (1885-1924), the ruler of Travancore took certain measures to improve the socio-economic condition of the *viruthikkar*. The Royal Proclamation of 1886 abolished the old system of paying remuneration to the *viruthikkar* on the basis of the fixed rates but they would pay at the market rates. The Proclamation also made a careful scrutiny and revision of the services of the *viruthikkar*. Their services were in the form of supplying vegetables and provisions or providing labour and building materials on specific occasions and the future requisition for such provision and labour being reduced and restricted.¹⁵ The Travancore government also issued a notice of auction sale of contract for the supply of fire wood and other articles for *mathilagam*.¹⁶ Such notices were published in different divisions of Travancore like Kottayam and Kollam for the supply of vegetables and provisions to the *uttupuras* on contract basis.¹⁷

In 1887, the Government of Travancore appointed the *Viruthi* committee to examine the Nair *viruthi* system and to suggest measures for reforming the system accordance with the Royal Proclamation of 1886. The committee submitted

its reports on, 12 June 1889, which recommended several measures for the amelioration of the *viruthikkars*.¹⁸ The gist of their suggestion was that the *viruthi* system should be retained only for more personal service.¹⁹

The *Viruthi* Committee recommended that the *viruthi* land should be either publically sold or confirmed to occupants on payment of a fair value²⁰ Later, the *viruthikkar* were relieved from the duty of supplying provisions and rendering personal services during the royal tours, the *swamyars*, the *koiltampuran*, *Namboothiripad* and other privileged persons

There were a number of legislations that were framed for completely relieving the *viruthikkar* of their *oozhiyam* services. After the Royal Proclamation of 1886, a number of *viruthi* services were put to an end. The Royal Proclamation of 1897 notified that such *viruthikkar* who had only *muthalelpu* advance and no land given to them in return for their service, were at liberty to repay the advance received by them and thus relieve themselves of the *oozhiyam* services. The cess *chumattupanam* was also abolished by the Proclamation of 1897.

The government took measures to complete relief to the *viruthi* holders. In 1906, the levy, *vilayartham* from the original holders of *viruthi* land was abolished. The system of *munnila viruthi* for revenue collection and collection of vital statistics were ordered to be dispensed. Besides, the *viruthi* services for the Ambalapuzha Temple, for rowing boats and the boats of Tekkedathu Bhattathiri, carry the rice to the palace were also discontinued. On 12 October 1909, the Government of Travancore issued another Proclamation, in which the *viruthi* services for rowing boat in Ambalapuzha Temple, the boats of the Tekkedathu Bhattathiri and boat carrying rice to the palace were abrogated. The same year witnessed the eventual abolition of the *viruthi* system itself and thousands of *viruthikkar* were relieved from the *oozhiya-viruthi* services.

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PLAGUE AND ITS IMPACT ON MADRAS CITY, 1896 – 1930 : A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

K. Balaram

A Study of Plague

Plague is primarily caused by the micro-organism, "Pasteurella Pestis" or "Yersina Pestis".¹ Plague occurs enzootically, epizootically, sporadically and in epidemic forms, including anthroponotic and primary pneumonic forms. Despite the enormous body of knowledge regarding Plague, this communicable disease continues to pose a threat to humanity.² Epidemics of Plague are mentioned in the Bible. The association of plague with rats was known to the ancients. It is mentioned in Bhagwat Puran that as soon as the dead rats are seen, the residence should be immediately abandoned. Down the ages, Plague was known as "Mahamari", the Great Death.³

Dr. Viegas, a private medical practitioner of Bombay, discovered cases he believed to be Plague, about the year 1896. The Government of India at once deputed M. Haffkine, the Bacteriologist, to Bombay to investigate the disease, which was officially affirmed to be Plague in 1896, and the statement was shortly afterwards confirmed by M. Haffkine. The disease was mild during the year 1896.⁴

In Madras City of the Madras Presidency, the seasonal incidence of plague was fairly prevalent in all infected areas. This regularity should assist in the forecasting, some months ahead of the probable course of events. To determine the seasonal trend, the average

monthly plague death in the Presidency as a whole, and for each of the infected area, could be computed.⁵ The maximum incidence was reported in the cold weather months of December, January and February and the disease was at its lowest during the hot weather months of April, May, and June, with the absolute minimum in May.⁶

The water supply is said to be a possible source of danger, and no doubt it should be the subject of careful monitoring. Surgeon William stressed this possible source of infection. The drains were also regarded by some persons as a probable means of spreading infection.⁷ The first imported case of Plague was discovered in Salem District, at Hosur, on 28th August 1898, the victim being a weaver from Bangalore.⁸ Three thousand thirty three Plague deaths were recorded in Madras Presidency, during the year 1901, and 10, 795 deaths in 1902.⁹ In 1920, Madurai, Dindugal, Palani and Madras were chiefly affected and death rate was high in the towns of Dindugal, Madurai and Madras.¹⁰ After 1920, Plague had continued to ravage and in 1921, the infection was severe in Madras City.¹¹

Prevention and Control of Plague

The Madras Municipal Commissioners were advised to provide and maintain in such localities, whether within or without municipal limits, suitable and sufficient accommodation as approved by the Health Officer and by a Medical

Officer, deputed by the Surgeon General or, in the absence of any such officer, by the surgeon of the district for the isolation and treatment of persons affected by the Plague and for their detention until they were certified to be free from infection.¹² In the places so provided, the Municipal Commissioners furnished such hospital establishments, equipment and supplies required by the Health Officer and made arrangements for feeding the persons detained under any of the regulations prescribed, on payment of the cost but in the case of indigent persons, the Commissioners supplied them with food, free of charge, provided that any person so detained might cater for himself subject to such rules and conditions as the Health Officer prescribed.¹³ The Government appointed many competent medical officers and assistant surgeons, hospital assistants and a lady druggist as inspecting officers. On 29 March, 1906, the Government of Madras, appointed the services of Civil Assistant Surgeon, Khaja Latifuddeen Sahib, at Madras Corporation, for plague duty.¹⁴

Arrangements were made to ascertain the existence of plague cases by compulsory report, registration at burning and burial grounds, house to house visitation, and other means. This was a fundamental measure. Plague patients were treated in special hospitals constructed with a view to the segregation of the sick. Corpses were disposed in a manner calculated to prevent their breeding infection. The segregation of persons, who were living with persons suffering from Plague, the evacuation of infected buildings and localities, the inmates being accommodated in carefully supervised and health camps were arranged.¹⁵

The spread of infection by persons travelling by sea, vessels sailing from ports in the infected area, and in cases of vessels sailing for ports out of India, from other principal ports in India, were inspected before departure and cases of plague discovered on board were removed. Quarantine was also imposed against the infected ports in India. Arrangements were made for the proper disposal of the dead. This had always been a source of difficulty. Burial was not left to individuals and private undertakers took it up without careful supervision. Hence special organization was created to deal with the work immediately as the mortality rose to a great extent. This organization functioned effectively

and ensured the most sanitary method of disposal.¹⁶

A medical service was kept in a state of readiness for the hospital and health campus and for medical inspection, inoculations and other medical measures necessary for the town or locality for treatment. Similarly, a nursing service was provided, and a special Plague service under the control of the medical service to carry out the removal of the sick, the transportation of the healthy from infected houses to the reception houses, the cleansing and disinfections of infected houses, the removal of infected articles for destruction or disinfection, destruction of rats, the inspection of houses, lodging houses, rag stores, ware houses, grain depots, corn and oil chandlers, etc., in the infected locality. Both the Special Plague Service and Ordinary Sanitary Service were under the direction of the permanent health officer of the town, assisted by a special and adequate medical staff. If there was no medical officer of health, then a special officer was appointed.¹⁷

Many competent District Medical Officers and Sanitary Officers, Divisional Officers, Assistant Collectors and Special Plague officers were appointed by the Government. Municipal chairpersons were separately appointed by the Government to be Special Plague Officers. The powers to be exercised by these officers were determined by the Collector. Passport works, in municipal areas under observation, were supervised by the District Medical or by Divisional Officer or by the Municipal Chairman or by a Special Officer as a matter of convenience.¹⁸ The service of Civil Assistant Surgeon, Khaja Latifuddeen Sahib, was placed at the disposal of the Madras Corporation for plague duty, with retrospective effect from the year 1907.¹⁹

If the Collector or an officer deputed by him in his behalf suspected that the water in any well, tank or other place was likely to engender or to cause the spread of the Plague, he could prohibit the removal or use of the said water.²⁰ The Government provided pure water in Madras under plague preventive measures.²¹ The destruction of any hut or shed, if found necessary, was done to prevent the spread of the Plague. The President or any officer specially authorized by him could summarily take measures for the destruction of such hut or shed

and of the materials of which it was constructed.²² The Government sanctioned the fund for construction of new sheds in many of the places in the Madras Presidency.²³

A number of hospitals and dispensaries appeared in Madras for Plague Preventive Measures. These institutions were maintained by municipal and local funds. Also many of the Plague Medical staff, Inspectors, Plague Police,

Subordinate staff and their pay and allowances (Pony allowance, travelling allowance, Special Plague allowance, hill allowance) had been disbursed from Municipal and Local Funds.²⁴ Every year the Government had allotted a huge amount to prevent the spread of Plague in Madras City and as a result, the spread of Plague was controlled to some extent and the Government also gradually reduced its monetary assistance for preventive measures.

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WORKERS OF COMMUNISM : SUDRAS OF HINDUISM

(Periyar's Perception)

K.I.N. Deiva Akandan Paraman

Time moves forward and forces the people to move ahead along with it, which in turn created many phases of human history like ancient age, medieval age, modern age etc., The modern age began with a bang with Renaissance which gave birth to many movements like geographical discoveries, industrial and agrarian revolutions, American war of independence, French Revolution, Russian Revolution, British Bloodless Revolution, imperialism, Two World Wars, Cold War, Economic Recession, establishment of World Bodies like League of Nations and U.N.O.,

Liberation of Asian and African Countries from Western Imperialism, Triumph of Democracy etc.,

Karl Marx's scientific communism which was the child of industrial Revolution attracted the attention of many intellectuals, academicians, leaders, artists and others. Periyar was one such tall leader in Tamil Nadu. He equated the Sudras and Panchamas of Hinduism with the workers of communism. He tried to liberate these suppressed communities from the cunning clutches of Brahmins Varnashrama Dharma. He believed that his self-respect movement was

serving the same cause of Karl Marx's Communist movement and Russian 1917 communist revolution. He believed that social equality must precede the economic equality in given Indian condition.

Affinity and Adoption:

Periyar E.V.R was attracted towards the philosophy and practice of communism. He made arrangement to translate the 'Communist Manifesto' of Karl Marx, which was published in 1847 in England in Tamil Language and published it continuously in his journal, 'Kudi Arasu' from 04.10.1931 onwards. Many articles on communism and Russian Revolution written by M.Singaravelu and other marxist thinkers were continuously published in 'Kudi Arasu' which showcase his interest and inclination towards the welfare of workers.¹

When speaking in the Thiruthurai Poondi conference, he confirmed the opinion of others as true that he was combining the philosophy of Communism with the philosophy of self-respect movement and was doing the propaganda for the same.²

He undertook a tour to the European Countries and U.S.S.R on 13th December 1931, (13.12.1931) and returned back to Tamil Nadu on 11th November 1932. In this approximately 11 months of Tour, he spent more time in U.S.S.R only.³

After his return from U.S.S.R, a plan of socialist programme was drafted by the great Thinker Comrade M. Singaravelu was discussed by the followers of Self – Respect movement on 28th and 29th December 1932 in Erode at the residence of Periyar E.V.R.⁴ Periyar E.V.R was seen travelling to many parts of Tamil Nadu, addressed many meetings propagating the Erode plan of socialism in the year 1932.

He began to address everyone including his wife 'Nagammai' as 'Comrade' after his return from U.S.S.R. Periyar was always heard telling "From the day I started Self – Respect movement, it was called socialistic movement by many. Whenever I was telling the end aim of Self – Respect movement I too was telling about the above said philosophy of socialism"⁶

When addressing the meeting at Triplicane Marina Beach in connection with the

strike of Buckingham Carnatic Mill workers, he passionately uttered. "Even though you are all workers, we are your servants. We are living for you only. understand this".⁷ He declared that Dravidar Kazhagam was workers movement. Even he preferred to be called an atheist if needed to be a communist to serve the cause of suffering workers. Once, Thiru.Vi.Kalyana Sundara Mudaliar of Congress party wrote an article in the Newspaper 'Navasakthi' under the title, 'Naikkar' in which he raised some questions and gave a few counsels to periyar E.V.R. Though Periyar E.V.R was a close ally of Thiru.Vi.Ka, he forcefully retorted to it penning the following and printing the same in Kudi Arasu: "Ramasamy knows socialism. He also knows when to do propaganda and how to do it".⁸ This angry reaction even to his friend was enough proof for his adoration to socialism.

It is pertinent here to mention the remarks of Dr. K.Veeramani, President of Dravidar Kazhagam, which goes as follows: "Self – Respect movement of Thanthai Periyar is not different from communist movement. There is no need to see them as different".⁹ Even the prominent communist leader R.K.T.K. Thangamani paid a glorious tribute that the two leaders M.Singaravelu and Thanthai periyar alone would be remembered in the Indian history for further period of five hundred years.¹⁰

Views on U.S.S.R:-

He wrote and spoke very appreciatively many times about the success of socialism in U.S.S.R. In his journal 'Puratchi' once he argued vehemently that when 3 to 4 crores of people are suffering on account of unemployment in the capitalistic Countries, Russian movement ensured that nobody suffers unemployment and removed the fear of uncertain future in their country. Implimenting five year plan, the production of Goods increased in excess and also Handicrafts industry too vastly expanded and improved in U.S.S.R.¹¹ He was very proud to say that there was no political dominations and there was no religious domination in Russia. He was very happy to note that youths of Russia did not know what is politics and what is religion. Even they did not know the meaning of rich and poor.¹² He appreciated Russia in so many words from which one is able to understand his passion for socialistic pattern of society. He deduced that the reason for enthusiastic happy

living of Russians was that they give importance to social service and co-operative living.¹³

His Idea of Socialism:-

Periyar was explaining his idea of socialism as follows: "As all property, Income, business, Profit and Loss, Joy and suffering, enjoyment of worldly pleasures, responsibility and worry are shared by all the members of family, so also all the above said things should be shared by all in a village, in a city, in a state, in a Nation, and in the world. To put it briefly the policy and principle of the socialistic party is that the whole world is one family.¹⁴ When he was talking about socialism very next year, he repeated the same philosophy of him as: "Are not each and every member of a family doing a work each and happily living, eating and dressing equally?, So, all the people living in a village, in a district, in a State, in a Nation should enjoy the wealth of the world like the members of one family. No one has the right to enjoy as they like. All people must work together each doing a work and eat, dress and enjoy life which is socialism.¹⁵

Worker:-

Once he defined and explained who is a worker. According to him there is no worker in India, labourers only are living. As per his idea, a worker is the one who learns a trade for the good of his country and practice it freely so that the benefits of it are enjoyed by him as well as the people of his country.¹⁶ On another occasion, he said that worker is one who practices his profession as he wishes and enjoy its benefits fully. He also said that those who are working as per the direction of the capitalist and doing strike to get extra wages are not workers at all.¹⁷ He was of the opinion that those who are working in an industry should be like partners. He condemned it as stupidity, slavery and disrespect less to be a wage earning labourer. The benefit of work should fully reach the worker. This is socialistic living in modern civilization. If this equal socialistic living does not happen to anyone in the world population, It is a barbarian uncivilized living as he thought.¹⁸

Workers movement:

According to Periyar E.V.R's idea, if anyone feel Jealous about the profit an employer makes, if anyone demand wage increase above one's talent, if anyone thinks that work cannot be done

without them, if anyone don't permit others to do the work, and if anyone striking with the intention of bringing loss to an employer, it is a labourers movement and not worker movement.¹⁹

Union Leader:-

Periyar hated the idea of Non-workers becoming the leaders of workers. He said that if the workers cannot find a leader from among them, there need not be a trade union or workers union at all. He asked the workers to trust in workers like them to strive for their progress and prosperity. He revealed that the workers were getting cheated by the sweet tongued public persons.²⁰

If a politician became a leader to the workers, he believed that it was like a Brahmin becoming a leader to non-brahmins and European becoming a leader to Indians.²¹ He advised the workers that they should not go to politics, but politics should come to them.²² He exposed the fraud that many so-called-patriots get bribe from business people and divert the attention of the workers towards the Government. He said firmly that the reason for the present predicament of workers was not the Government, as the workers were thinking.²³ He firmly believed and proclaimed the same that it was a conspiracy of Brahmin Leaders of Chennai who said that they alone were interested in the welfare of the workers and they alone could ensure the welfare of them on the condition if they join the Congress Party.²⁴

Attitude and atrocities of capitalists:-

Periyar regretted about the attitude and atrocities of Capitalists, who have been thinking that it is business talent and mangement skill to cheat and exploit the workers.²⁵ He was angry to see that capitalists grieve when their pet dogs, birds and buffalows die but they don't seem to worry when a worker dies.²⁶ He asked the workers to be careful and vigilant when an employer hike the salary of the workers because he would take it back from the workers by raising the prices of goods and services sold to the workers.²⁷

Warning the workers:-

He warned the workers to be careful about political parties and politicians too. He exposed

that congress party was a capitalists party. He gave a few examples to prove his observation. When Bombay industrialists issued a declaration that they would not join congress party since Jawaharlal Nehru was the president of congress party. Nehru rushed to Bombay to meet the Bombay Billionaires to pacify them saying that his talk of socialism was only for political propaganda purpose only.²⁸

Mr.Sathyamoorthy also said to the Europeans when he was addressing them that socialism was not the aim of congress.²⁹He warned the workers not to believe Mr. Varadarajalu Naidu and Dr.Annie Besant either who employ more and more Brahmins only in their offices.³⁰ Also he exposed the useless empty rhetoric of labour party of England which say sweet things but do sour things,³¹

Passion of Periyar:-

In the workers meeting at Erode, he passionately promised to help them with men and money on the condition that they don't resort to violence.³² He raised the voice of revolt against the allotment of separate dining arrangements in the Thanjavur Railway Station for Brahmins and Non-Brahmins.³³ He appreciated the workers union of Nagapattinam in Tamil Nadu for selecting their leader from among them.³⁴ He was very happy to know that some sort of amicable arrangements were made with regard to transfer of Nagapattinam railway workers to Ponmalai.³⁵ But he was very sad when there was a strike at Coimbatore textile factory.³⁶ He asked the general public to extend their full support to the workers of South Indian Railway, When they went village to village, town to town, city to city throughout Tamil Nadu to tell their grievances and get their support for the solutions they had.³⁷ He condemned in strong words when the communist party was banned in Tamil Nadu after West Bengal.³⁸

Condolences to Communist Leaders:-

He was deeply upset when great Communist leaders passed away. He expressed his deep condolences on 26.01.1936, 29.03.1931, 16.02.1948 and 25.8.1940 to Saklathwala, Bhagat Singh, M.Singaravelu, and Trotsky respectively when they were snatched away from the midst of the people and passed away.He tried to abolish the Jamindari system which was sucking the blood of poor peasants.³⁹

Also he conducted a lot of non financiers conferences , non- capitalists conferences, Non-industrialist conferences, Non-House owners conferences, Non-Land owners conferences, Non – high caste people conferences, Non- rich people conferences, etc. He conducted such conferences because of his passion to help the poor people.⁴⁰

MAY DAY:

He appreciated the celebration of May Day on 1st of May every year in many Countries, in many fashions. He asked his followers too to celebrate MAY DAY like this conducting procession and meetings in a just, orderly way.⁴¹

Workers and Sudras:-

Sudras and workers are one and the same in the Indian context according to the belief of Peiyar E.V.R. As per the Hindu code for Indian Society which was based on the Varnashrama Dharma, The Sudras are placed in the fourth and Panchamas in the fifth of hierarchy of Hindu social order to serve the other three communities, Brahmins, Shedrias and Vysias who were placed high above them in the social order of Hinduism. Like the workers in the Communist countries, Sudras and Panchamas also are the workers of the Hindu society in the Indian sub-continent. That's the reason why Periyar E.V.R. said that as long as the caste system exist, whatever the socialistic plans and programmes happen in India, Brahmins life will go on as before.⁴² Ironically he assured that as long as Hindu Religion exist, nobody need to fear the coming of the Communist Party in India.⁴³ He felt that Brahmins Varnashrama Dharma is the main cause in determining even the class of communists.⁴⁴

He was of the opinion that socialistic feeling must have come to India at first even before U.S.S.R. He strongly believed that Hindu religion, Hindu Gods, Hindu Philosephy and Hindu fatalism destroyed the education, knowledge worldly wisdom and socialistic feeling and have been kept India in a savage state.⁴⁵ He wanted to destroy the social inequality at first. Then only it could be possible to destroy the economic inequality.⁴⁶

He asked the people: "Who are workers? Are they Brahmins? Are they Shedriyas? No, only Sudras are workers like this; who is this

Sudras? We, the Dravidians only are such Sudras? As per the Law of the Land, as per the scriptures, as per the God's creations, as per the daily practice, Dravidians only are the Sudras. The people who thus humbled and humiliated only are carrying the flags and banners of congress party and serving Brahmins like Hanuman.⁴⁷

He said that each and every God is earning crores and crores of Rupees and hence they are the stone Capitalists.⁴⁸

He observed that Indian Social system created rich and poor, labourers and people living with Luxury is based on birth. He cites the example for the Indian society that all rich people belong to higher castes and all poor labourers belong to the lower caste⁴⁹

Finally he came to the conclusion as follows regarding socialism: "Like Blind man want to see like a King, it is a waste of time and simply a hypocrisy to talk about economic socialism, Marxism, Leninism in a country like

India where Parayans, Sakkili, Brahmins and Sudras live. Therefore forgetting the scolding the wealthy people for some time, let us struggle to create Social Equality and Social Revolution by abolishing the Caste system. If the situation becomes favourable, by some unexpected events, then let us think about economics".⁵⁰

Epiloque:-

Periyar E.V.R. the workers of communism with the Sudras and the Panchamas of Hinduism. By working for the welfare of sudras and panchamas, he used to get the Joy of serving the workers in India. So he was so focused in abolishing the caste system of Hinduism. Since caste system creates the class system, economic equality of workers cannot be created in India without abolishing the caste system of Hinduism. He had his own utopian idea of worker, workers movement, socialistic society sans hatred and violence. Time and people will decide in the methods to be selected to achieve their dream of ideal society.

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CONTRIBUTION OF MADRAS MAHAJANA SABHA TO THE PROMOTION OF INDIGENOUS MEDICINES IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY

D. Dharani

Introduction:

India is the vast country with a rich cultural heritage. It has been the seat of ancient civilization. At the time when many of the advanced nations were either grouping in the dark to know the fundamentals of civilization, India could boast of its high degree. This was the main reason which attracted many foreign invaders right from Alexander the great to the British. The conquest of South-West Asia by the Turks closed the old of channels of commercial communication that led to the discovery of new sea routes. Thus many Europeans like Portuguese, Dutch, French and British have entered the country.

In 1600, with the permission of the Queen Elizabeth they landed in India under name of East India Company. The advent of British in India began in the South. The city of Madras has been rightly described by some Englishmen as the Birth place of British India¹. In 1640, Francis Day procured from a petty Hindu Raja, a narrow strip of land about 230 miles south of Masoolipattinam with permission to build a fortified factory and named it as St. George². During 19th century, different phases of Indian life permeated with the spirit of renaissance and awakening. This led to the social changes that ultimately created the national oneness among the Indians.

A number of Indians understood the need for agitation. The first Indian organization was formed in England through which they represented their grievances. Thus Bombay Association in 1869, The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in 1867 and a few others were started. On the similar line, the Madras Native Association

was founded in 1852. When this Association lost its popularity, another organization named Madras Mahajana Sabha has been formed by Messers V. Veeraraghavachari, P. Anandacharlu and Mr. Rungaiyah Naidu which played a vital role in the political History of Madras. Apart for creating the national spirit, it also wanted to promote the richness of the native people. They started focusing on the social, cultural and indigenous health care practices and represented the government to improve them for the betterment of common people.

In 1919, the Madras Mahajana Sabha wrote to the Government of Madras about the importance of indigenous medicines and implementing them in the health care programmes. The objectives of their request were as follows:

- a. Giving a sound vernacular indigenous medical education to the children of this country
- b. Affording cheap but good medical help to the public
- c. Systematizing the existing indigenous medical help
- d. Creating public opinion in these subjects
- e. Taking steps to establish schools in respective areas for teaching the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine
- f. Maintaining medical registers to record about the practitioners of Ayurvedic and Unani systems.
- g. Permitting the Municipalities and Taluk Boards to set apart a sum of Rs. 600 every

year to award honorariums for Ayurvedic and Unani medical practitioners who maintained schools and dispensaries.

- h. Setting apart a sum of Rs. 20,000 from the provincial funds to distribute among hundred different important centers for the up-keep of libraries consisting of books relating to Ayurvedic, Unani, Agastya traditional medicine and other systems prevailing in different localities.

The then Government of Madras sent this representation of Madras Mahajana Sabha to some experts for their opinion³.

Mr. C. Krishna Reddy while giving his views said that his sympathies were with the movement since in rural areas the people did not have any medical support except the one given by quacks who had no formal training in the medical art. It was Dr. G. Srinivasa Murthi, a strong votary of indigenous medicines, despite being a modern medical practitioner, appreciated the approach as excellent and requested the government for manpower and funds to implement the scheme.

Mr. J. V. Ramaswami Naidu, the third expert said that the scheme was meant for the development and spreading the knowledge of indigenous medicines and extended his support.

Development of Indigenous Medicine in the twentieth century:

In the beginning of the 20th century, there was a national awakening of all arts and sciences and accumulated knowledge of India. Several national and provincial committees were formed to study the status of Indian Medicines and ways and means of developing it. The first investigation at Madras Presidency by the British government was done by Doctor Koman⁴. He visited many districts and collected a lot of material for investigation. His report contained seven annexure that covered the following points.

1. Notes on drugs and compounds used in the indigenous medicine should be investigated thoroughly.
2. Summary of the notes on medicines should be discussed in detail.

3. The composition and the methods of preparations should be standardized,
4. Statement showing the diseases treated at the General Hospital with Ayurvedic medicines and the results should be maintained.
5. Chemical Examiner's report on analysis of drugs should be maintained.

For this purpose, he referred many ancient medical treatises such as *Charaka Samhita*, *Susruta Samhita*, *Vagbhata's Astangahridaya* and *Madhava Nidana*. Apart from this, he also went through many Tamil literary works.

In 1921, the Raja of Panagal, the then Chief Minister of Madras Presidency who was also in charge of Public Health, appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Mohamed Usman to report on the question of recognition and encouragement to the indigenous systems of medicine in vogue in the State⁵. He wanted to popularize the systems of *Ayurveda*, *Unani* and *Siddha* among the people and make them flourishing and self-sustaining systems. He was also interested to establish medical centers to offer medical education to people on Indian systems of medicine.

The Usman Committee submitted its report on February 17, 1923 and the then Government of Madras has taken the following actions based on its recommendations⁶.

1. Established the Government school of Indian Medicine in Madras in 1925 to teach Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani besides the essentials of modern medicines.
2. Agreed to establish provincial rural dispensaries and Municipal and District Board dispensaries to be staffed by the Diploma holders of the above school.
3. Established in 1926, a Government Hospital of Indian Medicines attached to the School.
4. Instituted a post-graduate course in 1930 in Indian Medicine for the graduates of Western Medicine (F.I.M – Fellow of Indian Medicine) and a course in Modern Medicine for practitioners of pure Indian Medicine in Modern Medicine (A.L.I.M –

Associated Licentiate in Indian Medicine). The latter course was abolished in 1941 and the former course was renamed as A.I.M (Associate in Indian Medicine) afterwards.

5. Constituted a Central Board of Indian Medicine to act as then recommending authority to the Government for registration, supervision of pharmacies and teaching institutions.
6. Established a College of Indian Medicine in 1947.
7. Gave sanction for starting a research institute in 1947.
8. Sanctioned 'VillageVaidyas Scheme' in February 1947.
9. Considered a draft bill governing the registration of practitioners of Indian Medicine.

Also, proposals were made to start a Central pharmacy with a herbarium close to the college of Indian Medicine at recurring expenditure of Rs. 1, 25,000 per annum⁷.

Founding of Government Indian Medical School:

Based on the recommendations of Usman Committee, the Government Indian Medical School was founded with Dr. G. Srinivasamurthi as its first Principal. It was formally opened by the then Governor of Madras His Excellency Lord Goschen on 24th November 1924 in a rented building 'Thambu Villa' in Pantheon Road, Egmore, Madras. But the actual classes were started on the 6th of July, 1925 for the Diploma Course *viz.* Licentiate in Indian Medicine (L.I.M). The syllabus and scheme of studies were so devised to be in consonance with the Usman Committee's objectives. The school consisted of three sections *viz.* Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha and the course durations were extended over three years. The training given in the respective Indian systems was supplemented by a course in human anatomy and physiology according to the allopathic systems⁸.

Within a year, the school was shifted to a bigger space rented for the purpose at 'Hyde Park', Poonamallee High Road in Kilpauk. The outpatient and in-patient departments were opened on 1st July 1926 and 1st September

1926 respectively and the course duration was extended from three to four years⁹.

In 1928, a committee was formed to compile standard books for Siddha medicine. Among the other significant events during this year was starting of high proficiency test in Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani to those who passed L.I.M. and had good experience to award the title H.P.I.M. as well as the opening of a herbarium for experimental and teaching purposes. In 1933, the duration of L.I.M. course was extended to five years and the final year was devoted to the special clinical training which was normally given to all apprentices attached to the various departments of the hospital¹⁰.

During 1940s, the government appointed a second committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Mohamed Usman who at that time was the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University to report how the curriculum, methods of teaching and examination followed in the School of Indian Medicine could be improved. The report was submitted in 1941 but the Government considered only certain points and did not involve in any fundamental changes in the School¹¹.

Creation of Indian Medical Department in Madras Presidency

The Congress party took over the administration of the Madras Presidency in 1946 and there was a change in the policy of the government towards the development of Indian system of Medicine. The then Premier Hon'ble Mr. Y. Prakasa and the Public Health Minister Hon'ble Mrs. A. Rukmani Lakshmi pathi took great interest to develop the indigenous medical systems. In the All India Conference of the Health Ministers, which took place at Delhi in October 1946, as per the suggestion of A. Rukmani Lakshmi pathi the following resolutions were adopted.

- a. As per the recommendation of the National Planning Committee adequate provision should be made in the centre as well as in the states to popularize the indigenous medical systems.
- b. For research and application of scientific methods in the investigation of the Indian Systems such as Ayurveda and Unani should be with reference to maintenance

of health and prevention and cure of diseases.

- c. Colleges and Schools for training for diploma and degree courses in Indian Medicine should be started.
- d. The graduates of Western medicine courses can be admitted in the post graduate courses of Indian systems of Medicine.
- e. In the Central Council and provincial Health Boards, the practitioners of Indian Medicine should be given due representation wherever possible¹².

The Board of Studies on Indian Medicine was constituted as per the recommendations of the *ad hoc* committee and was asked by the government to consider and report on certain points regarding the teaching and curriculum to be followed in institutions of indigenous medicine¹³.

In 1947, due to the efforts of Mrs. A. Rukmani Lakshmipathi the School of Indian Medicine in Madras was upgraded to College of Indian Medicine. It was also decided to have a research department in the institution.

In the year 1948, the Government of India constituted another committee under the Chairmanship of Col. R. N. Chopra which recommended the adaptation of modern scientific methods in the development of indigenous systems of medicine. The recommendations were published in 1948 and the government of India accepted the report in board terms¹⁴.

In 1949 the post of Special Officer was abolished to create the position of Honorary Director of Indian Medicine and a modern medical person Dr. M. R. Guruswami Mudaliar, M.D. was appointed to the above post. He was also

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designated as the Head of the department of the Indian Medicine¹⁵.

In the year 1955, under the instruction of the government of India, a fourth committee was appointed with Shri Dayashankar Trikamji Dave as Chairman. The committee submitted its report and recommended to introduce uniform standards of training and Post-Graduate instruction and research facilities for all the three indigenous systems of medicine¹⁶. On the national level, another committee was formed under Dr. K. N. Udupa in 1958 which recommended only the development of Ayurvedic system of medicine. Consequently on the basis of Mehta Committee's report and with the approval of the University of Madras, the College of Indian system of Medicine was started at Palayamkottai in Tirunelveli District by the then Government of Madras in 1964 to teach Siddha, Ayurveda and Unani systems of medicine¹⁷. Later this College was assigned to teach Siddha Medicine alone offering the degree B.I.M.

Conclusion

Thus Madras Mahajana Sabha not only created an awareness among the people in gaining freedom from the British but also took pride in preserving our rich cultural heritage. The initiative taken by Madras Mahajana Sabha goes long way in the history of India more so in Tamil Nadu. During the first and second Five Year Plans more attention was given to the promotion of indigenous medicines. Since 1964, in Tamil Nadu the degree courses in Siddha, Ayurveda and Unani were started by the State Government which are functioning successfully till date. In all the Government Hospitals, there is a separate wing for Indigenous medicines besides a full-fledged Indian Medicine Hospital in Chennai that cater to the health care of common people who visit them in large numbers daily.

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TRIBES AS BONDED LABOURS: THE PANIYANS OF NILAMBUR VALLEY

C.A. Fukkar Ali

Introduction

Nilambur valley¹ has been the homeland of various tribal communities such as *Aranadan*, *Cholanaickan*, *Kattunaickan*, *Kuruman*, *Mala Muthan*, *Mala Panickan*, *Pathinaickan* and *Paniyan*. *Paniyans*² are the largest single Scheduled Tribe in the area. The history and cultures of *Paniyans* are entirely different from the other tribes of the region. They are the most exploited and backward tribes in the district. Ethnohistoric studies reveal that they were bonded labourers in the past and subsequent 'bonded mindedness' that made them more backward.

The early ethnographic records³ attest the recruitment of *Paniyans* and many other tribes as bonded labours in various parts of Malabar. Nilambur was one of the strongholds of bonded labour in Malabar. The nature of bond and system of works were varied according to the region. The bonded labour system prevalent among the tribes of Nilambur was, in some extent, different from that of the other parts of Kerala. To understand the true nature of the system a deep study is required. The present study is meant to analyse various aspects of the bonded labour system prevalent in Nilambur region especially among the *Paniyan* tribe.

Defining Bonded Labour

Bonded labour⁴ has been defined as "when a person provides labour of service to another for remuneration which is less than the minimum wage, the labour or service provided by him clearly falls within the scope and ambit of the words "forced labour"⁵. Another term required to

be defined here is 'bond labour'. Bond labour means bind together, uniting force, agreement, deeds etc. entered into by both the parties. PRG Mathur preferred the term bond labour instead of bonded labour. He observes that "Traditionally the Paniyans were engaged in *kundal pani* (bond labour). The bond labour still exists not only among the Paniyans, but also among the Adiyans."⁶ In the report of the Select Committee on the Bonded Labour System (Abolition Bill of 1975) defined "Bonded Labour System" consists in the Payment of cash called *Vallurkavu panam* or *nilpu panam* or by whatever name it may locally be known or the payment in kind, by one person (here after called the creditor) to a person belonging to a Scheduled Tribe (here after called the debtor), whether evidenced by writing or otherwise, on any one or both of the following terms namely:

a) " that in consideration of the payment of cash or the paymrnt in kind made by rthe creditor or the debtor, the debtor shall, by himself or through members of his family, render labour or personal service to the creditor for a specified period, either without wages or on payment of nominal wages."

b) "that on failure to render the labour or personal service referred to in clause (a), the debtor shall be bound to repay the cash or the value of the thing received by him and vacate the hut, if any, occupied by him and situated in the land belonging to the creditor."

In short, Bonded labour, is a social agreement between a debtor and a creditor under which the debtor agrees to render labour or personal services to the creditor without

remuneration in lieu of the satisfaction of the debt or part of debt or interest on principal amount for a specific period or till the debt is satisfied or repaid. It is social agreement because this has recognition of the society or social structure and not by legal one

Bonded Labour and the Tribes of Kerala

In Kerala, the system of bonded labour was in force in the districts such as Cannanore, Kozhikkode, Malappuram and Palakkad.⁷ The major centre was Waynad. Historical sources speak of the existence of bonded labour among the various tribal communities in Kerala such as *Paniyans*, *Adiyans*, *Kattunayakan*, *Pulayans* and *Kurichians*. It is reported that the system existed till recent time. It was very strong in Waynad. It is interesting to point out that there are 20 devaswoms (trusts) in Waynad and majority of them are owned by Nair and Varrier communities. However, the Gowdans are also the owners for a few devaswoms. The result is that the most important tribals of Waynad are attached to one or other land lords, particularly Nairs, Variers and Muslims. They are traditionally attached to their landlords as *Kundal panikkar* because they do not need anything more than a homestead and an assured source of food supply. The *Kattunayakans* must have adopted bond-labour for their subsistence when they gave up their food gathering and hunting, whereas the *Kurichians* become bond labour probably on account of excommunication and the resultant forfeiture of property.

In Malabar the bonded labour⁸ system was known as *kundalpani* or *Vallipani* or *aandukettipani* or *Adimapani*. It is a kind of annual contract made between the tribal labourer and the land lord with a payment of advance of cash called *Talappattam* or *Nilpu panam*, retaining fee' or *Vallurkavu panam*. The traditional manner of recruiting the tribals as bond labourer is by advancing loans at Vallurkavu festival in the last week of March. A. Ayyappan attests the recruitment of tribals like *Paniyans* and *Aiyans* as bonded labourers or *Kundal panikkar* in Malabar at the time of *Vallur Kavuvu* annual festival. "On this day, farmers and tribals of Waynad and other employers of labourers assemble there. They were found engaged in active negotiations with their prospective employers discussing the amount of advance to be paid for each group. The

employers pay the *Paniyans* or *Adiyans* the advance of Rs.30 for a family and they sign a promissory note for the advance. The validity of the contract is one year i.e., till the eve of the next Vallurkavu festival. The money advanced is not usually repayable, but is only a guarantee of the service of the labourers for the year. After the annual harvest the bonded labourers were entitled to get a kind of bonus called *kundal*. A family received 250 *seers* of paddy. During this time the advance which was given to them in the beginning accounted against the *kundal*. A family was eligible to receive full *kundal* only if they had put in during this period, a sizable number of working days, thereby clearing their dues in advance. Once the family had cleared the arrears and received the rest of the *kundal*, the family was free from the bond. Usually no family was able to pay back all advances taken and thus the whole family would remain bonded to the same master for years together. The labourers normally did not violate this tie by running away or by other means as they were afraid of the wrath of the *Vallurkavu Bhagavathy* in whose name the transactions of advance and woes were effected."⁹

The most significant feature of the system is that a tribal pledges not only himself but the members of his family as well against loan and until the debt is discharged all of them are bound to work for the creditor for which they get only daily meals and a pittance in kind. The relationship between the *Paniyan* and his patron lasts for years and sometimes for the whole life. Later the venue of recruiting the tribals was in the houses of landlords instead of the Vallurkavu precincts. Besides the Vallurkavu the tribals were also recruited as bond labourers on the Ponkuzhi temple festival day in the of month of Meenum at Munthanga village.

It is found that the tribes attached to the land lords are given daily meals (*paik*) and a pittance in kind. They are also given fringe benefits particularly on festive occasions like Onam, Vishu and Uchal. In olden times a small patch of paddy field was kept unharnessed for the apportionment of the bond labourers as *kundal*. The *kundal Panikkar* (bond labourers) get a fixed measure of paddy every year in lieu of their share. For instance, a male bond labourer gets 4 *poti* (1 *poti* = 5 Palghat paras) for paddy his female counterpart gets two *poti* as *kundal*.

Bonded Labour and the Paniyans of Nilambur

Nilambur in Malappuram district of Kerala was one of the major strongholds of bonded labour system in Kerala.¹⁰ The tribals in the region were forced to labour under the *Jenmis* of the region. It is found that the system, though different in nature, was in practice till the very recent time in the region. These bonded tribes were mainly used in the agricultural fields, in the plantations, in the river basins for mining gold, in the forest for elephant works etc. They were recruited by the Nair or Mappila landlords of the region. The study of the settlement pattern of *Paniyans* in the Nilambur region even indicates the existence of the system in its typical form. It is observed that the *Paniyans* who engaged in *kundal pani* were to settle in the drier parts of their master's estate in order to ensure their service irrespective of day and night. They had the option to leave the landlord with whom they were working and to take up work with a new master during the *Vishu* festival at that time the contract for engaging them again for another year was usually renewed. This was done not through a written document but by way of giving *Paniyans* some clothes and a meager sum of money.

The history of the tribal bondages in Nilambur can be traced back to the period of Brahman migration to the area¹¹. The Brahman settlements of Kerala are said to have originally prevailed in thirty-two villages.¹² Four of them, named, Alattur, Karantola, Chokiram and Karikkatu were situated in the present day Malappuram district.¹³ The migrant new comers of great tradition subjugated the inhabitants and "claimed superiority over them and managed to re-orient the semi-tribal, semi-nomadic society into a temple-centered, agrarian, caste society".¹⁴ The infiltration of advanced populations into tribal territory resulted in closer interaction between aboriginals and the advanced. The defence of tribal territory against a group of people of superior culture with advanced technology proved impossible for the aboriginals. Their traditional cultivating lands and hunting and gathering grounds were taken from them and the new comers automatically reduced many to serfdom. Gradually, they were amalgamated in to the lowest strata of the caste-ridden society.¹⁵ The Aryan colonization led to the downfall of primitive communist social

order and the emergence of serfdom and slavery in North India. The same had also happened in Kerala. By the beginning of the 5th century AD the Aryans began to exercise a profound and far reaching influence of society. The division of society on the basis of caste creating special interest groups based on occupation, the strict observance of sacrificial mantras and rituals and a host of other divine ordained rituals created a steel frame of society and an organization of almost incredible complexity. The all pervading influence of the new social order resulted in the birth of slavery in Kerala.¹⁶ The untouchable castes of *Cherumar*¹⁷ and *Paniyar*¹⁸ of Kerala were probably at one time independent tribes. Some of them escaped into areas comparatively free of new settlers. Those who took asylum in the remote areas stubbornly retained their nomadic and hunting habit and refused to give up their traditional way of life. The descendants of this group are today found in the hills and forests and they are described as *Adivasis* (*Adi*=early or original and *Vasi* = inhabitant). Rev. Samuel Mateer called the hill people who are scattered over the mountains as 'aborigines of the country'.¹⁹

The agrarian system subsequently evolved was feudal in character²⁰ which overwhelmed the *Cera* monarchy by the beginning of the 12th century and ultimately the *Cera* territory was fragmented into several *desoms* and *nadus* after AD 1124. A number of small principalities emerged.²¹ The network of Brahman settlement acted as one of the unifying forces in Kerala in the post *Cera* period. The settlements grew more powerful and began to amass larger extent of wealth and exert greater influence in society and polity. When the feudalistic agrarian system developed the land lord provided the tenants with capital, seeds, bulls and wages. The role of the tribals in this agrarian system was that of an insignificant subject peasantry.²² The landlord in his capacity as *Desavazhi* or local ruler received payments like *Kuthupattam*, *Ponavaram*, *Nilavaram*, and forest product of cardamom, pepper, honey and wax from the tribals.²³ Francis Buchanan also attests the prevalence of this type of *jenmi*-tribal relation in Malabar. According to him, "The forests are divided into *puddies*²⁴ in which one or more tribe lived. Each *puddy* was the property of *jenmi*. The forest produces collected by the tribes were sold

by the *jenmi* to the merchants called *Chetti* or *Mannadi*. ...If they collected more valuable items they were rewarded by their master."²⁵ It is found that the *Chettis*, who were brought by the Naduvazhis from Tamil Nadu and settled in their locality to enhance trade and business, were powerful traders in Malabar area. Now these localities are called *Chettiyarangadi*. In short, by the end of 18th century, the development of a feudalistic agrarian system based on inferior right of tenancy and superior right of land lord had been extended to tribal areas in Malabar.²⁶ In some places, the land lord provided the tenants with capital, seeds, bulls and wages as an extension of feudal mode of production.²⁷ The dependency in the feudalistic agrarian system was a kind of slavery. In Wigram's 'Malabar Law and Custom' the word *adima* is defined as "feudal dependency of a Nair up on his patron: slavery" and 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 persons. A nominal fee of about two *fanams* a year is payable to the landlord, to show that he still retains the proprietary title."²⁸

It is believed that Niambur *Kovilakam* was built in 13th century AD by Thachirakkavil Eradis who came from Nedyirippu in 13th century AD but up to the 18th century it was under the control of the Zamorins of Calicut.²⁹ It is said that by the early decades of 12th Century the centralized power structure of second *Cera* monarchy of Mahodayapuram collapsed and emerged a bulk of Swaroopams and Naduvazhis. Eranadu, in Malappuram district, was the more significant to the *nadu* divisions under the *Cera* kingdom, which later became Nedyirippu Swaroopam. The chief of this *nadu* had his residence at Nedyiruppu, near present day Kondotty in the district.³⁰ The Jewish Copper Plates (1000 AD) of Bhaskara Ravi mentions the Naduvazhi of Eranad 'Eranad Utayavar' who later became the ruler of Calicut as Zamorin. Nedyirippu Swaroopam comprised of two families, Samutiri *kovilakam* and Chirayil *Kutalmanna Kovilakam*. When Zamorin could expand his territory towards north the *kutalmanna* family was given charge of the area on the bank of Chaliyar river. Since this family came from *Thirichiriyal kavu* in Chirayil village, the *kovilakam* became known as *Thiruchirakavu* and *Thachirakkavu* later.

The eastward expansion of Nedyirippu *Swaroopam* and the establishment of Nilambur *kovilakam* should be analysed in the historical situation evolved after the emergence of *Nadus*. Historians argue that, "a major factor behind the whole political process in this period was the agrarian expansion."³¹ The tremendous growth of agriculture occurred after the emergence of *Nadus* induced the *Naduvazhis* to acquire more cultivable lands.³² "Unsettled land brought under the plough meant the transformation of major chunks of tribal population into peasants."³³ When the over lordship of the *Kovilakam* was established the region, the indigenous tribal people were either enslaved or compelled to vacate their traditional habitat for more interior forest.³⁴ Those who were enslaved became bonded labourers, among those the *Paniyar* are the majority. According to Thurston, "their position is said to be very little reserved from that of a slave, for every *Paniyan* is some landlor's man; and though he is, of course, free to have his master, he is at once traced, and good care is taken that he does not get employed elsewhere".³⁵

The land and forest in the area were owned by Nilambur *Kovilakom* and private parties.³⁶ The *kovilakam* lands were auctioned to these *janmis* in which the tribals especially Paniyans laboured. It is found that till recently these *janmis* were the *mestris* (supervisors) of various *kovilakams* in the area. It is evident that about 98% of the Paniyan colonies in the district are situated along the side of paddy fields owned by the successors of these *janmis*. In the midst of the paddy field there was a *Kalam*.³⁷ *Kalam* was the farm house around which the labourers lived in small huts that made them available to the *janmis* at any time required for work irrespective of day and night.

A new system of bonded labour was started by the advent of capitalism with the introduction of plantation in the area. Capitalism began to penetrate into the tribal areas of after the British occupation of Malabar 1792.³⁸ By 1820, the English East India Company introduced plantations in coffee and tea in Waynad³⁹ and by 1840s the Company expanded plantations to other parts of Malabar viz, Waynad and Munderi near Nilambur. The British also started teak plantation at Nilambur. The first teak plantation was raised in 1842 in

the forests lying to the west of Nilambur.⁴⁰ The success of the Nilambur plantation urged the British to make control over the forest area which was the traditional means of livelihood of the hill tribes. Consequently, the hill tribes were largely recruited as labourers in the plantations and thus they became bonded labourers.⁴¹ The expansion of plantation sector led to the rising of the land values which encouraged land owners to sell their land to the planters. The planters purchased the lands from the land owners along with tribals who were living on it. They were practically slaves of the land owners. In some localities where the *jenmis* had sold the bulk of land and had consequently ceased to find regular employment for them; the tribals were taken to working on coffee estates.⁴² Thus, the tribes like Adiyans, Paniyans, etc. were released from agrestic slavery from paddy fields but became bonded labourers in the plantations on low wages.⁴³ Edgar Thurston observes, "In the middle of the last Century, when planters first began to settle in Waynad, they purchased the land with the Paniyans, living on it, who were practically slaves of the land owners. In some localities, where the *jenmis* have sold the bulk of land, and have consequently ceased to find regular employment for them, the Paniyans have taken kindly to working on coffee estates under European control."⁴⁴ The system continued up to the independence.

Even after independence the system bonded labour in Nilambur area continued. During the field work it was informed by some elderly *Paniyans*, Nairs and Mappilas, that in the past the *Paniyas* were either agricultural labourers or elephant workers till recent time. The *Paniyas* had the option to leave the landlord with whom they were working and to take up work with a new master during the Vishu festival at the time the contract for engaging them again for another year was usually renewed. This was done not through a written document but by way of giving Paniyans some clothes, oil and a meager sum of money. During this term the *Paniyan* has to serve his master and to do all works that his master required. There was no decent wage system but they received cooked food in the afternoon and grain for the night. The *jamni* had no obligation to look after *Paniyans* during his absence from work. If the *Paniyan* left their masters during the year before the period of traditional contract was over, they were beaten

up for not fulfilling the contract. For this reason the *Paniyans* rarely left their masters. The *jamnis* did not encourage the *Paniyan* leaving them and seeking employment with another.

The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act and Aftermath

The first legislative measure for the prohibition of bonded labour in Kerala was 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1975'. The main aim of this act was to abolish the bonded labour system in the districts of Kozhikkode, Malappuram and Cannanore. The act abolished any payment of cash or any payment in kind under the bonded labour system.⁴⁵ The debtor or any member of his family shall not be bound or compelled to render labour or personal service after the commencement of the act.⁴⁶ Thus this act was the initial step to free the tribals from the yoke of bonded labour system. The very next year the Union Government enacted 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976'. The act says that on the commencement of this act, the bonded labour system shall stand abolished and every bonded labourer shall stand free and discharged from any obligation to render any bonded labour.⁴⁷ The net result was the tribals who have been detained in civil prison were released from detention. By implementing the provisions of the Act, 823 bonded labourers were identified and released from bondage in Kerala. Out of 823 released bonded labourers 150 numbers were in Malappuram district and they were fully Scheduled Tribes.⁴⁸ The identified bonded labourers were rehabilitated in various projects in the districts of Wynad, Kozhikkode and Malappuram.⁴⁹ Chokkad colony in Nilambur was set up for rehabilitating the freed bonded labourers of Nilambur valley of Malappuram district. The tribal families were given land and houses. A co-operative society, viz., Kalkulam Girijan Service Co-operative Society was organised with the participation of tribals.

In short, The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Acts, of 1975 and 1976 have succeeded in liberating the tribals from the bonded labour system. But in fact the tribals of the area could not enjoy the benefits of the Acts completely because of its unscientific implementation. When they were rehabilitated they were actually transplanted from their

traditional homeland. Traditionally each tribe has its own territory but in the colonisation scheme all these rehabilitated tribes were supplied a common territory and forced to adjust in a congested area. Adequate lands for each tribe for homestead and agriculture were not supplied. Moreover, these tribals who have different customs and traditions could not accommodate with the new situation. It is evident that in the

Chokkad colony, the houses for *Aranadans* are provided in isolation far away from other tribal communities in a locality which has been called *Aranadan-cheri*. Because they are considered polluted and treated as the lowest in the tribals society.⁵⁰ Lastly, the Acts did not have any suggestion to control the private ownership over land and forest and to ensure tribals' control over forests and local resources.

Notes and References

1. Nilambur, the evergreen forest in Malappuram District of Kerala, is situated in the South East of Waynad and to the West of Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu. The valley is one of the seven tribal belts of Kerala State.
2. Paniyan is singular and Paniyans is plural. The Paniyans is the largest single Scheduled Tribe in Kerala. According to 2011 census they number 77922 which is about 22% of the total ST population of the state. In Malappuram District also they possess first rank in terms of total Scheduled Tribe population. At present their total strength is 8701 which is the 58.6% of the total Scheduled Tribes of the district. (ITDP Census, Nilambur, 2006). They are mainly found in the Panchayaths of Chungathara, Edakkara, Amarambalam, Pothukal, Chaliyar, Nilambur, Moothedam, Kalikavu, Karulai, Vazhikadavu, Mambad, Wandoor. A group of *Paniyans* in the district are called *Kattu Paniyan* or *Kurinji Paniyan* after their area of habitation. They are found in the interior of the forest; therefore, they have primitive nature.
3. The works of Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*(1835) and *The Land of Charity: A Descriptive Account of Travancore and Its People*; William Logan *Malabar Manual*, 2Vols.9(1887); Edgar Thurston *Ethnographic Notes on Southern India*, (1906) and *Castes and Tribes of South India*, (1909); A. Aiyappan, *Report on the Socio-Economic Condition of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras*, (1948), A.A.D Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, (1962); PRG Mathur, *Tribal Situation in Kerala*(1978); Adoor K.K.Ramachandran Nair, *Slavery in Kerala*(1986) deserve special mention.
4. Bonded labour is known in different names in the country. In the farming sector it is known as *Hali* in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh; *Kaimuti*, *Janouri*, *Kamiah* in Bihar; *Gothi* in Orissa; *Gassi-Gullu* in Andhra Pradesh; *Panal Pathiran* in Tamilnadu, and *Kundal Pani* in Kerala.
5. See Article 23 of the Constitution of India.
6. PRG Mathur, "Transfer and Alienation of Tribal Land and Indebtedness" in BRK Paramahansa, ed, *Tribal Development and Administration*, National Institute of Community Development, 1975.
7. Government of India, *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1960-61*, New Delhi, p.47.
8. It was in the year 1960-61 that the term 'bonded labour' appeared in the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As per the report, the system of bonded labour existed in some states such as Kerala, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan. In Kerala the system was in force in the districts such as Cannanore, Kozhikkode, Malappuram and Palakkad. Government of India, *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1960-61*, New Delhi, p.47.
9. For details see A. Aiyappan, *Report on the Socio-Economic Condition of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras*, Madras, 1948, pp.98-100.
10. In Kerala, four districts were the strongholds of bonded labour system. They are Cannanore, Kozhikkode, Malappuram and Palakkad. Government of India, *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1960-61*, New Delhi, p.47.
11. Brahman migration began 4 to 3 century before Christ and it continued up to 8 to 12 centuries AD. They had established dominance over land and people. Perhaps these were the centuries when agrestic slavery originated. Saradamoni, "Agrestic Slavery in Kerala in the 19th Century" in T.K. Ravindran, ed., *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. 1. 1974, No. 2-3, p. 455.
12. Herman Gundert, ed., *Keralolpathi*, reprint, Trivandrum, 1951, 5-7.
13. Karikkatu and Karantola fall within the Eranadu taluk. Karikkatu is a place in Trikkalangode village of Eranad. The place is predominantly of a Hindu settlement area. One of the oldest temple of Eranad namely Subramhnya temple is situated at Karikkatu. Karantola is suggested to the village of the present Trippanachi near Manjeri. Recently a ruined Vishnu temple has been renovated there. *Ibid*. Also see Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahman Settlements in Kerala*, University of Calicut, 1978, pp.21-33
14. Kesavawn Veluthat, *Ibid*, p.6.
15. Kosambi views when these food gatherers were subjugated they were reduced to the lowest *jati*, so low as to be outside the four *varnas* altogether. D.D.Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, Calcutta, 1977, reprint, pp.170-173.
16. Adoor K.K.Ramachandran Nair, *Slavery in Kerala*, Delhi, 1986, p.7.
17. The term *Cheramakkal* or *Cherman*, means "sons of the soil'-cher-soil and *makkal*-sons." It is a caste name clearly denotes the origin of slavery in Malabar.
18. The term '*Paniyan*' is derived from *Pani* and *an* which means one who works or labourer.
19. Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, Madras, 1991, reprint, p. 63.
20. K.K.N. Kurup, *Peasantry Nationalism and Social Change in India*, Allahabad, 1991, p. 81
21. M.G.S. Nayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Calicut, 1996, pp.90-105

22. K.K.N. Kurup, *op.cit*, *Peasantry Nationalism*p. 81.
23. *Ibid*, p. 81.
24. *Puddies* were territorial divisions or assigned areas. For details see Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, 1800, Vol.II, p.383.
25. *Ibid*, pp.383,384
26. For details see K.K.N.Kurup, *The Process of Tribal Land Alienation and Disempowerment in Waynad, Kerala*, ICHR, Bangalore,2006,p.3
27. *Ibid*,p.4
28. Quoted by Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes on Southern India*,Madras, 1907,p.138.
29. At that time, Calicut was ruled by Porlatiri and its economic and strategic importance urged Eradis to capture Poalanad. After the conquest, the Eradis shifted their capital from Nedyirippu to Calicut. For details see K.V.Krishna Ayyer, *The Zamorins of Calicut*,1938, reprint, 1999, University of Calicut, Calicut.
30. Vettatnad (Vettam) or Tanur Swarupam, and Parappanad were other swarupams in Malappuram district. Vettatnad comprised of parts of Ponnani and Tirur taluks. It included within itself the places as Tanur, Trikkandiyur, Triprangode etc. Later Vettatnad accepted the suzerainty of the Zamorin. Parappanad lay to the north of Vettatnad and consisted of two parts, southern and northern. The former comprised of parts of Tirur taluk. The northern Parappanad or Beypore consisted of Panniyankara, Beypore and Cheruvannur in the Calicut district. The Raja of Parappanad also accepted the suzerainty of the Zamorin. K.V.Krishna Ayyer, *op.cit*, *The Zamorins of Calicut*,..... p.1. Also see Kesaavan Veluthat, "Formation of Agrarian System in Kerala" in P.J Cherian, ed, *Perspectives of Kerala History*, vol, II,part.II,Trivandrum,1999,p.68.
31. K.N.Ganesh, "Agrarian Society in Kerala (1500-1800), in P.J.Cherian,ed,*Perspectives on Kerala History*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999,p73.
32. This type of migration can be seen extensively in Medieval Kerala. For details see M.R.Raghava Varrier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Charithram*, (Mal), Vallathol Vidya Peedam, Sukapuram,1992,p-p196-272.
33. K.N.Ganesh,*op.cit*, "Agrarian Society in Kerala (1500-1800),.....p.73
34. As per the 1835 Census, the number of slaves in Malabar was 144000 which increased to 159000 in 1842. Quoted in P.K Gopalakrishnan, *Keralathinte Samskarika Charithram*,(Mal), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, p.422. According to William Logan, in Erand there were 40000 slaves. Quoted in K.S.Xevier, *Haviz*, Nilambur Taluk Co-operative College, Nilambur, 2004,p.20.
35. Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol.II, reprint, Madras, 1975 p. 18.
36. In Malabar region, the proportion of possessing of private lands was as high as 74% in Malappuram district. For details see M.Kunhaman,"Tribal Economy of Kerala-The North-South Dichotomy", in T.K.Ravindran, ed., *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. VII, Trivandrum,1980.
37. Cheerangan Kunji Muhammed, who had been estate supervisor of Nilambur kovilakom from 1958 onwards, said that the Paniyan of Edivanna were labourers under Govindan Nair, the then *mestri* of Manjeri *kovilakom*. Paniyan at Peruvampadam colony and Paniyans of Ettapara were working in the *kalam* of Moideenkutty Haji (Mampad) of Manjeri *kovilakom*.The Paniyans of Athikkad colony (Chaliyar) were the labourers in the Kunnathachal *kalam* under Sankunni Menon,the *mestri* of Deveswam land of Thrikkalur,Wandoor. The Paniyans of Adyanpara labored in the *kalam* of Nalakath Veerankutty. These landlords employed the Paniyans in the area for agricultural work without giving decent wages. (Personal Interview with Cheerangan Kunji Muhammed Edivanna, Nilambur.)
38. Malabar was ceded to the English East India Company from Tipu Sultan by the Treaty of Srirangapatnam in 1792.
39. The first coffee plantation was in Manantody by Captain Bavan which inspired the European capitalists largely to invest capital in the plantation sector .See for details K.K.N. Kurup, *op.cit*, *Peasantry Nationalism* p. 82.
40. The teak plantation of the Nilambur Valley should be viewed in the light of the strategic significance of teak in those days. Industrial Revolution and Napoleonic wars led them to seek more teak wood as a better raw material to the ship building industry, making of dockyard, railways etc. which played crucial role in the colonial exploitation. The Company also realised the commercial possibilities of timber that was tremendously found in the valleys of the Western Ghats. The East India Company adopted the same forest policy in Malabar that Great Britain had been followed in the mother land that was based on the requirements in oak chiefly of the Navy and mercantile marine. During that time England was passing through a very critical period of her history after the long years by Napoleonic wars. Her safety depended mainly of her naval vessels. The Malabar teak played a major role in maintaining England's naval strength in her hours of peril. Even after the Napoleonic wars the strategic importance of teak continued.
41. P. Mohandas, *A Historical Study of the Colonial Investments in Malabar and Nilgiris in the 19th Century*, Unpublished, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 2005, p.160
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43. P. Mohandas, *op.cit*, *A Historical Study of the Colonial Investments*p.183
44. Edgar Thurston, *op.cit*, *Castes and Tribes*....., p.447
45. *Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act*, 1975, Section 2.
46. *Ibid*, Section 3.
47. *Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act*, 1976, Section 2.
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49. These projects were started during 1979-80 period. Important among these schemes are Chokkad Colonisation Scheme (Malappuram district), Collective Farm at Vattanchira (Kozhikkode district), and Hamlet Development Scheme at Vaniyampuzha, Pocket Dairy project and Sugandhagiri Cardamom Project at Vythiri and Priyadarsini Tea Estate at Manantody (Wynad district). *Ibid*, pp.196, 197.
50. Edgar Edgar Thurston, *op. cit*, *Castes and Tribes*....., Vol. II, p. 217.

SWADESI AND PARADESI: A STUDY OF MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY IN MIEVEAL KERALA

V.V. Haridas

The early history of Kerala gives us a lesson in the interactions of multicultural and multilingual people. The people of various countries, regions, religions and languages interacted and shared their ideas with the indigenous people. Greco-Romans to Jews and Arabs left their mark in the cultural life of Kerala. Even in this coexistence the concept of *swam* and *param* was internalised by the people of medieval Kerala. The people regarded as *paradesis* in medieval Kerala represent multiculturalism. The various features of the multicultural society in medieval Kerala is analysed in this paper.

The *Manipravalam* literature refers large number of *paradesis* as traders in markets. The people regarded as *paradesis* in medieval Kerala are *Chonakar* (Muslims), *Cheenar* (Chinese traders), *Tulikkar* (Muslims from Turkey), *Konkanar* (traders from Konkan), *Malavar* (traders from Malva), *Pandis* (traders from Tamilnadu), *Chettis* (traders from Coromandel) and *Pattar* (Brahmans from Tamilnadu).¹ Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese traveller of 16th century, called the Muslims except the Mappilas as *paradesis*. They include Arabs, Persians, Khorasans, Gujaratis and Deccanis.²

Indo-Roman Trade and Kerala

Kerala can be identified as a multicultural region from early period onwards. It was mainly which connected Kerala with other cultures. The trade relations of Kerala with Mediterranean world are well known. The accounts of Pliny, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, which is a Greek account of an anonymous traveller in the first century AD, the large number of hoards of Roman coins found from various parts of Kerala, etc. are evidence to this contact.³ It is said that the Greeks and Syrians in Alexandria came to Kerala in fact lacked a settlement similar to that of Arikamedu in Tamilnadu, which testifies the Roman contact. Though Archaeologists attempted to discover such a centre in various parts of Kerala only in the last decade we succeeded in finding such a centre.

The excavations at Pattanam in the Ernakulam district brought to light such a

settlement in Kerala.⁴ The excavations yielded a large number of indigenous potteries comparing with that of Roman and Mediterranean ware. It indicates that the settlement at Pattanam was a centre of coexistence by indigenous and foreign people.⁵ A large number of ports existed in the western coast of India, particularly in Malabar like Tyndis, Muziris, and Nelcynda.⁶

Migration from North India

Buddhist, Jain and Brahman ideologies came to Kerala resulting total transformation in the life and worshiping patterns of the indigenous people in the early period.⁷ Scholars have expressed divergent views with regard to its coexistence and conflict. In general, we can assume that it was a period of multicultural and heterogenous society. The patrons of Brahman sect itself gave grants to the Buddhist and Jain religious institutions. For instance, the Paliyam copperplates of Vikramaditya Varaguna.⁸ M.G.S. Narayanan says that the inscription dated in 898 AD shows that Buddhism continued as a prominent religion in Kerala even during the ninth century as against the prevalent view that it disappeared by that time in Kerala.⁹

Cheras and Svarupams

The multicultural aspects are evident in the inscriptions of Chera Perumals. It is explained as 'cultural symbiosis' by M.G.S. Narayanan.¹⁰ The Syrian Christian copper plate of 849 AD records the grant of lands to Mar Sapir Iso, the Syrian Christian merchant, and Tarisappalli (church of Tresia) by the governor of Venad Ayyan Atikal Tiruvatikal.¹¹ The Jewish copperplates of Bhaskara Ravi record the grant of 72 privileges to Jewish trader Joseph Rabban of *Anchuvannam*.¹² These inscriptions indicate the multiculturalism of medieval Kerala. The deeper analysis of these inscriptions indicate that these are to be viewed not merely the grants to traders and trade guilds. The Ezhavas, Vannars, Vaniyas, Taccar and Vellalar families are also transferred along with the grant of lands to the church. The legal authority over these people are also handed over to the church authorities in this grant. Similarly, the right to collect the amount received as *Talavarippanam* and *Mulappanam*, fine for the

sale of slaves who committed crime, was also handed over to the church. The church received such vast rights and authorities whereas the trading guild received the right to collect the *Patippatavaram* (the tax paid to the Utayavar, which is fixed as one-tenth share) which was paid to the Utayavar.¹³

It is in this multicultural society of Kerala after the disintegration of the reign of Chera Perumals the erstwhile Natu Utayavars became independent rulers known as *Svarupams*.¹⁴ The major *Svarupams* in medieval Kerala are Kolam *Svarupam*, Nedyirippu *Svarupam*, Perumpadappu *Svarupam*, and Trippappur *Svarupam*. Syrian Christians and other Christian sects established their settlements in the region of Cochin and Venad. The people including Muslims were actively present in the social life of Kozhikode and Kolathunadu in north Kerala. In *Mushakavamsakavya* which speaks of the Kolathunad kings narrates on the coexistence of various religions there. Though the Mushaka king Jayamani I was a devout Saivite his reign gave a feeling of secularism. Kavya narrates that Gods of different characteristics and religions flourished there in peace as do the animals of natural enmity in the hermitage of great saints.¹⁵ In Kozhikode it advanced to the establishment of power by Kunhali Marakkar at Kottakkal in Vatakara¹⁶ and in Kannur in the establishment of power by Ali Rajas and Arakkal Beevi.¹⁷ The Jews migrated from Kodungallur in 16th century found out their shelter at Cochin ruled by Perumpadappu *Svarupam*.¹⁸

Multi-culture in the kingdom of Kozhikode

Eranad Utayavars under the Chera Perumals emerged as independent rulers by the name of Nedyirippu *Svarupam*.¹⁹ The number of stone and copper plate inscriptions in Kerala generally began to be drained out. A stone inscription of Zamorin is found in the Muchunti mosque at Kuttichira in Kozhikode.²⁰ Zamorin uses the title Punturakkon in it. M.R. Raghava Varier and M.G.S. Narayanan have read the inscription which records the grant of Punturakkon to the mosque.²¹ In order to meet the daily expenses of the mosque lands are granted. The inscription in old Malayalam language is written in the Vattezhuth script. The signature of witnesses and prayers are written in Arabic script and language.

The privileges and rights of Syrian Christians and Jews at Kollam and Mahodayapuram respectively shows their trade relations. Therefore, it is no wonder when a new trading group came to Kerala was welcomed at Kozhikode. Kerala had a voluminous trade contact with China during this period is evident from the accounts of foreign travellers and the limited explorations in the coast of Kerala.²² But the Chinese trade declined by 15th century. The friendship and trade relations between Arabs and Zamorin is well known. This close rapport between Arabs and Zamorin is visible when the Portuguese reached at Calicut by the end of 15th century. This relationship gave way to the formation of a largely influential social group instead of formal relation to a trading community.

Barbosa, the Portuguese traveller, says that there are a large number of Mappilas in Malabar. He says that they are one fifth of the total population. He also says that a large number of foreign Muslims stays at Kozhikode with native wives and children.²³ Thus it is evident that the Muslim culture in Kerala naturally had the traits of multiculturalism. In Mappila culture the cultural features of Malabar are also incorporated. Thus, the term Muslims is used in this paper not in the limited sense of a homogenous sect but as a multicultural group. The active role of social groups like *Chettis*, *Pattars*, and *Chaliyas* from Coromandel, Baniyas from Gujarat, and Konkani in the city and around of Kozhikode during the period of Zamorin is evident in the accounts of foreign travellers and *Granthavaris*.²⁴

Mamankam and Muslims⁹

The *Keralotpatti* tradition says about the conversion of last Chera ruler Cheraman Perumal to Islam and his voyage to Mecca.²⁵ The Nedyirippu version of *Keralotpatti* says that the privileges and rights Zamorin got from Cheraman Perumal include the support of *Jonakar* (Muslims) and *Kathiyar* (Qazi) and the right for west Asian trade ('the right of shipping to Mecca').²⁶ The *Vamsavali* of Zamorin, which was sent to Colin Mackenzie in 1810 AD, says that the Zamorin also received the right of playing music by the Muslims from the Perumal.²⁷ Thus we can say that by these traditions Zamorin is legitimising the close relationship with Muslims in a retrospective way.

Mamankam, a festival celebrated once in twelve years on the banks of Perar river at Tirunavaya, is a ceremonial statement of Zamorin's political hegemony.²⁸ In the last day of this festival when the Zamorin is standing in state in *Nilapatu tara* (a platform) it is said that Kozhikottu Koya also stand on his left side.²⁹ We have no reference to it in the available palace records. But the *Keralotpatti* tradition endorse this fact. It says that it was Koya who instigated the Zamorin to capture Tirunavaya and become the protector of the festival *Mamankam*.³⁰ The Zamorin promised Koya a place on his right side in *Mamankam* if Koya help him in capturing Tirunavaya from the king of Valluvanadu. According to *Keralotpatti* Zamorin captured Tirunavaya with the help of Koya and became the protector of *Mamankam* and kept Koya on his right side during the *Mamankam* festival. The dominant position of Kozhikkottu Koya in the affairs of the kingdom warrants such a possibility. Why it is not mentioned in the two records available on *Mamankam* in the palace chronicle may be due to the nature of the documents which do not warrant such a reference and many such prominent persons are not mentioned in the documents on *Mamankam*. The tradition is found in the Nediyririppu version of *Keralotpatti* itself proves the fact of Koya's standing along with the Zamorin in *Mamankam* as stories in contrast to the practice will not have included in their version of *Keralotpatti*. Thus, the tradition may be taken at its face value. The charge of fireworks in the festivals like *Mamankam*, *Taippuyam*, *Purantan tira*, temple festivals and royal processions in the kingdom of Kozhikode was to the Muslims.³¹ Zamorin makes royal procession, which is a show of his pageantry in which Naykkans and Muslims were musicians.³² Zamorin visits the places in which held his sway. The newly invested Zamorin proceed to the temples and palaces and the houses of the nobles as in a royal procession based on precedent. The musicians also accompany him in all such occasions. In a palace document which records the royal procession of Zamorin from Ponnani Trikkavil Kovilakam to Kozhikode, Koya and Musali of the mosque escort him from Kallayi to Kozhikode. It shows that Muslims are incorporated as a part of court culture in a direct way.

The struggle of Kozhikode against Portuguese was led by the Muslim sailors. It is in this context the valiant struggle of Kunhalis are understood. Kunhalis mainly appears in the accounts of the Portuguese, who are their staunch enemies. Except the Portuguese descriptions only in a few songs the memory of Kunhalis are represented. In the palace records of the Zamorin reference of Kunhalis are not found. The available palace records called *Kozhikkodan Granthavari* consist only very few records before 1600 AD, the year in which the last Kunhali Marakkar was killed, may be the reason for this. However, in a later document, exactly in the record of 1667 AD the Zamorin granted the title Kunhali Marakkayar to Kunhikkalanthar the son of Kuzhiyodi Kottakkal Marakkayar.³³

There are various arguments for the reason of Kerala being the land of multi-cultures. It is clear that it was not due to the efforts of organised religions until the colonial period. According to M.R. Raghava Varier the peoples of different faiths from various western and eastern countries were attracted to Kerala for the popularity of pepper, clove, cardamom and other spices in the world markets.³⁴ He says that the reason for the patronage of different trade communities and religions by the local rulers in Kerala in the pre-modern period is the revenue from trade.³⁵

The multiculturalism mixed in the worshiping culture of Kerala has to be added along with the above stated physical reasons. The best example is the rights and privileges granted to the people outside the religions in different religious shrines. There are a lot of examples for such interrelated and cooperative worshiping culture in Kerala. The folk culture of Kolathunad particularly the traditional artform *Teyyam* incorporates multi-cultures. The deceased ancestors, heroes, spirits, demons, Gandharvas, Brahmanic gods and Dalits are worshipped as *Teyyam*. Not only in the folk culture and tribal arts we can find out various traces of multi-culture in many other aspects. Struggles and conflicts between these sects occasionally occurred. But these incidents are negligible in the history of multicultural society of pre-modern Kerala.

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HISTORICAL STUDIES OF DALITS RIGHTS VIOLATION IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TAMIL NADU

S. Kuppusamy

Introduction:

Economic development and social oppression cannot go together as development is a process of expanding real freedoms of the people of any country and social oppression is the process of restricting the freedoms. Individual human security, individual freedom and the achievement in development are interconnected. It is proved that development of a country

depends 20 percent on national resources, 10 percent on infrastructural, and 60 percent on human resources and social factors. In which, human resources and social factors are highly affected by violence against dalits, women, minorities, Children and other vulnerable groups and these violations very much affect economic development of a nation indirectly. Among all types of violence the most damaging is the caste

violence. Due to atrocities committed on Dalits, physical strength of the victims deteriorate making them unfit or less fit for their occupation. Thereby, violation reduce the productivity of the victims and total gross national product. For instance, the economic condition of victims sometime changes from richness to penury within a few minutes if atrocities such as destruction and damage of properties etc are committed. Besides, if there are bodily injuries, they have to spend a lot of money on treatment, and they lost their earnings during the period of their illness. The wealth of victims may be wasted in litigation. And furthermore, the educational progress of victims and their family members as affected. In consequence, the society is disintegrated and divided into different groups on caste line.

Hence, this paper to focus on the Dalits rights violation with special reference to Tamil Nadu by referring and make use of books, Journals, and records available in libraries and offices of NGO.

Historical background of violation on Dalits:

According to the Rig Veda, classifies of human beings in four varnas. Viz; Brahmana, kshatraya, Vaisya, and sutra and points out that all human beings are equal and they are all brothers. Brahmanas were considered as teachers or instructors as they came from the mouth of the God, and kshatrayas came from the arms of God and so they were given the job of governance. The people who took care of agriculture, cattle forming etc were considered as the sustainer of the world materially, as they came from the thigh of the God, sutras were considered as the toiling sections of the society as they came from the feet². However, in due course this varna started and degenerated into Jathi (caste) and it began to determine the career of an individual and the division of the society into four varna became rigid. Whereas, shudras were considered as sub-human beings and inferior to all, while Brahmana were considered as semi-god. As formal education was confined only to the study of Vedas, But shudra were not allowed to acquire knowledge. Because it was considered a sin and crime to give them education³. Gautam pointed out that; it was the custom that of any shudra bore any veda mantra. The molten glass or lead was poured in his ears, and if he recited any verse or words of the veda,

his tongue was cut down and if he remembered veda mantra his body was cut into pieces by an axe. Even they were not allowed to acquire property. But a Brahmin was permitted to take their property at his pleasure. It was considered that as shudras born in servility, they must be kept in servility forever and their salvation must be alone only through serving the higher classes. Even they were killed by the higher castes without paying any compensation or only paying a small value⁴.

In the modern period:

Shudras were not allowed to come near Brahmana. For instance an kanyakumari district, Nadar (backward) had kept a distance of 36 feet from Brahmana and 12 feet from Nairs. But, shudras had kept a distance of 96 feet from Brahmanas, and 60 feet from Nairs. Even Dalits were not allowed to draw water from the well which was used by high caste people. Shudras were not allowed to walk along to streets, where higher caste people lived. They were paid low wage or they worked for some food without any wage in money. Thus, the caste system was very rigid and every factors contributed the existence of caste system in India⁵.

From above it is clear that from to thousand and thousand years ago, division of people into castes later developed into caste system, endogamy and caste hatred. Caste is not merely a political form nor is it a religious phenomenon only. But caste is basically an economic structure. So dalits were backward religious, educationally, socially, culturally, and economically and all these led to uncontrollable atrocities on there. Sudras were treated like slaves, sub-human beings and even more cruel than animals. This pathetic condition remained unchanged in the ages Jainism and Buddhism though they were allowed to embrace the new religious order. But during the Gupta age their position slightly changed and they were allowed to listen to the epics and purana and were permitted to worship the new God Krishna. This continued up to the period rid the British established their rule in India. They introduced modern concept of laws that says all are equal before law⁶. This is the reason for the limited success of the temple entry struggles and struggle for wearing upper garments by low caste people in some parts of India. Between 1932 and 1936, a number of temple entry and

anti-disabilities bills were introduced in the central legislative Assembly and in the Madras and Bombay Legislatures due to the demands made by various social reformation organizations like the Brahma samaj the Arya samaj and the Theosophist. In 1938 the Madras legislature passed to first comprehensive and penal Act to remove social disabilities and violation of these rights was made cognizable offence. It was followed by some other larger princely states. Madras again took the lead in enacting a comprehensive temple entry act⁷.

Even though, a number of acts against social disabilities were passed, no constructive and concrete measure for the socio-economic and educational development was taken even in the British period. At the time of independence, social disabilities were at their peak and dalits were suffering from all kinds of discrimination. The Commission and continuation of caste disabilities. Since the period of later vedic age had created inequalities in all spheres of life. Hence, the Indian constitution was established with enough provisions to safeguard interest on the Dalits and all vulnerable groups⁸.

The preamble of our constitution promise of equality of status and of opportunity has been concretized by the provision of Articles 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 29, 37, 38, 39, 39A, 42, 43, 44, 45 and 46. Even then, the dalits suffered from various discriminations and violence because of lack of suitable law and support from the community where they lived. Hence, the untouchability Act was passed in 1955 and it was amended in 1976 and passed as protection of civil Rights Act. Then, the scheduled caste and the scheduled tribes Act was passed in 1989 and came into force on 30, January 1990⁹.

But even now, a portion of our population has been deprived of their rights, requirements and opportunities due to the caste based prejudices. All forms of deprivations are prevalent in nearly all parts of the country in their overt or covert form. Untouchability is not completely removed though reduced to some extent. However, still public utilities are not permitted to be used by them freely, dalit women are raped, dalit minor daughters are abused, their marriage processions are attacked and bridegrooms and members of marriage processions are attacked. Even their social, cultural, and religious procession are also not

allowed. Homes of dalits are burnt down and their meager source of livelihood destroyed. They are not allowed to enter the houses of higher caste. They are served in separate cups even in tea stalls etc¹⁰.

During to modern period Dalits Rights violation:

Not only the past but also present has been full of innumerable instances of violence against dalits. In spite of passing and commime in to force of the various Acts and Rules the atrocities are still being committed on Dalits though there is some improvement in educational level and enjoyment of some civil rights during the post independence period. Various serious crimes are committed against Dalits by dominant castes for various historical, social and economic reasons. High caste people try to dilute and weaken the force of compensatory measures by talking retaliatory pressures or involving in atrocities. Besides, dalits demand statutory minimum wage, refuse to do bonded labour and dirty works of scavengers and sweepers and claim other personal, social, civil, and political rights. All these antagonise the higher caste people and result in atrocities on dalits. Though there are provisions in laws to stop every disability such as, economical disability, social disability, political disability including untouchability denial of access to public places, use of customary passage, and fouling of water etc continued¹¹.

So far as in personal atrocities were concered, which affect both body and reputation. The atrocities include causing humiliation insult forceful drinking and eating of uncredible or obnoxious substance, stripping, outraging molest sexual exploitation injury or annoyances. Besides, to atrocities affecting properties are also not stopped. For instance, the land belonging to dalits is occupied by higher caste, residential premises and properties are damaged and their owners are killed or driven out. Dalits are maliciously prosecuted by public servants on false information, false evidence are created and even evidence of atrocities is destroyed. Dalits are not allowed to caste their votes in election or forced to vote to a particular candidate and even elected representatives from Dalit community are not allowed to assume office¹².

And another importance instance, are, a police officer, the protector of weaker sections

raped the daughter of a dalit in his presence in to police station and so the dalit committed suicide as he could not bear this inhuman Act.(The Hindustan Times, 20-12-1994 in TR Naval,

2001). In Bihar, between 1997 and 1998, 28 massacres were committed by Ranvir Sena, in which as many as 487 Dalits were killed. (The Hindustan Times, 12-2-1999 in TR. Naval), 2001). The Dalit student were not allowed is take their meals on the table which was used by upper caste students in the Mets of a hostel in the capital of our country (Indian Express, 24-02-1999). A Dalits youth was thrashed as he dared

to chew betel in the presence of upper caste men (The Hindustan Times, 24-12-1998) etc. in the same violence committed in Gujarat, Rajestan Punjab, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andra, Madhya Peadeesh, U.P, etc.,¹³.

In Tamil Nadu:

In Tamil Nadu between 1992 and March 1999, 80 dalit families were attacked by the dominant caste people on 23-7-1999, 11 dalits were killed and 426 were injured in Tirunelveli district alone. Besides, on 26-04-2005 that in keeripatti, Madurai, caste Hindus have instructed local shopkeepers not to sell vegetables and milk to a lady who unsuccessfully contested in the recent by election to the reserved panchayat (The Hindu, 26-04-2005). In another incident, nine persons ransacked 15 houses and hay stack yards of dalits in karsoozhthangalom, Naduvor in Tirunelveli, (The Hindu 07-06-2005). A dalit lady was murdered in Moolakkarai, Kanyakumari dismiss (Daily Thanthi 04-06-2005). The dected Dalits were not allowed to function in four resourced panchayals like, Pappapatti, Keeripatti, and Natermangalam in Madurai district and Kottaka chuiyendal in Virudhunagar, (Dr. Raja 2005 of The Hindu, 16-06-2005).¹⁴.

Further, it was complained that separate tea cups were used for serving dailts in a tea stall in Salem, (The Hindu 17-06-2005). Even in Tsunami Relief works, dalits were discriminated and not given proper relief (The Hindu, 31—08-

Year	Unite Cases Register	Murder	Grievous Hurt	Rape	Arson	Others	Crime Under PDA	Total
1981	4085	493	1492	604	1295	10434	14318	28636
1982	4087	514	1429	635	1035	11441	15064	30108
1983	3949	525	1351	640	993	11440	14949	29898
1984	3928	541	1454	692	973	12327	15987	31974
1985	3332	502	1367	700	980	11824	15373	30746
1986	NA	564	1408	727	1002	11715	15416	30832
1993	2531	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1994	1731	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1995	1528	571	4544	837	500	11056	13925	31433
1996	1417	543	4585	949	964	13862	9620	30023
1997	1157	504	3462	10002	384	12149	7831	25338
2009	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

2005, 27-08-2005 and 12-08-2005). Above all, dalits were not allowed to enter kanda devi temple in devaksai even after High court's direction (The Hindu, 18-06-2005, 21-06-2005 and 26-06-2005). A few servants conducted in this respect also provide enough information on Dalit rights violation ¹⁵.

Table: Untouchability cases and Crimes Atrocities Against Sc During 1981-2002¹⁶

Annual Report of commission forth SC& ST in Sukhado Thorat, 2002 & The Hindu 20.07.2007.

According to state wise Analyse of cases of rape of SC women during 1981, 1994 and 2002 in Tamil is one of the states that has recorded high incidence of atrocities against dalits. Caste clashes continue plague the southern store of Tamil Nadu (Nayyar Shams, 2004). Individual clashes deed to group clashes and they finally lead murder, property damage and other forms of violence. Dalits are socially backward as well as weak in number. According to 1991 census, the SC population comes to 13.82 cores and the Scheduled Tribes population to 6.77 crores representing 16.33 and 8.08 percent of the total population respectively¹⁷.

In Tamil Nadu the percentage Scheduled Caste population was 19.18 percent in 1991 and 19 percent in 1998. On the all India map, Tamil Nadu has the sixth biggest concentration of details compared to the state average of 19.18 percent the districts which have greater than the state average are Nilgiris (30.22%), South Arcot (inclusive of Trillipuram and Cuddalore districts)(27.11%) Chengalpattu (inclusive, Thiruvallur and kanchipuram district 25.92%) Thanjavur inclusive Tiruvannamalai (21.46%), North Arcot (20.70) and Dindugul (19.41)¹⁸.

Source commission for sc/st in vimal thorat, 2002 and The Hindu, 20-07-2004. Where as estimated number of caste in India is 16,000. In Tamil Nadu, these are 174 castes and sub-castes categories as scanned 34 tribes listed as ST. these people, who were discriminated down the ages, get education and then they claim their rights, demand minimum wages, refuge upper caste to do bonded labour and inhuman atrocities. When the Dalits get enlightenment, which is not tolerated by them eventually leads to clashes and destruction of Dalit properties by dominant caste people.

The first and major atrocity, leaving a lasting impression on the psyche of dalits all over Tamil Nadu was the killing of Immanuel (one of the dedicated fighters for dalits rights) at Mudukulathur village in 1959. From then onwards, a number of atrocities have been happening every year. In 1968, 48 dalits workers were killed in cold blood in kelvenmani massacre. It led to atrocities on dalits in more than 20 different parts of the state. During the late 1980's caste clashes escalated in the southern districts. For instances which faced a civil war type of situation due to devar –dalit clashes except kanyakumari witnessed frequent clashes during 1995-1997 and 1998. During those period. The estimates of economic damages are not actually shown. But as many as 130 people

were died in the district of Tirunelveli, Madurai, Tuticorini, Ramanatha puram and Virudhuragar. The damage caused by this clashes was estimated by people watch, Madurai at Rs. 42 lakhs etc. If every clash is taken for estimated, then the total damage may run to crores of rupees. Even it is not easy to estimate the loss by assessing the damage caused to property. Loss is caused by injuries, cost of treatment loss of productivity, etc., and if we take all these into account its total loss will be much more than if appears to be. All these loss can be avoided, if there is a political will be stopped it and people are made aware of the fact that all are equal before law and every citizen has to fight to lead a life with dignity¹⁹.

Conclusion:

As analyzed above, we can see that scheduled caste are even now like apartheid in compassion to forward castes, only giving reservation, in jobs on papers has not been effective, because the implementation atrocities are coming from for land caste. Unless the scheduled castes have not been fully empowered in decision making, implementation and to share the equal opportunities, the situation would not change. In other words education is one of the important factors which can make significant contribution towards improving the social status of sc's has been viewed as to crucial mechanism through which members of Sc are to be equipped to obtain secular occupation. So that they can improve their status. The advent of political order recognized the principle of "Human Rights" and equality. The new political system aimed at transforming the social system from restrictive status to that of achieved one. However, education has provided only marginal relief to untouchables even elite education and secular professions could not offset to evils of caste system and practice of untouchability in the present day in Indian society.

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TEMPLE AND ARTISAN COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL TAMIL COUNTRY

K. Mavali Rajan

The present paper is an earnest attempt to focus on the artisan community and their craft activities in medieval Tamil country. Among the different social group of Tamil society the artisan communities are prominent, who involved in skilled labour, occupied important position in the social life of the entire society. There were different categories of artisan community in early India like painters, sculptors, carpenters, iron-smiths, who were mostly considered as class of master-craftsmen or skilled artisans belongs to the lower caste groups in the Brahmanical social hierarchy. The term 'artisan' is generally used in the sense of one who is possessed of practical skill in a particular trade or profession such as a handicraftsman, a mechanic, etc. The *Manu*, considered as a law book of Varna-Hindus gives some references to artisans, craftsman, practical arts, handicrafts, mechanical works, etc. These artisans can be placed in two broad divisions, namely general artisans and metal workers. Those who made a large number of daily uses wood work such as plough, sward, cart, chariot, utensils, pestle, bed, seat, etc. were considered as general artisans and those who associated with the working of metals such as gold, silver, iron, brass, copper, tin, lead and precious stones were known as metal workers.¹

Artisans in Early Indian History

Art activity in ancient India involved by different sections of the society: artisans for

raising monuments, temples, patrons for financing the projects, priests for consecrating the monuments and so on. The artisan community in ancient India was not an isolated social group, belonged to the general section of the society engaged in various craft production. In ancient India different categories of artisans are found clubbed together in one general group called *silpin*. Likewise, the term '*shilpa*' is of a wide connotation and it includes within its ambit various crafts, skills and occupations.² Similarly the word '*rupakara*' was frequently used in ancient literature for sculptor as well as the term '*silpi*' for painter, '*vaddhakis*' for carpenters. The *Arthasastra* also mention a term '*karu*', which generally designates artisans, specifically connected with architecture and sculptural art. The stone workers were referred in inscriptions as '*silākarmanta*' or '*sailakarma*'. The sculptors are mentioned as *rūpakāra*, *aveśani rūpadaksha*. In *Rig-Veda*, the god Vishwakarma is mentioned as *dhatu-karmara*, here *karmara* is refer to artisans and artificers (black-smith) ³ and *dhatu* refer to raw-material. The *Vajasneyi Samhita* categories the artisans: chariot-makers, carpenters, potters, smiths, jewelers, herdsmen, etc.⁴ The ancient text *Mahavastu* refers to various classes of artists and their field of specialization. They are painters (*chitrakāraka*), carpenters (*vardhaki-rupakāra*), carvers (*kārupatrika*), modelers of clay (*pustakāraka*), plasters (*pustakarmakāraka*), decorators (*lepaka*), and

architects (*sthapati-sūtrakkāra*). The *Sutradhara/Sutradhara* were became master-iconologists and iconographer in later Indian art history, in sometimes they were given place next to the *Sthapati*. These different categories of the craftsmen mostly involved in temple building, stone-caving and architecture works.⁵

Renowned historian S.Settar in his general presidential address delivered at the Indian History Congress views that "the first artisan in the history of Southeast Asia -----is found in Karnataka. It is with the artisan named Champada, who carved three edicts at Brahmagiri that the documented history of the Indian artisans begins". Further he says that the monumental scale of communication both visual and verbal developed by Asoka (273-232 BCE), should have made him depend heavily on a corps of composers, scribes, engravers, sculptors and architects. They were the early artisan community mostly involved in erection of edicts, *stupas*, *viharas*, *chaityas*, etc.⁶ Settar categorizes the artisan community of Asoka time into five categories such as indigenous or local artisans, folk or rural artisans, descendents of West Asian artisans, traditionalists or purists and skilled artisans.⁷

According to inscriptional evidences the king Asoka employed a large number of artisans to engrave the *Prakrit-Brahmi* (*Prakrit* language and *Brahmi* script were first used by Asoka for transacting official communication) edicts. One of his edict mention about an engraver (*dpr=dipiri*). A.H.Dani has made some interesting observations on the writers and engravers of Asoka's time. He says that (a) it was the writer who dedicated the style of writing not the engraver, because the letter's role was only secondary and (b) that writing of the inscription on the stone by the '*lipikara*' preceded 'cutting the letters on the stone'.⁸ From the statement it is clear that Asoka used a separate artisan community to write and engrave his edicts and other official proclamation. Asoka engaged several *Kharosthi* artisans to engrave edicts at Takshashilla, Chunnar, Pataliputra, Girnar, etc. Not only the scribes and engravers the sculptors and architects were also engaged in the making sculpture and architecture in different regions of Asoka time.

We find references to in Buddhist *Jataka* stories about the artisan guilds, which include

those of wood workers, smiths, painters, ivory carvers, site-explorers and image makers. In Tamil *Sangam* texts there are instances to the Yavana artisans, who were experts in making images, seems to have spread to the farthest corners of the country. In the *Pattupattu* (Ten Idylls) poet Nakkirar refers to a beautiful doll made by a Yavana. In *Manimekalai* we get references to the Yavana carpenters and their skilled works along with the mention of Magadhan craftsmen, Avanti blacksmiths, Maharatta Smiths and the Tamil skilled labour. From the descriptions we can understand that the early Tamils of the 2nd to 5th century CE invited many skilled artisan communities from the different regions of both inland and foreign for the purpose of makings images and other artistic works.⁹

Vishwakarma

In modern days the artisan communities are known by the name *Vishwakarma*. Even the community prefers the new name, which has evidential support in 12th century inscriptions that refer to smiths and sculptors belonging to the *Vishwakarma kula*. Although Vijaya Ramaswamy notes that "-----the Vishwakarma community is obviously cutting across caste lines and----- comprises five socially and economically differentiated castes".¹⁰ The community claims descent from the god Vishwakarma, who is considered by Hindus to be the divine architect or engineer of the universe. According to *Vishwakarma Purana* it is believed that god Vishwakarma had five children namely Manu, Maya, Tvastar, Shilpi and Vishvajna, being respectively the clans of blacksmiths, carpenters, bell metalworkers (metal casters), stonemasons and goldsmiths. The five children served the gods as artisans, and possessed the ability to create things by simply imagining them.

The Vishwakarma have held a higher social status for many years, and believe that the trades which they traditionally follow are superior to the work of a manual labourer because they require artistic and scientific skills as well as those of the hand. According to George Varghese, their claim to high status is 'one of the mainstays of Vishwakarma identity' in what is otherwise a fragmented, incoherent community that has often suffered from internal differences of opinion. Vijay Ramaswamy in her

key note address delivered at the 38th session of the South Indian History Congress states that “the craft persons collectively referred to as Vishwakarma today constituted a unique craft/artisanal collective that cut through caste and class lines having as its constituents the humble blacksmith and carpenter as well as the affluent *Sthapati* who was the mason-cum-architect and the *Pon-Kollar* or goldsmith. The primary identity of the craft persons stemmed from their community rather than their caste identity. The majority of medieval inscriptions emphasize that the artisan belonged to the *Vishwakarma kula*, rather than detailing his caste affiliation. Inscriptional evidence makes it amply clear that despite belonging to different professions and different *jatis*, these craftsmen claimed a collective entity that transcended caste and class to form the larger community of craft-persons”.¹¹

Social Status of the Artisans

The artisan community is spread widely throughout India and played a vital role in the village economy. They occupied an important place among the village community and as skilled labour in craft activities, produced the agricultural implements, which led to the agrarian and industrial development in early human society. Their socio economic status varied from a very high level to the low level in different parts of India, as they earned high wages in urban centres and low wages in villages. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy says that “the Kammalar (i.e. *Panchalar*) were known as Vishwa or Dev Brahmin. They spread gradually towards the south and then reached Ceylon, Burma & Java. The Vishwa-Brahmins claim to have been the spiritual guides and priests and their position in the society survives in the saying the ‘Vishwa-brahmin, is guru to the world’.¹²

They also performed priestly rites in connection with consecration of images. They both claim and possess various special privileges, which they always upheld with much vigour. Coomaraswamy also mentions “throughout the rest of ceremony all priest officers had been performed by the craftsman themselves acting as Brahman priest”. Krishna Rao says, that “The most highly organized and efficient of the industrial classes was Virpanchal comprising Goldsmiths, coiners, blacksmiths, carpenters and masons. In the finest period of

Indian art, particularly between 8th and 9th century CE, they claimed and enjoyed a high social status in the community, equal to Brahmins. The art of engraving and sculpture had attained a high stage of development. It was exclusively cultivated by *Panchalas* who wore sacred thread and considered themselves as Vishwakarma Brahmins. The craftsman being deeply versed in national epic literature always figured in the history of India as missionaries of civilization, culture and religion. The intellectual influence being creative and not merely assimilative was at least as great as that of the priest and the author”.

In a Brahmanical scheme of society as outlined in *Manu*, artisans belong to the lower orders had a far more degraded social status. The lower of Varna occupied by the Vaishyas and Sudras, who possessed the requisite technical knowledge and experience of production and distribution, which the members of the higher orders lacked. R.S.Sharma in his work *Economic History of Early India* critically analyzed the functions of the different *Varnas*. He says that the upper two *Varnas* were non-producing social sections mostly involved in activities like praying and conquering and other two castes were engaged in primary task of production. Accordingly those who considered as upper *Varnas* were mostly non-producing social groups, enjoyed enormous social rights. The next two social groups were the producer community, produced for the whole society. It has been rightly pointed out by P.V. Kane that the principal tax payers were agriculturists, traders, manual workers and artisan communities.¹³ Though historical sources strictly stress that the artisan community enjoyed a respectable position in the social system during the early period. Many literary texts cite that some of the artisans groups engaged in various crafts belonged to the vis, ‘the Aryan community’. The special place of *Rathakaras* and *Karmaras* and their responsibilities have been indicated in literary texts. Sometimes they were designated as *ratnins* and assigned important roles in the coronation ceremonies of the kings.¹⁴

Temple and Artisan Community

The temple and its ritual and non-ritual activities including the management were engaged by the different communities of the village. Among them the Brahmin functionaries

played vital role as priests, officials, land owners of the temple lands, etc. They performed all the ritual services like rites and sacrifices and received grants from the king and royal family in return for their ritual service. The Brahmins controlled the administration of the Hindu temples as well as the management of the *Brahmadeya* and *Devadana* villages. The landed community, merchant community and other privileged section of the society who also had lively interest of the temple. From the South Indian Inscriptions of the medieval period we find references to non-Brahmin residents, who rendered numerous services in the temple. They often had made number of endowments to the temple for the religious offerings. Due to close association with the temple activities many of them both Brahmin and non-Brahmin functionaries were contributing their services to the local Siva and Vishnu temples, which are recorded in temple inscriptions of the medieval Tamil country.¹⁵

In addition to the Brahmin, land owning community and merchant class, there were a few artisans and craftsmen, who settled within the limits of the temple-centered village and indebted to render their service to the temple as well as village. Five of the leading artisan community in south India came together in a unique association and were hence collectively identified as the *Kammalar* in the medieval Tamil country, as the *panchalar* in Karnataka; as *ainkudi kammalas* in Kerala; some inscriptional evidences referred them as *pancha kammalar* and *anjuvannam* (five classes of artisans).¹⁶ However, in many of the medieval inscriptions they are also collectively referred to as the Rathakaras, literally, the chariot makers. In modern days they are referred to as Visvakarma, divine architect they claim as decent. The Visvakarmas were made up of five occupational groups (*panchalar*); goldsmith (*tattan*), brass smith (*kanna*), black smith (*karuman* or *kollan*), carpenter (*tach-chan*), and mason (*silpi* or *kal-tachchan*). These five Visvakarma group were also referred to as *kammala rathakarar*, *pancha kammalar* in medieval inscriptions, who were primarily engaged in the temple construction activities and engraving temple inscriptions that revived in the 11th-13th century CE. The construction did not involve the mere erection of shrines but the building up of an entire temple complex spread over a vast area.¹⁷

Among the five artisan community the black smith or *kollan* who were very active member of village community did craft work that was substantially different in nature from the work of a *perum kollan* or master black smith who was an integrated part of the temple building process.¹⁸ There were some group of people involved in the engraving inscriptions and the images of gods in the temple building. These engravers seem to have been smith attached to that particular temple. Information on engravers (*porkoyil achari*) is available in the Pandya inscriptions. The inscriptions also list the various craft functions involved in the sculpting of images and in temple building. Many of the inscriptions speak of sculptor called *shilpi* or *kal-tachchan* and *tirumeni cheyvar*. The architect of the temple also referred to as *sthapathi*, who has knowledge of the science of architecture of the temple.¹⁹ The Tiruvarur inscriptions describes the *sthapathi* as *vastu tatvajna*, which means that a person who well versed in the science of architect.²⁰ Besides the crafts production they directly concerned with the temple building, the Kammalar also engaged in the construction of wells, tanks, and sluices.²¹

The Rathakaras, chariot maker, one of the well known leading artisan community and was the privileged group in the village communities who involved in the chariot-making, the erection of *gopurams* of the temple. The chariot-makers were also used as a means of domestic transport along with the common carts and employed in the temple to draw the images of the gods during the festivals. Inscriptions make it clear that the craftsmen residing in the *tirumadaivilagam* of the temple, served to the temple. Another inscription describes the residential quarter of the Rathakaras, like the blacksmith, and the village carpenter as *kammanacheri* which located near the potter and other functionaries' residence.²² The medieval Tamil epigraphs were recording the names of craftsmen refer to them as 'our temple goldsmith' or 'the temple mason (*porkoyil*)', etc. The temple also employed various smiths and had carpenters and even repairer attached to the temples. An inscription of Vira Pandya dated 951 A.D. from Ambasamudram in Tirunelveli district mentions the apportioning of land to the smith, potter, drummer, barber, and others.²³

On the other hand the inscriptions of medieval Tamil country refer to artisan classes like *taccar* (carpenters), *kalavaniyar* (potters), *vaniyar* (oil-mongers) and *vannar* (washer men), brought to settle in the temple-centered society. These skilled workers appointed to the temple to perform various services. The potters were appointed to supply new pots to bring water to perform *pujas*. The washer man, barbers, tailors, jewel-makers were also appointed in temples to perform various temple services. The jewel-makers had to make various ornaments of the deities, braziers for making vessels, carpenters for making wood work in the temple and goldsmith for making gold ornaments.²⁴ Teachers and scholars were also in the employ of the temple, who involved in intellectual debates in the temple.

The stone mason of the villages of medieval Tamil country were enjoyed some privileges such as the belonging of two conches, the beating of drums and so on at domestic occurrences; good and bad, the use of sandals when they went out of their homes, and the plastering of the walls of their residences with

lime plaster. Sections of land were given to temple security personnel Kaikkolas, who were as warriors and policemen during the medieval period, but later they were the members of weaving community.²⁵

In concluding part it is important to note that the number of artisans and craftsmen settled in temple land to ensure their services to the temple as well as its settlement. These people were granted the right to settle down in the temple's landed property, which they were bound to respond through their arts and crafts service.²⁶ Thus they also became groups of hereditary occupations under the encouragement of land rights. As usual they were also graded according to their birth and occupation and were accommodated in to the *Varan-jati* complex. Just as any of the major caste, the caste of artisans or craftsmen evolved its own sub-caste and separate hierarchy. The actual tillers of the soil, who were purely landless, constituted the lowest layer. In short, the temple working as an institutional force had accelerated the crystallization of the caste-based stratification.

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CULTURE AS RESISTANCE – IDEOLOGY AS 'SELF' ORGANIC
INTELLECTUALISM OF E. V. RAMASWAMI NAICKER, IN RETRIEVING
DRAVIDIAN IDENTITY: A RE-READING

A. Muhammed Maheen

Marginality is a source of both powerlessness and power and results in subordination and resistance. Marginality arises from a comprehensive association between writing state, history and religion. Marginality has to do with distinctive and unequal subject positions within the fields of power and knowledge. The combination of state, power, history and ethnography constructs the other as a ferocious and backward people far removed from religion and civilization.¹

In any society dominant and subordinated classes, as well as their ideologies and narratives of the past and present are always in conflict. The ideology that serves the interest of one group subverts the interest of others.² However, ideology conceptualise in a society where the dominant class gain an upper hand. As the knowledge system and socio-religious world view developed by the caste elites were intended to exploit and enslave the majority low castes. Infact the history of Indian society from the Aryan immigration³ to the present era has been a history of conflict and contestation over land resources and cultural practices.⁴ The intruders, who later glorified themselves as Brahmanas and the indigenous people were denigrated and de-humanised as rakshasas, dasas, Shudras, Chandalas, Panchamas in modern sense as dalits, adivasis or marginalised etc.⁵ Ideology, often, transforms into hegemony.⁶ It is seminally expounded by Antonio Gramsci and according to him it is not just a system of domination (whether of ideas or political power) but a process whereby the dominant class indoctrinates the masses and manufactures a consensus in civil society through largely peaceful means.⁷ Ideology is thus an instrument of domination finds an archetypical expression in Brahmanism and that Brahmanism is the main exploiting system of traditional Indian Society. Brahmanism uses the ideology of caste as a crucial instrument

to dehumanize divide and dominate the productive majority.⁸ This hegemonic ideology which acts as a 'permanently organized force',⁹ a phrase used by Gramsci, which never stood for any consistent philosophy, doctrine or ethics, but has adjusted its hegemonic methods and principles to changing situations. Power, thus, is the core of Brahmanism. The exercise of power necessarily involves conflict and resistance. The contestation for economic, cultural and intellectual resources between the powerful and the powerless involves both dominance and resistance. This conflict, obviously multifaceted, takes place at different levels. There are many forms and faces of domination, which is equally true of resistance. A new humanitarianism or western rationalism introduced by the colonial administration provided new opportunities for the casteless people in the sub continent.¹⁰ In other words, the colonial modernity contributed the genesis for many social movements that helped to reconstitute the identities of the communities or other social groups.¹¹ In short, clubbed with the process of Colonial modernity, a transforming political economy and corresponding structural changes brought about new initiatives to establish a 'new self' among the Dalit groups.¹²

To retrieve historical subjectivity (agency) and to write inclusive histories, one cannot ignore the pre-colonial anti-caste epistemic lineage of Dalits. Running counter to the dominant social and historical representation of Dalits as acquiescent subjects is a narrative of sustained resistance in the form of social memory, folk traditions, songs, folk tales and subversive ritual performances that was created not just as tactic of survival but also an entire alternative worldview set against the unequal and oppressive Brahmanical Hinduism.¹³ The Brahmanical epistemology inflicts epistemic violence while enforcing material and social deprivation in order to crush Dalits' sense of self

and to dehumanise their existence. In this way, anti-caste epistemology acts as a counter culture to preserve individual and community identity by weaving soothing alternative narratives about caste and inverting the Brahmanical interpretations. For centuries, as individuals and communities, they have actively questioned their stigmatized existence and contested dominant caste Hindu Brahmanical ideologies, which excluded them from material wealth and denied them a dignified social existence.¹⁴ From ancient times to the post colonial present, Dalits have been articulating anti-caste ideologies and aspiring to an egalitarian, ethical society based on principles of social equality and human dignity. Even though the forms of expression and modes of protest changed continuously over time in order to adopt to altered historical circumstances, the broader anti-caste narrative survived as a motif.

It is in this contest, it is necessary know the history of caste from one's own experience. Breaking the 'culture of silence' imposed on them, they have started telling their stories in their own language and idiom, and refute the conventional representation of themselves in history and culture and thereby deconstructing the history of Brahmanised hegemony and endeavoured to search a history of their own. Now it is clear that they were do not share history. Not only share not even a history of their own.¹⁵

However, the irony is that the Western principles of democracy, equality, human rights etc found favour only with the elite class. They further endeavoured to strengthen caste solidarity between members of the same caste. Gopal Guru suggests that though the normative grounds are created by the politics of recognition, emancipation and education of the subject, as an offshoot of modernity, at the same time we must recognise that these modern principles, along with modern institutions, bureaucracy, industrialization and the public sphere, have also created new conditions for the perpetuation of humiliation.¹⁶ Modernity, argues Guru, creates new shared moral and ethical commitments to egalitarian values among dominant and subordinate groups, yet it also creates new practices that contribute to the latter's exclusion.¹⁷

Thus it is evident that, the counter movements spearheaded by the Dalits were sought to be contained, controlled and

demobilised by the hegemonic structures of power in political and social sphere.

It was in this atmosphere of coercive suffocation that radical Dalit sensibilities sought to give vent to their frustration and outrage, thus aligning themselves with other revolutionary and radical movements at least for retrieving identity.

In the Tamizhakam, the second half of the 19th century witnessed sporadic yet determined attempts by lowered castes to articulate their deprivation and humiliation, and also a sense of longing to belong to their original Dravidian culture. Here it was easy to give linguistic, ethnic and indigenous identity to the non-Brahman as who had a language with non-sanskrit origin, recognised as Dravidian or Tamil. Here, the non-Brahmanas adopted their indigenous and autonomous Tamil literary traditions in a battle for social and political equality emphasising the pre-sanskrit and non-Aryan Dravidian heritage of the south.¹⁸

Several Tamil Sanghams were formed in cities like Madurai and Madras. The revival of interest in ancient Tamil classics spurred the publication of many journals which attacked the alien of oppressive Brahminic culture. The Ramayana was turned on its head by glorifying Ravana and depicting Rama as the Villain; the murder of Shambuk, the untouchable boy by Rama was mourned and roundly condemned. The Dravida Kazhagam of 1882 raised and debated the ideological matrix of Dravidianism. At the turn of the new century, the stage was set for emergence of a powerful non-Brahman movement in the region.¹⁹

It is in this back drop let me examine the emerging non Aryan consciousness in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century South India by, Erode Venkatappa Rama Swamy Naicker and others.²⁰

The origin of Non-Brahmin Movement otherwise called anti-caste movement started with Jyothi Rao Phule (1827-1890) in Maharashtra.²¹

The non-brahmin movement in Tamil Nadu came vigorously with the aggressive leadership of E.V.R who is popularly known as Periyar. He began his Self-Respect movement in 1925 and the primary objective of this movement was to discard the priestly service of the Brahmins and

their value system by resisting the tenets of Hinduism. Seeking a basic change in the traditional social system, Periyar wanted to establish an entirely new pattern of values in which all people irrespective of their caste creed or set could enjoy equal self-respect.²²

E.V.R, a religious mendicant who had been completely disillusioned by the Congress and Gandhi while taking part in the Vaikom Satyagraha. He stopped calling Gandhi 'Mahatma' in 1928 in protest against Gandhi's interpretation of Hinduism, which, he said, only perpetuated untouchability. He rejected Gandhi's idea of separate temples for Adi Dravidas and rejected the notion that intermarriage and dining were personal and not part of social reform.²³ Despite his opposition to religion, however, he led the campaign for temple entry for untouchables, while insisting this was only to assert their rights of access not to promote the worship of stones or for them to spend money like other fools. Equally EVR advocated access for all to the inner sanctum of temples and the right of every community to take up priestly duties.²⁴ This was really a virtual crusade to liberate the non-caste Hindus from the caste evils including idol and devil worship and other forms of superstitions and caste oppression. Indeed, it was an attempt to develop 'self' among the avarnas. If Phule drew some of his egalitarian inspiration from Thomas Paine, Periyar was more impressed by Robert Ingersoll.²⁵

Like Phule and Ambedkar he was an egalitarian in a Western, individualist vein. The notion of human dignity was so central to his thinking that after quitting congress in the mid 1920s he launched the Self Respect Movement, whose key word was 'Samadharm, ie, equality.²⁶ He also emphasised the social purity of the Dravidians.²⁷

Naicker established an equation between the Brahmins and the Aryan invaders. Himself the son of an affluent merchant from the Balija Naidu Caste(trade), he presented the lower castes as the Dravidians and used Dravidianism against the Brahmanical elite. Boycotting Brahmin priests- especially for weddings, Naicker initiated self respect weddings celebrated without such priests. Through resolution he condemned the Varnasharma dharma.²⁸ Manusmriti was burnt on several occasions. Caste system was spelled out in terms of a return to the sources of the

Dravidian culture. His Samadharm came to stand in for a cultural and civilizational alternative: a social order based on radically different principles from the present, which needed to rest on premises derived from a non-aryan, non-sanskrit ethos.²⁹ The activism of Naicker are the symbol of a negation of existing morals and ethics. 'Negation' a Gramscian tool is applicable here. Negation is a system of denial. This is an act of dismantling or upsetting something existed in the society. It aims a destruction of hegemonic society in toto. This theory says, the Subalterns historically on the defensive can achieve self awareness through a series of negations.³⁰

Periyar had an explicit ethnic conception of the low caste identity, which he compared to the situation to the blacks in South Africa.³¹

Periyar's radical ideas about gender and sexual equality were revolutionary in the Indian context. For eg: Periyar takes a radical stance against the devadasi system as he believes it is a concrete sign of the subordination of lower caste woman to the fulfillment of the needs of upper caste men.³² Moreover EVR who radically transformed the political commonsense of Tamil Speaking South India during the 20th century. His critique of the nation form became available only within the ethical horizon of the de-territorialised post national imagination.³³

As I said earlier, As a visionary, Naicker stood for the education of the down trodden. Education has helped to empower countless impoverished and illiterate people throughout the world. It is a vision of looking education as a process of liberation and as an authentic tool for the emancipation of human being.³⁴

Apart from education, the leaders of non-brahmanic movement including Naicker introduced various new social practices which challenged the hegemony (Counter hegemony) of the upper caste and brought revolutionary changes in their day to day lives. His advocacy of self respect, marriages and emphasis on birth control method constituted an important critique of Brahmanical patriarchy.³⁵ His attack on the caste system had a positive impact as some of the upper caste men, who defying the Brahmanical orthodox practices, chose women from the lower caste for inter-caste marriages. As a true moralist, he applied, the concept of chastity to both sexes.

Women needed to be independent and not to bear children. They should hold 50% of the jobs. His movement sanctioned divorce and pleaded for the property rights for women and thereby he prepared a platform to address women's issues and uphold their dignity and even identity.³⁶

To propagate his ideas Naicker founded the Tamil Journal *Kudiyarasu* (Republic),³⁷ *Paguttarivu*³⁸ (Common Sense) and *Viduthalai*(liberation)³⁹. It continues to this day as a daily. How does a print culture influence a period and society see the works of Benedict Anderson, 'Imagined communities', Partha Chatterjee 'Empire and Nation' Robin Jeffrey 'Media and Modernity'.

Naicker sensed that caste had come to play an important role in economic life and it developed strong roots in occupations in the birth based hierarchial class society of early India and few movements of protest against injustice involved in its intrinsic inequality had power to change this ground reality or to offer any viable and enduring alternative. Therefore with the help of some of his colleagues, Naicker drew up a 14 point socio-economic programme known as the 'Erode Path'.⁴⁰ The social reformer and anti imperialist in him was greatly influenced by what he had seen of Bolshevic power in the Soviet Union which made him to visit Soviet Union.⁴¹ Naicker returned from the Soviet Union in 1931 a fiery revolutionary advocating the overthrow of the govt. by violent means. He translated the Communist Manifesto into Tamil. His extremist politics landed him in a prison for sedition. Freed in 1934 he called upon his followers to renounce all British conferred titles and honours.⁴²

In response to Raja Gopalachari's, the then the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, imposition of Hindi on School children (official language after freedom), Naicker uphold a Dravidian State, a search for Tamil identity separate from the rest of India. Often a first demand for secession in Modern India. As the freedom struggle entered its final phase, Naicker realised that the British were in no mood to concede the Dravida Nadu demand even when they were about to leave India. So his campaign was, Swaraj had no meaning to the Dravidians, Muslims and the Harijans. This was part of Naickers' attempt to find an identity together with Jinnah and Ambedkar⁴³ but proved futile. In 1944, the

Dravida Kazhakom came into being, demanding a separate non Brahmin Dravidian Nation, as stated earlier, later to become a political Party. ⁴⁴

Tamil nationalism linked with the anti-caste movement, thus became a powerful force in the South. Dravida Kazhakam with Regional Nationalism and sub national identities ⁴⁵ was a major political movement and at one stage even threatened to divide the country on racial lines. Thus the Dravidian Movement of Tamil Nadu was in a sense the Black Movement of India, which asserted Dravidian self-respect. ⁴⁶

After breaking ties with Congress, his political career then onwards was more or less an unwavering journey through the Self Respect Movement (1926) and the Dravidar Kazhagam (1944) in search of substantive, as opposed to formal, citizenship for the subordinate groups. The centrality that he assigned to citizenship as constitutive of the nation is more than evident from the way he assessed and combated the nationalist concept of 'swaraj' and the manner in which he responded to the British Raj.⁴⁷

For the self-respecters, the notion of citizenship was not merely for a legal identity, but, to them 'as the founding ideal of a new Republic'. It was to animate not merely claims made on the state but on society as well; it implied and called forth a social commitment to the destruction of caste, wily faith and gender differences. Citizenship in this sense was to define new modalities of personal and social interaction, where self respect and mutuality governed human relationships⁴⁸

To conclude, as else where in the world, India too experienced the violation of basic rights of Dalits, Adivasis, Minorities and other Marginalized sects in Indian Society. There are so many movements sprang up in different parts of the world. In India and its Southern parts too we can heard the echos of cry in the wilderness. Many stalwarts like Vaikunda, Sree Narayana Guru, Ayyankali, E.V. R and others who took the lead in addressing the grievances of the downtrodden. E.V.R pointed out the clever devices of exploitation followed by the Brahmins under the mask of divinity on the pretext that they are solely the incarnation of God on earth. Therefore, naturally E.V.R rejected the abode of God. According to him injustice was purely man made not a divine ordaine. Hence it should be

deleted by man himself. History was one of cultural struggle, a term widely used by prominent-historian like K. N. Panikkar (Culture As A Site of Struggle). Though his immediate mission of creating a Dravidian State ended in failure⁴⁹ he could succeed in creating a public sphere,(Jurgen Hebermas) or Subaltern counter public, where the marginalised could share a sense of oneness and a spirit of Nationalism

whether it is radical, regional, separatist or any other sub national identities.

We may justify, as it is said subnationalism is not a threat as long as it is not, secessionist, or aimed at othering sections. Therefore it can be seen as a constitutive element of India's Plural democracy.⁵⁰

End Notes

1. Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in J.Ruther Ford (ed.), *Community, Culture, Difference*. London, 1990, PP. 222-37.
2. Vide, Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, U.S.A, 1968 (2014)
3. Kumkum Roy, 'The Question of Caste', in Satish Desh Pande (ed.), *The Problem of Caste. Readings on the Economy, Polity and Society. Essays from Economic and Political Weekly*, New Delhi 2014, pp. 71 ff.
4. Caste has long been used to regulate economic life in India. For details, see, Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind. Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, New Delhi, 2002.
5. For details see, M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India and Other Essays*. University of California Press, 1966.
6. For details see, Stuart Hall, *Cultural Studies 1983: a Theoretical Study*, Hyderabad, 2017 pp.127-206.
7. The imposition is established through hegemony. Literally, hegemony indicates political, economic, military and cultural predominance or control over others. Marxist historian, Antonio Gramsci defines hegemony as "a ruling class can manipulate the value system and mores of a society". See, Antonio Gramsci, Buttigieg Joseph (ed), *Prison Note Books*, New York City, Columbia University Press, 1992, pp. 233-38. Hegemony is also established culturally and by means of language. For details see, Bernard Cohen, *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge*, Princeton University Press, 1996; Terry Eagleton, *After Theory*, Penguin, U.K, 2004; Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism*, O.U.P. 1992, (2003).
8. Ideology is thus an instrument of domination. Brahmanism uses caste as an instrument. For details see, Vijay Nath, 'From Brahmanism to Hinduism: Negotiating the Myth of the Great Tradition', *Social Scientists*, Vol.29, No.3/4 March-April 2001, pp.19-50; Kancha Illiah, *God as Political Philosopher, Buddhas' Challenge to Brahmanism*, Kolkotta, 2000; Sekha Bandyopadhyay, *Caste, Culture and Hegemony. Social Dominance in Colonial Bengal*, New Delhi, 2004
9. This hegemonic ideology which works/acts as a 'permanently organized force', a phrase used by Gramsci. For details see, Mark McNally, John Schwarz mental (eds.), *Gramsci and Global Politics: Hegemony and Resistance*, U.S.A, (Canada) 2009.
10. M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 49.
11. M.N. Srinivas, *The Cohesive Role of Sanskritization and Other Essays*, O.U.P, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 28
12. Vide, F.G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier*, Manchester, 1957; M.N. Srinivas, *The Cohesive Role*, *Op.cit.* Rajkumar, *Dalit Personal Narratives: Reading Caste, Nation and Identity*, New Delhi, 2011, pp. 136 ff.
13. The assertion of Dalits many a time visible through gospels, songs, oratory or through body. In Kerala, this is particular when we examine the activism of Sri Narayana Guru, Ayyankali, Poikayil Yohannan, Pandit.K. Karuppan or Mosavalsalam Sastriyar.
14. Vide, Eleanor Zelliott, from *Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement*, New Delhi, 1998; Gail Omvedt, *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, New Delhi, 1994.
15. Poikayil Yohannan, a radical reformer stumbled upon the lack of history in one of his poems entitled 'No Alphabet in Sight'. The poem reads thus "I behold the histories of many races, there was nothing written on my race". They had, infact, become a race left out of history. The song is an attempt of searching Dalits' roots and identity.
16. Braj Rajan Mani, *De Brahmanising History, Dominance and Resistance in Indian Society*, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 188 ff
17. Gopal Guru, 'The Indian Nation in its Egalitarian Conception', in Ramnarayan Rawat and K. Satyanarayana (eds), *Dalit Studies*, New Delhi, 2017, pp. 34.
18. Ibid. For a thorough historical treatment on social exclusion, occupational discrimination etc see Sukhadeo Thorat and Katherine S Newman, 'Caste and Economic Discrimination. Causes consequences and Remedies' in Satish Desh Pande (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp, 81.
19. Braj Rajan Mani, *op.cit.*, 2005, pp. 188
20. Ibid., P. 313
21. Vide, Jotirao Phule, *Collected works of Mahatma Jotirao Phule*, Vols 1 and II (tr.)P.G Patil, Bombay, 1991; Rosalind O' Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, Ideology : Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low caste Protest in Nineteenth Century Western India*, Cambridge University Press 1985.
22. V. Geetha and S. V. Rajadurai, *Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium from Iyothee Thass to Periyar*, Calcutta, 1998, pp. 420 ff; Gail Omvedt, *Dalit visions: The Anti-caste movement and the Construction of an Identity*, 1996, New Delhi, PP, 55.
23. For details see, Nicholas B. Dirks, *op.cit.*, pp.259-65.
24. Vide, R. Kannan, *Anna The life and Times of C. N.Annadura*, New Delhi, 2010.
25. Robert Green Ingersoll was an American writer and orator during the Golden Age of Free Thought, who campaigned in defense of agnosticism. His works

- include Why I am an Agnostic, Heretics and Heresies etc.
26. For details of Samadhama in the Self Respect Movement see, V. Geetha and S.V Rajadurai, op. Cit.,
 27. Nicholas B. Dirks, op. Cit., pp. 261-62.
 28. Ibid., p. 263.
 29. V. Geetha, op.cit: Christophe Jaffrelot, India's Silent Revolution. The Rise of the Low Castes in North Indian Politics, NewDelhi, 2003 pp. 170.
 30. The lower classes, historically on the defensive, can only achieve self awareness via a series of negations via their consciousness of the identity and class limits of their enemy. Negation is certainly important in understanding the relationships of dominance and subordination between controllers and controlled, between superordinate and subordinate, raja and Praja or to use Guha's terms between the elites and the subalterns. For details see, Walter Hauser, Elementary Aspects of peasant insurgency in Colonial India (Review), The Journal of Asian Studies, vol.45.No.1,Nov.1985,pp.174-77.
 31. Jaffrelot, op.cit.
 32. Daves Soneji, Unfinished Gestures, Devadasis, Memory and Modernity in South India, NewDelhi, 2014, pp 114.
 33. Vide, M.S.S Pandian, 'Nation Impossible thinking Beyond the Nation Form' in Anjan Ghosh, Tapati Guha, Janaki Nair (eds), Theorizing the Present Essays for Partha Chatterjee, NewDelhi, 2011
 34. For details see, Paulo Freire's, Pedagogy of the Oppressed. It is a study of education in the illrd world, particularly Latin-America. His experience of teaching illiterate and oppressed people in Latin America has made him particularly sensitive to the specific psychology of the oppressed, the multiform forces of oppression, and the methods necessary to release the one from the other. He proceeds to analyse the socio-political and economic forces which have constituted the psychology of the oppressed and he shows that these forces of oppression have become a whole culture in the Third World. This culture prevents the people of the third world from ever releasing themselves from oppression: in their psychology those force have been interiorized, they are part of the atmosphere in which these people live. He tells us that to release the oppressed from their way of being is not a easy as removing the forces of oppression.
- The socio-political situation in the Third World has created a psychology and an atmosphere which combine to form the culture of the oppressed. He has helped to empower countless impoverished and illiterate people throughout the world. It is a vision of looking education as a process of liberation: as education as an authentic tool for the emancipation of human being. See, Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, U.S.A 1968 (2014)
35. Rajkumar, Dalt Personal Narratives. Reading Caste, Nation and Identity, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 136-237
 36. Ibid.
 37. Nicholas. B. Dirks, Op.cit.,p.261
 38. Paula Richman, V. Geetha, 'A view from the South: E. V. Ramasamis' Public critique of Religion' in Anuradha Dingwaney Needham, Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (eds), The Crisis of Secularism in India, Ranikhet, 2007, pp. 69-71
 39. Debi Chatterjee, UP Against Caste: comparative study of Ambedkar and periyar, Jaipur, 2004,p.141
 40. Mohan Ram, 'Ramaswami Naicker and the Dravidian Movement' in Sathish Deshpande(ed), op.cit., 2015 p. 200
 41. M.S.S Pandian, op cit., pp.192-93., also in Pandian's, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin: Genealogies of the Tamil Political Present, Delhi, 2007
 42. Mohan Ram op. Cit.,
 43. Ibid., p.201
 44. Nicolas. B. Dirks, op.cit., p263
 45. Debi Chatterjee, op.cit., pp.40-43
 46. Balmurli Natrajan, Paul Greenough (ed), Against Stigma. Studies in Caste, Race and Justice Since Durban, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 428-429
 47. M.S.S Pandian op. Cit., pp.203
 48. V. Geetha, Periyar, 'Women and an Ethic of citizenship' in Satish Desh Pande (ed) PP. 325ff. For details of citizenship in recent readings, see, Stuart Hall, Held David, 'Citizens and Citizenship' in Stuart Hall, Martin Jacques (eds), In New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s, London, 1989, PP:175ff
 49. Mohan Ram, op. Cit., p. 200
 50. The Hindu, September 14, 2017, P9

HERCULEAN EFFORTS OF BUDDHIST BHIKKUNIS - A STUDY

Dr. S. Nagaraj & Dr. R. Revathi

Introduction

Buddhism is widely known throughout the world as a religion of peace and kindness. It is less known as a religion of gender-equality. And, in fact, many Buddhists throughout the world are taught that women, because of their characteristic karmic dispositions, are incapable of awakening or of becoming a Buddha, at least without first being reborn as men. Furthermore, relatively few women have gone down in Asian history as teachers, yogis and thinkers; the great Indian scholar-monks were all exactly that,

monks, and the ordination and transmission lineages tracked in East Asia list one man after another. The Theravada tradition managed completely to have misplaced its order of fully ordained nuns, and the Tibetan never had one, leaving a decidedly lopsided Sangha throughout much of Asia, and very limited opportunities for women to receive the support and respect that nourishes the highest aspirations of the Buddhist Sangha. Moreover the Buddha himself has been commonly implicated in this bias. For instance, although he created a twofold Sangha of monks

and nuns, he is said to have done so reluctantly, and he seems to have created a degree of dependency of the latter order on the former. An image that shines through in the discourses repeatedly is, in fact, that of a Buddha who had nothing but the deepest kindness and respect for women, in stark contrast to the standards of the society in which he lived.

In ancient India the position of women does not appear to have been a very happy one. Generally, women seem to have been looked upon as being inferior to men. Their freedom was extremely limited. The general view appears to be that they had to be under the care of parents in their childhood, under the protection of husbands in their youth; and in their old age they had to be under the control of their sons. Therefore, it was thought that they do not deserve any freedom. Their main role was considered to be that of housewives, managing the affairs in the house according to the wishes of their husbands. Even as a wife the life of a woman was often miserable. This was especially so when she had the misfortune of being a co-wife. Jealousies and conflicts between co-wives were a common feature in ancient Indian society. The widow's plight was still worse. Normally, a widow was not allowed to remarry. It is said that a widow had to kill herself by jumping into the funeral pyre of her husband.

Women did not have educational freedom. Education was not considered as being of any importance to women. Their religious freedom, too, was restricted. As they had only little freedom, their chances of performing meritorious religious rites, too, were very limited. Women seldom were allowed to make their own decisions. They did what men do and spent their lives in service to others. This is the society where Buddha grew up and taught, Buddha said that women are capable of becoming arhats. If they follow the path of renunciation they can become completely enlightened just as men can.

During the Sixth century B.C. Buddhism texts reflect women were stereotyped, ideals of the submissive and were supposed to revolve around her husband and sons. They also contain many negative images of women as temptresses and creatures of passion. Buddhism does not consider women as being inferior to men. Buddhism, while accepting the biological and physical differences between the two sexes.

Buddhist texts repeatedly describe celibate monks as embodiments of Dhamma (the path of enlightenment) while the lustful insatiable women are described as embodiments of Samsara (the cycle of death and rebirths).

Women in Buddhist Sangha

Many years ago, Buddhism created a revolution in India that is recognised in religion's history as one of humankind's greatest revolutions. When Buddha started Sangha, the Buddhist predominantly consisted of men. Women did not participate in the early beginning of Sangha, therefore, there was also some yearning among women for equality and some for interested in joining Sangha. However, they could not get easy entry as there was no tradition of assimilation. The Buddhist community comprised monks and nuns known as the Bhikkus and the Bhikkunnis, respectively and the Upasakas and the Upasikas known as the laymen and laywomen, respectively.

Buddhist tradition suggests that the Buddha was not initially keen to establish a Bhikkhuni Sangha but ultimately gave into the persistent pressure of his disciple. Buddha persuaded to permit the ordaining of women as nuns. The general hesitation in admitting women as nuns came from the notion that this would weaken marriage and family.

The religion was congregational for most but did not preclude those who wished to meditate in isolation, monastic orders were introduced. The assembly of monks constituting the authoritative body, the Buddhist sangha. Monks wandered from place to place, preaching and seeking alms and this gave the religion a missionary flavour.

Buddhist Nuns

Tripitaka consists of three books, the Sutta, Vinaya and Abidhamma. The Vinaya Pitaka has rules for monks and nuns of the sangha (monastic order). Therigatha describes women's experience of renunciation and it is especially important because it is one of the very few surviving ancient Indian texts composed by or attributed to women.

Admission regulation for Nuns.

The sangha was not open to pregnant women, mothers of unweaned Children,

rebellious women who associated with young men and those who did not have their parents or husbands permission to join. The Buddhist orders of male and female ascetics were among the first to be established in the world some became Bhikkhunis because their husbands or relatives were becoming Bhikkhus, others became Bhikkhunis. When they were widowed or their relatives died some very poor women joined due to protection. Even some young women choose renunciation life as preferable to marriage. The rules for nuns were basically the same as those for monks, but there were more rules. Buddha is also described as having laid down eight special rules subordinating the order of nuns to that of monks. However, it has been suggested that this was a later interpolation. While women could attain salvation their capability for attaining Buddhahood directly. Monks and Nuns were bound to have had some amount of interaction. In fact, nuns were not supposed to live too far away from monks during regular times as well as during the monsoon retreat. They had to consult the latter for the date of the Uposatha Ceremony. If a nun broke certain rules, she had to answer to a mixed gathering of monks and nuns. However, contact and interaction were carefully regulated and restricted. For instance, a monk was not supposed to be alone with a nun in a closed room and was not allowed to preach to a woman in private without the presence of a third person who could understand what was being said. However, a monk could accompany a nun on a road that was considered dangerous. Buddha opened up a significant space for women's spiritual aspirations. When monks and nuns acquired residencies their monasteries and nunneries were built near towns, thereby facilitating the support expected from the lay community. The establishment of Buddhist monasteries accelerated education.

The most evident signs of a Buddhist nuns' lifestyle - shaved head of monastic robes are explicit symbols of our spiritual values. Buddhist monastics cultivate inner beauty and drop fixation with making ourselves physically attractive nuns shave their heads to symbolize letting go of worldly concerns, specifically to "shave off" the poisoned minds of ignorance, anger and clinging attachment also wear the robes of a Buddhist monastic and forego

jewellery and makeup donning the robes each morning reminds us of Buddha's teachings nuns also refrain from listening to or playing music, dancing, watching entertainment.

Therigatha

The Therigatha is an anthology of poems by and about the first Buddhist women. These women were theris, "senior ones," among ordained Buddhist women and they bore that epithet because of their religious achievements. The theris in the Therigatha are enlightened women and most of the poems (gatha) in the anthology are the songs of their experiences. This Buddhist texts contain several references to learned nuns. The *Therigatha* is a collection of 73 poems consisting of 522 versus, supposed to have been composed by 72 nuns over a period of 300 years who had reached a high level of spiritual attainment. Many of these nuns are described as possessing *tevijja* (the three kinds of knowledge), an attribute of arhats. The Therigatha contains numerous stanzas that clearly express the feelings of joy experienced by saintly bhikkhunis at their ability to enter the Order and realize the Truth. Some of the poems express the nuns experience of nibbana. They also feel of the experiences which preceded their joining the Sangha. The poems are renditions of stories, situations and emotions that seem remarkably extent, depression, loss, marriage, motherhood, betrayal, menopause and death, all features are causes of suffering which were then overcome through Buddhist teaching.

Conclusion

Buddhism originally offered no doctrinal resistance to the acceptance of women and men as equally capable of spiritual attainment and this continued to be the position of mainstream Buddhism through the centuries. Most of the main schools of Buddhism which are thriving today are fully egalitarian in doctrine. Many of the problems which women in Buddhists countries faced day to day have more to do deeply rooted social values which were not originated by Buddhist theorists but with which Buddhist have casually compiled by the efforts of Buddha's view on women's right greatly helped all the sections of women to fulfill their role as daughter, mother, Wife, sister and nun (Bhikkhuni).

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PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN COLONIAL ANDHRA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE GODAVARI DELTA MISSION AND THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN MISSION

B. Prakasam

Introduction:

As per the tradition, St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ introduced Christianity in India in A.D. 52.¹

Yet, it was mainly confined to the Malabar Coast of Kerala till the advent of the Portuguese rule in India in the first decade of the 15th century during which period a new dynamic spirit of Roman Catholic missionary activity began in India.² Christianity followed the Portuguese flag and every Portuguese vessel brought a number of Missionaries to India to look after the spiritual needs of European Christians and every Portuguese Trading Centre thus becoming the nursery of Christianity. Soon Roman Catholic centres began to appear in the coastal areas and southern Madras.

As the tradition goes, an important event which could testify to the presence of Christians in Andhra Pradesh from the early centuries is the Council of Nicea held in 325 C.E. It is recorded that a delegation from "Divos" represented the Church in India in the Council. Some historians identify "Divos" as Diviseema. It is also recorded that Arian emperor Constantius sent Theophilus

who was originally an Indian to the island called "Divus" which was inhabited by Indian Christians in the 4th century. This island is identified differently by various historians³ while some feel that it could be Diveeseema.⁴

Among the letters given by Pope XXII around 1330 to Bishop Jordan Catalani addressed to the Kings and the Christians in India, the historians report that there was one to be conveyed to the faithful at "Mausolipatinam" (Machilipatnam) along with the one for the Mylapore Christians. A Christian king named Solomon, ruled parts of Orissa and Andhra according to the Catalan Map dated 1375. Fr. H. Colli (+1962), an Indologist and Sanskrit scholar of renown, affirms that Christians (Nestorians or Catholics) were already present at Vijayanagar in 1442. He bases his conjecture on some report of Abdur Razzak, Persian ambassador at the Vijayanagar Court, who mentions that the Prime Minister (*wazir*) of Vijayanagar was a Christian.⁵

Christian presence in Andhra Pradesh seemed to have continually existed almost from the beginning of Christianity in one form or another. In the first century, some Greek

Christians from Alexandria settled in Masula presently known as Machilipatnam, a coastal port town. It was for long a trading post of Roman merchants. Even some Jews passed through it and made their settlement in the nearby trading towns like Guntur where a Synagogue was built. Armenian Christian merchants and migrants had their settlements in Macilipatnam and nearby locations.⁶

Christianity upon its arrival in India during the 1st century did not make any progression within the Indian subcontinent and was limited within the Southern coast until the 15th century when the Portuguese arrived in India in 1548, followed by the German Lutheran Protestant missionaries Ziegenbalg and Pleutschau in 1706, Moravians in 1760 and William Carrey in 1793.

The Protestant Missions in Andhra Pradesh

Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg was the first Protestant Lutheran Missionary to visit the Andhra Pradesh. He was sent by King Frederick IV of Denmark in 1706 on behalf of the Royal Danish Mission to work among the Tamils. During his course of work at Tranquebar, he made a short visit to Tirupati in 1716.

However, it was his successor, Benjamin Schultz, who started work among the Telugu people shortly after his coming to Madras in 1726. He learnt Telugu and translated the Catechism and New Testament into Telugu language. As to point of conversion and the early reports of Schultz do not distinguish between Tamil and Telugu converts. Shultz's successor John Philip Fabricius continued to work among the Telugu people in Madras.

He founded Boarding Homes for the schoolchildren and had moved to Dutch settlement in Pulicat because the mission buildings were destroyed by French in 1746.⁷ This paper will briefly analyze two of the most important missionary agencies who shared the gospel within the state of Andhra Pradesh - the Godavari Delta Mission and the American Lutheran Mission.

The Godavari Delta Mission (GDM)

The origins of the Godavari Delta Mission (GDM) are traceable to the Open Brethren Movement of England⁸ under the leadership of

men like George Muller, Robert Chapman and A. N. Groves⁹. Two young men, William Bowden and George Beer, the pioneers of the GDM, were members of the Ebenezer Chapel in Barnstaple, who had Mr. Robert Champan as their preacher/pastor.¹⁰

A. N. Groves, the architect of the GDM, visited this chapel in 1835 in search of missionaries for India. Groves himself was a missionary to Baghdad, but through the instrumentality of Sir Arthur Cotton who was a British Missionary Engineer in India, he was persuaded to turn his missionary gaze upon the ripened fields of India. Arriving in Bombay in July 1833⁸⁵ Groves then surveyed the need in the country, returned to Europe and UK looking for missionaries, went to Barnstaple and found Bowden and Beer willing, and prepared for the task. William Bowden and George Beer, together with their families arrived in Madras on July 8, 1836 and then moved to Narasapur in April of 1837.¹¹

Bowden and Beer families represented the first ever Brethren overseas missionaries anywhere in the world. The primary mission of the GDM was unquestionably evangelistic. Every GDM missionary carried out evangelization. Until a few years ago no foreign Missionary left India withdrawing themselves from the missionary work. Consequently today there are more than 300 GDM churches with a membership of anywhere in between 40 to 50 thousand.¹²

Among the accomplishments of the GDM, the Mission High School at Narsapur was an outstanding example. Hardly three years after the arrival of the GDM pioneers, George Beer established the Narsapur School in 1839. The motto of the school was "Bear the Cross – Wear the Crown". Beer himself managed the affairs of the School until his sudden death in 1853. Mrs. Beer took over charge, ran the school until 1861, and handed it to her son John William Beer who was barely 18 years old at that time.

John Beer developed the School into an Anglo-vernacular school with an enrollment of 200 pupils. He mastered Telugu language and managed the school until 1894. Then his brother Charles Beer held the reigns until 1903 and passed on the management to E. B. Bromley who developed it to the level of a middle school by

1921. Bromley, besides administrating the Narsapur School, was also taking care of 60 smaller schools in the villages.¹³

Jeevan Jyothi Press was started in Chagallu in 1928 by Charles Adams and functioned there for 40 years before it was moved to Narsapur in 1969. After Adams death in 1949 it was managed successively by Kevin Osborne, Miss. G. Rogers, Miss Wright and then David Dren. In 1969 the Press was handed over to a native Indian, K. Wilson and at his instance, moved to Narsapur. A great deal of Telugu Christian literature has been produced in this Press besides publication of Telugu Christian Magazine, Rayabari, of which Wilson is the Editor.¹⁴

The American Lutheran Mission (ALM)

The beginnings of the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church (AELC) can be traced to the evangelistic zeal of the European Lutherans who migrated from Germany to the United States of America. Several factors such as war and the resultant frustrating economic conditions, the desire from escaping religious persecution and the news of a land flowing with milk and honey where one can live in freedom, peace and worship God in all the grandeur encouraged Germans to migrate to New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey areas of the United States in thousands.¹⁵ Since the Pastors who migrated were too insignificant to meet the religious and spiritual demands of thousands of migrated Germans and other Europeans, requests for pastoral help in churches as well as schools poured into England and Germany. As years passed by, the Lutheran Churches in America also realized that they could not solely depend on Europe for Pastors and therefore, started their efforts toward the establishment of Seminaries at Gettysburg and Pennsylvania in 1826 to train Pastors and also in order to preserve and protect the identity, spent their resources in organizing a General Synod. The first Convention of the General Synod which met on October 22, 1820 was given the mandate to impart theological education and training to the Seminaries and Missionary institutions.¹⁶ The news of the activities of the Mission in foreign lands ignited so much interest and enthusiasm on Mission Enterprise that in the 1833 Convention of the General Synod, a Committee was appointed to prepare a report the Mission to present at the

next Convention that was scheduled to meet in 1835. Fascinated by the Report, the Convention that met in October of 1835, organized the 'Central Missionary Society' and one of its emphases was to send Missionaries as soon as possible to the 'heathen' lands.¹⁷ Sometime in 1836, the appeals from C. L. E. Rhenius of Tinnalvely in India and Frederick Gitzlaff of Chnas for volunteers to start Lutheran Missions evoked positive response from America and a Convention of Ministerium of the Pennsylvania General Synod was convened on June 9, 1941 and decided to establish its own Mission and asked John Christian Friederick Heyer as the first Missionary to proceed to India and start a Lutheran Mission in that country. Heyer's wife died on January 13, 1839 and the grown-up children of Heyer who were capable of looking after themselves were positive signals for Heyer to accept the offer.¹⁸

Father Heyer, as John Christian Friederick Heyer is affectionately called in India and in America, sailed from Boston on October 15, 1941 at the age of 48 and arrived in Madras on April 16, 1842. He arrived at Nellore on May 23rd. From Nellore, Stephen van Husen of the American Baptist Mission accompanied him in seeking for a suitable location to carry on his work. They travelled to Ongole, and later to Guntur, arriving there on July 31, 1842.¹⁹ At Guntur, they were given a very warm welcome by Henry Stokes, the then Collector for the British Government in Guntur District.

Guntur is the Headquarters of AELC and from there Heyer reached out to Prathipadu, Nallapadu and Kothapeta and disciple and baptizing a few people. Rev. Heyer coupled his evangelistic activities with educational efforts and started his first school in 1844 AT Guntur and later at Prathipadu, Nallapadu and Kothapeta. In 1855 Robert J. Wolf started a College and provided higher education facilities in the Guntur area.

In 1881 Miss Kate Boggs came to Guntur and did much towards the welfare of women. Then in 1883 Dr. Aannah Sarah Kugler came and started her medical work and laid the foundation for the now famous Kugler Hospital.²⁰ She died in 1930 in Guntur after 47 years of medical service to the people of Guntur. Anna Kugler received from the Viceroy of India the Silver *Kaiser-i-Hind* medal in recognition of

her services.²¹ John Aberley started a Bible Training School in Guntur for the training of pastors for the Lutheran Churches.

In 1920, the Andhra Christian College was founded. J. Roy Strock²² was the first Principal. In 1950 the first Indian Christian disciple, T. S. Paulus was appointed as the Principal and he distinguished himself as an outstanding educationalist and disciplinarian shaping the College to prominence, that it became the alma mater for many of the outstanding leaders in Andhra Pradesh today.²³

The AELC opened centres at Chirala, Sathenapalli, Bapatla, Bhimavaram, Dhawaleswaram, Rajole, Tarlupadu, Korukonda, Kovvuru, Polavaram, Markapuram, Cumbum, Narasaraopet, Vinukonda, Palnadu, Rentachintala, Repalli, Tenali, Tanuku, Parvathipuram and Rajahmundry. In all these places, the missionaries built schools as well as churches. Besides the well known Kugler Hospital in Guntur AELC opened similar hospitals at Rajahmundry, Chirala, Tarlupadu, Bhimavaram, and Rentachintala and Ankalaandem.²⁴ They also built hostels in Kovvuru, Narasaraopet, Tenali and Rajahmundry and a Higher Grade Training School at Narasaraopet, which was opened in 1946.²⁵ In Rentachintala the Missionaries started a Special School for the Blind in 1911 and taught Braille to many Christian as well as non-Christian youth, both boys and girls.²⁶

The North German Missionary Society has established a mission at Rajahmundry in 1845 under missionary valet. It transferred its properties to American Lutheran Church in 1851 because of the financial problems it faced. A Teacher Training School was opened. Rajahmundry also was the home of Luthergiri a Theological Training School for men – from 1850 to 1971, which in 1972 merged with the B.D. section of the Ramapatnam Baptist Theological Seminary to form the Andhra Christian Theological Seminary and then relocated to Secunderabad as the Andhra Christian theological College.²⁷

Thus, the missionaries who came to Andhra Pradesh exhibited an exemplary life of godly living among the local people. They braved hardships for the gospel and toiled to bring the betterment of the lives of the people. They brought reforms through their education and teachings. Through their lives and mission works, many men and women from Andhra Pradesh became Christians who brought many souls to Christ. They forsook their own and faced difficulties in witnessing for Christ. Their faiths laid the foundations of Christianity in Andhra Pradesh. Through the efforts of local Christians, many schools and colleges came into existence, which brought new stimulus of thinking into the lives of Telugu people.

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MOBILISATION AGAINST TEMPLE ENTRY LEGISLATIONS: MALABAR EXPERIENCE (1938-1947)

P. Priya

Traditional Kerala Society was a hierarchical caste ridden one. Efforts against caste disabilities began as part of social reform movement and the national movement. Gandhian nationalist agenda concentrated on granting temple entry to all castes. The Guruvayur satyagraha (1931)¹ organised by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) in 1931 however did not lead to the temple being open to all castes. After the assumption of power by Congress Ministry in Madras (1937), legislative attempts to ensure temple entry were begun. This was not a smooth affair, as there were opposition to such efforts. In historiography, such counter mobilisations are seldom considered. This paper attempts to such efforts.

The caste system is an in egalitarian and deeply oppressive system. It is a segmentary system in which people view themselves as belonging to units of different orders.² Hierarchic gradation, social and other inequalities, endogamy, restrictions on dining, and the lack of freedom regarding the choice of vocation were the principal features of the caste system.³ Caste was propelled by the ideology of hierarchy which in turn, was based on the religious principle of purity and pollution.⁴ Caste, in as much as it is manifested in prohibitions on

intermarriage, eating together and other forms of bodily communication, can be regarded as a specific instance of broader cultural notions about ritual purity and pollution.⁵ Caste system is a prime example of a closed form of an ascription- based system of stratification; it is not as if mobility did not even occur in Indian History.⁶ As Ambedkar observes, important feature of caste is graded inequality. Caste being a hierarchical system he used the simile of a pyramid to describe it. That pyramid attributes reverence for those who are going higher to the top and imposes contempt for those going down to the bottom.⁷

The social system of Malabar in the 19th century was well-entrenched in the principle of caste and kinship. In the lower strata of the caste-based society were the depressed castes like *Pulayas* or *Cherumars*, *Parayas*, *Nayadis* etc.⁸ They were subjected to exploitation and humiliation by the upper classes. Sanal Mohan observes, 'In Kerala Society, untouchable communities such as *Pulayas* and *Parayas* were spaced within the structure of power and dominance that was determined by the peculiar caste formation. They occupied the lowest stratum of society, performing socially necessary labour, outside the realm of ritual purity and significance.'⁹ In the colonial accounts, they were

referred to as slave castes and they were bought and sold along with land. They were referred to as agrestic or chattel slaves and their social mobility and life were determined by their status as slaves.¹⁰

The members of polluting castes had to keep themselves at the prescribed distances from those of upper castes.¹¹ They were denied admission to the roads in proximity to the temples and the houses of Caste Hindus. William Logan observes, 'Both men and women are still afraid to avail themselves of the privilege of using the public roads, in passing from one part of the country to another they tramp along through the marshes in mud, and wet often up to their waists, rather than risk the displeasure of their lords and masters by accidentally polluting them while using the public roads.'¹²

The Depressed classes did not have right of temple entry. The system of praying in temple was also fixed according to the caste-hierarchy. Most of the roads near the temples were exclusively for the upper castes.

II

Malabar was the nerve centre of national movement in Kerala. People in Malabar were very much watchful of and influenced by the political developments outside the province. The growth of Indian National Congress and its political activities were represented in Malabar by the educated middle classes.¹³

The year 1919 witnessed the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the Indian National movement. Gandhian constructive works were the promotion of khadi and spinning, national education and Hindu-Muslim unity, the struggle against untouchability and the boycott of foreign cloth.¹⁴ It brought much needed relief to the poor; it promoted the process of nation-in the making; and it made the urban based upper caste cadres familiar with the conditions of villages and lower castes.¹⁵

The nationalist agitation against untouchability and other social evils acquired a sense of direction during the Gandhian era.¹⁶ Gandhi correctly perceived the political importance of the struggle against untouchability. According to him, 'Swaraj was not attainable without the removal of untouchability'.¹⁷ Gandhi believed that

untouchability was essentially and exclusively a problem of caste Hindus and the untouchables were merely their helpless victims. Untouchability was a 'sin' against God and man and a poison slowly eating into the very vitals of Hinduism and was violative of human spirit.¹⁸ Gandhi remarked, 'Temple entry is a spiritual act, transforming the whole society by single act of admission.'¹⁹ Gandhi made it clear in 1933 that untouchables' access to temples was the key for the removal of untouchability in India.

Soon Malabar also plunged in to the vortex of an active movement inspired and led by Mahatma Gandhi. Congress now began to involve more and more into social constructive activities. The Congress workers now turned towards the propagation of Khadi and anti-untouchability campaigns.

Such campaigns generated notions of 'public' and under privileged sections, to gain greater social mobility, began to see tanks and ponds associated with temples as 'public' ones. They claimed that as citizens, they had a right to 'use' these tanks and ponds. Such claims were however contested.²⁰ Many temple entry movements and campaigns were started. Vaikom satyagraha and Guruvayur satyagraha was looked upon in this perspective.²¹ Guruvayur Satyagraha began on 1 November 1931 and it demanded entry for untouchables into the Guruvayur temple and also called for the abolition of untouchability.

III

When the Congress Ministry came to power in 1937 under the premiership of C. Rajagopalachari, attempts to legislate on temple entry were made. Rajagopalachari initially supported the idea of a Temple Entry Bill proposed by M.C. Raja in January 1938. The Act paved the way for entry of Harijans in temples in the Malabar regions if the caste Hindus in the particular area did not object to it. On 1 December 1938, C. Rajagopalachari introduced the 'Malabar Temple Entry Bill' in the Assembly.²² It was passed in the Assembly on 13 December 1938. It received the consent of the Governor on 18 January 1939. Its aim was to remove the disabilities imposed by custom and usage on certain classes of Hindus in respect of their entry into and offering worship in the Hindu temples.²³

The Bill states that there has been a growing volume of opinion demanding the removal of disabilities imposed by custom and usage on certain classes of Hindus in respect of their entry into and offering worship in the temples. There is no jurisdiction for resisting this demand after the recent extension in the Travancore state of the rights and privileges of entry and worship in all the important Hindu temples to classes which had hitherto been excluded.²⁴

On hearing the news of the introduction of the Malabar Temple Entry Bill in the Assembly, the Zamorin of Calicut sent a Memorandum on the Bill to the authorities. Zamorin in the memorandum argued that no one should have authority to claim entry into the temples which were being private property.²⁵ This argument of the Zamorin reveals that his desire was to preserve the temples as private property under his supreme power. The caste Hindus formed an organisation known as the 'Malabar Temple Security Committee' for opposing the Malabar Temple Entry Bill. On 28 November 1938, a deputation of the Malabar Temple security committee consulted prime Minister C. Rajagopalachari and submitted a memorandum to him for preventing the Bill.²⁶ The Prime Minister's reply did not find favour with them.

The conservatives also held a conference at Palghat on 24-26 February 1939 under the presidentship of the then Zamorin.²⁷ The Zamorin made a speech condemning the granting of temple entry in Travancore through a Proclamation, and praised the Maharaja of Cochin as the defender of Dharma. K. Kelappan got an invitation to this conference but he did not participate as he thought that it was a sin to attend such a conference.²⁸

The Madras Temple Entry Authorisation And Indemnity Act of 1939

On 17 July 1939, the Governor of Madras issued an ordinance known as the Madras Temple Entry Indemnity Ordinance of 1939.²⁹ In the wake of referendum in regard to Temple Entry Bill, the Harijans entered the Sri Meenakshi temple at Madura in Madras on July 1939.³⁰ This act from the side of the trustees of Madura Meenakshi temple, created some resistance from a section among the public people in Madras and there was possibility of legal action, against the

trustees. So the Madras Government prepared a bill to preserve such kind of trustees, known as the Temple Entry indemnity Act of 1939 immediately after the Harijan temple entry at Madura.³¹ The Madras legislature was not in session at this time. So the Governor of Madras issued an ordinance on 17 July 1939 known as the Madras Temple Entry Indemnity Ordinance, 1939 when the matter was presented before him.³² In his speech on 21 July at the meeting held at Congress House in Madras, C.Rajagopalachari stated that it was the strength of Congress Ministry which was revealed through the ordinance.³³

On 31 August the Prime Minister presented the Bill in the Madras Legislative Assembly and told that this bill was brought to the assembly for performing the promise of Hindus, who have taken it through signing the Poona Pact (for socio-religious reform of Hindus) on 24 September 1932.³⁴ The Temple Entry Indemnity bill was passed by the Assembly on 4 August.³⁵ The Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act, 1939 (Madras Act XXII of 1939, contains a provisions which enables trustees or other authorities in charge of temples, with the approval of Government, to throw them open to the excluded classes of the Hindu Community; whenever they are satisfied that the general Hindu Public is not opposed to that step.

This act resulted in the opening of only a few temples in Madras and a few in Malabar. The following reference cited from the Fort St. George Gazette states that 'the trustees of the Sri. Krishna Swami and Sri Kadakkavu temples at Kothakurusi in the Malabar District, the worshippers of the temples were generally not opposed to the removal of the disability imposed by custom or usage on certain classes of Hindus in regard to entry and offer worship in the temples and so they were opened for all.³⁶

Both Acts, the Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act and Religious Disabilities Removal Act would be helpful to remove the disabilities of untouchables in Malabar to some extent, but these two acts could not have resolved the temple entry problem with all its aspects. Some instances like the prohibition of Harijan procession on the Kizhoor Road near Kizhoor Siva temple in Payyoli shows that the

Temple Entry Disabilities Removal Act was not successful in the removal of disabilities.³⁷

The Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1947

The Malabar Temple Entry became a truth on 2 June 1947. It was through the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1947 that British Malabar got temple entry to the lower castes. The Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Bill got the consent of the Governor General on 11 May 1947. It was passed on 13 May 1947.³⁸ But the Bill became an Act on 2 June 1947. The purpose of the temple entry Bill was to authorise entry into Hindu temples in the province of Madras and the offer of worship therein by certain classes of Hindus who by custom or usage are excluded from such entry and worship. The provincial government aimed to remove the disabilities imposed by custom or usage on certain classes of Hindus against entry into temples in the Province which are open to the general Hindu public. It extended to the whole of Madras.³⁹

The existing provision Malabar Temple Entry Act of 1938 is however inadequate, as the Government can not take the initiative but have to wait until the trustees of other authorities in charge of a temple take the first step and apply to Government for approval. Government became helpless wherever a trustee takes up a negative attitude and refuses to obey the people's will.⁴⁰ The Bill makes it clear that the depressed classes will hereafter have a right to enter any temple which is open to the Hindu public generally and offer worship therein in the same manner and to the same extent as other classes of Hindus. In particular, the excluded classes will have the same right to bathe in sacred tanks and wells adjacent to temples and the same right of passage over any sacred place (including hills or hillocks and roads, streets and path ways) as other classes of Hindus.

The trustees or other authorities in charge of a temple will however have power to make regulations for the maintenance of order and decorum and the due observance of rites and ceremonies in the temples, provided only that such regulations do not discriminate against the excluded classes in any way; and to ensure this result, the power to make regulations have been made subject to the control of Government and

to any rules made by them. Provision has also been made for the punishment of any one who prevents a member of the excluded classes from exercising the right conferred by the Bill or who molests or obstructs such a member in the exercise of such right. Both the Malabar Temple Entry Act, 1938 (Madras Act XX of 1938) and Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act, 1939 (Madras Act XXII of 1939) were repealed.

The Malabar Temple Entry Welcome Committee which was formed on 31 May 1947 at Guruvayoor under the presidentship of Kiduvath Krishnan Nair made arrangements for celebrating the temple entry on 2 June 1947. On the morning of that day, a public meeting was held at Guruvayoor and Kelappan, U.Gopalamenon and V.J. Raman led the devotees to the temple.⁴¹ On 2 June 1947, all the temples in Malabar were thrown open to all castes. The Mathrubhumi wrote in its editorial on 1 June 1947 (Titled Temple Entry) that, it had played an important part for the removal of untouchability and temple entry agitation; and had given leadership to the whole India in this matter which is prestigious for the Malayalies.⁴² Thus, finally after taking a long time, the temple entry struggle became a reality. One of the main leaders, K. Kelappan made an aphorism regarding the temple entry Act; the social evil which crusified lakhs and lakhs of Hindus for centuries has now finally rebuked. He emotionally hoped after the vindication that a myriad of ostracised communities in Malabar will now be permitted to enter inside the temple.⁴³ It would seem that the passage was a smooth one. But it was not so. There were counter mobilisations which sought to prevent the passage of such legislations.

IV

The Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation did not make the Zamorin favourable to temple entry in Malabar. The Zamorin had no wishes to change the existing customs and usages in temples. On hearing the news of the Travancore Temple Entry proclamation, the Zamorin said that the Travancore Maharaja had freedom to give temple entry right to his subjects; but he was only a trustee of the temples which were under the supervision of Hindu Religious Endowment Board.⁴⁴

When the Malabar temple entry act was passed, the caste Hindus raised banner against it. They filed exemption suits to nullify the effect of the Temple entry act. A number of suits filed in the civil courts attempting to nullify the effect of the Temple Entry Act.⁴⁵ Majority of the temples submitted petitions for exemption from the operation of the act. These petitions were submitted by *Uralars* (temple proprietors) of the temples. Most of them were Brahmins. They filed petitions in the district courts also. Govt. of Madras made an enquiry and rejected most of the petitions as most of the temples came under the purview of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Act II of 1927 which were included in the Madras temple Entry Act of 1947.

When the act was passed, there were attempts from Congress workers, Communists and Harijan Sewak Sangh to enter the temples. Taluk Harijan Samaj of Kurumbranad *amsom* sent a circular to the trustees of Sri Panthalayini temple that the Harijans proposed to enter the temple on 12 December 1947. On that day around 100 Harijans came to enter the temple. But the temple authorities opposed them with the help of the police. Then they held a protest meeting.⁴⁶

After the Madras Temple Entry Act came into force, under the auspices of the Village Congress Committee, many youngsters entered the Parappurath Sri Krishna temple in exercise of the privilege granted under the said legislation. The *Uralan* thereupon filed a criminal case against 16 persons. After this he closed the temple. Then the general public sent a petition to the Government.⁴⁷ The *Uralars* of Sri Janardhana temple at Amaravathy, Cochin filed an exemption suit claimed that the Devaswam under which the temple comes is private, belonging to the Shetty community.⁴⁸

Most of the temple *Uralars* claimed that concerned temples were private temples were founded by their ancestors, they were sole *Uralan* of the temple, temples do not get any income from offerings made by the general Hindu public. The temple had no income by way of offerings by the Hindu public. There were also no properties endowed by the Hindu public.

The *Uralars* of Sri Moonnumurti Temple, Trikkatteri *amsom*, Walluvanad Taluk submitted a petition against the temple entry. They

complained that by reason of Act V of 1947, members of Hindu public who were not entitled to enter and worship had entered and worshipped without any reference to cleanliness, decorum or propriety. Daily poojas were interrupted and the people who come were mostly mischief makers carrying flags and shouting slogans.⁴⁹

Panniyur temple in Koodallur *amsom*, Ponnani taluk submitted an exemption petition from the operation of the act.⁵⁰ The *Uralars* of Kandamanasala Madam, Meppayur, Kurumbranad taluk submitted a petition for the exemption of Temple and tank. In the petition, the petitioner argues that the tank and temple are purely family property. The public has no right of worship or any other right over it.⁵¹ Many criminal cases also filed in this time. When temple entry act was passed, many youngsters entered the temples and took bath in tanks irrespective of caste barriers. But many caste Hindus filed cases against them. *Jenmi* of Kandamanasala Madam sent a petition. He filed a criminal case against a group of local young men who entered the temple as per the Act.⁵² Rama Varma Valiya Raja claimed that Parappurath Sri Krishna temple, Naduvattam *amsom* was his private property, and so the general public had no right to enter and worship in the temple.⁵³

Kalluvazhi temple at Moothedath Matamba *amsom*, Valluvanad taluk, sent a petition and filed suit against the Act. *Uralan* of the temple, Vallur Manakkal Akkiran Nambudiri, sent a petition.⁵⁴ The Trustee of Sri Krishnamurthi and Ayyappan temples at Karumanasseri village in Palghat Taluk filed petition for exemption on the ground that these temples were private temples belonging to Brahmin householders of the village. This claim was granted.⁵⁵ The *Uralars* of Sri Ongallur Taliyil Ganapathi Temple, Kalladipetta, Walluvanad taluk submitted petition for exemption. They were *Nambudiris* and *Karavans* of respective *illams*. They claimed that it was founded by their ancestors for their private worship.⁵⁶ The *Uralars* of Sri Kodivalliyotte temple, Mullakurissi *amsom* at Pattikkad in Walluvanad taluk⁵⁷ and *Uralars* of Sri Perumangod temple, Sri Krishnapuram *amsom*, Walluvanad taluk submitted petitions.⁵⁸

Kalliyambath Kunhiraman Nair submitted a petition for the exemption of Sri Panthalayini

temple, Panthalayini amsom, Kurumbranad taluk, from the operation of the act. It was granted on the ground of family temple.⁵⁹ Sri Chethallur Temple, Chethallur *amsom* of Walluvanad taluk,⁶⁰ Trustees of Tripatta Siva Temple of Katikad Amsom in Ponnani taluk argued that this temple was their ancestral property for the exclusive use of their family. Even members of caste Hindu public can not enter without permission.⁶¹ The *Uralars* of Sri Moonnumrthy Temple, Trikkatteri *amsom*, Walluvanad Taluk also submitted petition. They also claimed that the properties of the temple were gifted by their families.⁶²

Urala Nambudiris of Sri Pachayil and Ayyampilli temples, Mannampatta amsom, Walluvanad taluk,⁶³ Nambudiri Chemmankuzhi temple, Ezhuvanthalala amsom, Walluvanad taluk,⁶⁴ Sri Dakshinamurthi temple, Sukapuram Ponnani taluk,⁶⁵ Chethallore temple in Walluvanad taluk and Koozhakode temple, Chooloor amsom, Calicut taluk, Sri Venkita Thevar Temple situated in Kottakkal *amsom*, Ernad taluk -filed cases for the exemption from the operation of the Act and also submitted petitions.⁶⁶ They claimed that there was no *inam* in the temple and there were no properties endowed to the Hindu public. There was no *bhandararam* (treasury) and flag staff.⁶⁷

There was a dispute regard to the use of temple and tank within the compound of the palace of the Zamorin of Calicut. The palace is in a compound of about 90 acres enclosed by wall and fence. There were two temples within the compound. A Bhagavathi temple near the palace building. This is private and there was no dispute. A Vishnu temple and tank outside the palace building but within the compound. The present compound was enclosed and the palace and other buildings were constructed about 1920. Prior to that there was no special headquarters for the Zamorin. At that time the Vishnu temple was in ruins. It was rebuilt by the Zamorin in 1928. The Zamorin now claimed that it was reconstructed exclusively for worship by the Zamorin and his family. There can be no doubt that before the present compound was occupied by the Zamorin, the temple and tank were used by the public.

Leaders of Malabar Temple Entry Council of Action like K. Kelappan, V. I. Raman, Chandu and V.N.Raman intervened in this issue and

demanded to open the tank and temple to the public. But Zamorin claimed it as his own property.⁶⁸

Kizhakke Kovilakath Viyathan Sreedevi alias Valiya Thampuratti sent a petition to the Provincial government of Madras requested to exempt from this act on the argument that temple is a private one.⁶⁹ The Kovilakam then obtained an order from the Govt. (G.O. No. 77 dated 13 December 1947) prohibiting non-caste Hindus from entering the temple till the suit was decided. The Kovilakam took advantage of this order not only to prohibit non-caste Hindus from entering the temple but also to prevent them from using the road in front of the temple. At that time Kottakkal Pothu Jana Temple Entry Committee sent a petition to the Govt. demanding to open the temple to the public.⁷⁰

However there were 'reformed' trustees of temples who own their own opened temples under their control for all. For example Kadathanad Valiya Raja opened the historic Lokanaravu (Vatakara) to all on the 16 October 1946. Nationalists like K. Kelappan and K. A.D amodara Menon were present on the occasion.⁷¹

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be seen that caste consciousness is deeply entrenched in the society. It cannot be eradicated by a single temple entry campaign, an administrative act or legislation. It requires 'daily struggles' leading to a 'cultural revolution.' However prohibition of temple entry is a 'visible' oppressive practice which could be removed through an agitation or legislation went a long way of eradiating traditional practices. It undoubtedly had a deep ideological impact. But it would be erroneous to conclude that such actions would lead to a 'change of heart'.

In contrast to the counter mobilisations made earlier during the Guruvayur satyagraha which quoted 'smriti', 'sruthi' and such religious texts in the later period, the opposition was made on the basis of 'ancient practice', traditions and social customs. Claims of temples being private properties were also made to get exemption from the Act. This 'gain' could definitely can attribute to mobilisations against caste disabilities. The oppositions to temple entry by the time of India's independence had become weak as the opponents relied on administrative

and judicial machinery to prevent the working of the Act. This was a far cry from 1931.

When there were daily public meetings against temple entry, demonstrations and

sloganeering. But 'complete social justice' remained a distant dream. The application of notions of 'power' as propounded by Michel Foucault is relevant in this context.

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METHAN: UNRAVELLING THE IDENTITY FORMATION AND STRATIFICATION OF THE MUSLIMS IN COLONIAL TRAVANCORE

T. Sakhariya

Introduction

In colonial Travancore, the term *Methan* / *Methar* was widely used by the people, especially upper class, knowingly or unknowingly in their day to day life, to denote the Muslim community, especially the native Muslims other than foreign origin Muslims like the Ravuthars¹ or Pattanis². Some of the official records, literature and popular art forms of the erstwhile Travancore - some record it as a suffix to individuals - represent the Muslims as *Methan*. This term referring to a religious sect or sub castes among the Muslims, appeared in the official records of Travancore quite early but gradually disappeared from the records but it continues to remain the minds of the people. The origin of the term is shrouded in obscurity. The available records say that, they were the native Muslims, who were either the descendants of the Arab traders or got converted under their influence. Nonetheless, the term *Methan* became a stigmatized identity for the Muslims of Colonial Travancore. This research paper is a genuine venture to explore the origin of the Muslim sub group / sub caste of the colonial period - whether they had a stigmatized identity, how it assumed popularity and why it disappeared or got assimilated with the mainstream.

The understanding of identity as a topic of cultural studies, to a great extent, derived from the studies of Stuart Hall. According to Hall, "Identity is a structural representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eyes of

the negative".³ However, the identities can be divided into categories, and categorization, being an integral part of human behaviour, only helps to understand one another and to maintain social and moral order.⁴ The colonial intruders, especially the British and their native associates created, used and popularized the term *Methan*⁵ / *Meitars*⁶ / *Methar*⁷ like a caste / sub caste among the Muslims of the erstwhile Travancore⁸ and Cochin.⁹ The *Methan*, a stigmatized identity in many respects, has its roots shrouded in mystery. As Dr. Imtiaz Ahmad asserts, "Islamic societies throughout the world, despite the unity imposed upon them by a common adherence to a universal religion, have both the potential and the possibility of creating a distinctive pattern of belief shaped and ordered by their temporal and environmental conditions".¹⁰ The academicians use different names / terms to denote the pre-reformed phase of the Muslims in different regions of the world such as the *Census Muslims*, *Folk Islam*, *Popular Islam*, *Lived Islam*, *Nominal Islam*, etc. However, these categories were sons of the soil and etched their own social identities in various regions during their lifetime and these categories, in the course of time got purified by Islamization. Yet, some of their indigenous features remained long after they got assimilated into Islam. These imagined communities borrowed the local rituals and beliefs of the land. Benedict Anderson remarks, in these Islamic Ummah, as such an imagined community, stratification can be seen only in the holy language and scripts.¹¹

Who were the Methans¹² ?

A group of the Muslims like the *Mappilas* / *Moplahs* of Malabar lived in the Travancore - Cochin regions with Shafi School of Islamic jurisprudence¹³. This group of Muslims, during the colonial period, borrowed the identity of *Methan*, a stigmatized one.¹⁴ Rev. Samuel Mateer, a missionary of the London Mission Society, published a book in London, titled *the Land of Charity* (1871). In this book, he narrated the life of the native people of Travancore, and stated that, among the Muslim Community, there were sub divisions like Tulukkan¹⁵, *Mappilas* (Moplahs) and *Methan*. He admitted regarding the meaning of the word *Methan*, 'of which I have never been able to ascertain'.¹⁶ However, after a few years, Rev. Mateer wrote another book titled *Native life in Travancore* (1883) in which he stated that, "just like the hereditary village headman of the Maratha region- *Mehtar*¹⁷, the term was used to denote the influential Muslims in the land of Travancore. The title *Methan* was given to a Mohammedan merchant of Povar¹⁸ and later the term was used by the group as politely called".¹⁹ The Mohammedan of Povar, Pokmoosa Marakkar might be the merchant, had been given the title '*Mether*'. He was also the patron of the first Dewan of Travancore, Raja Kesavadas and was an intimate friend of Marthanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore. But, there is no historical evidence regarding the award of the title. The Malayalam Lexicon - *Sabdatharavali* of Sreekanteswaram Padmanabhan also stated that, the name *Methan* was used to denote the Tulukkans²⁰ and it derived from the Persian word 'Mehtar'. (However, Tulukkans, a group that followed the Hanafi School of jurisprudence²¹ and had Tamil as their mother tongue, is not mentioned as *Methan* in any of the historical documents). In 1841, Rev. Joseph Peet, the CMS missionary of Kottayam compiled a grammar text for Malayalam which depicted *Methan* as a caste sub division among the Muslims of the land.²² The Census Commissioner of Travancore (1931), Dr. N Kunjan Pillai stated in his report that, "the Arab and the Egyptian merchants who came to Kerala after the 7th century AD settled in the coastal areas of Travancore. The descendants of these merchants and the Muslim converts are also known in the name of *Methan*. They use Malayalam as their mother tongue and

follow local customs like matrilineal system of inheritance (*Marumakkathayam*), etc".²³

The early surveys conducted by the British in the state of Travancore and Cochin mentioned the term *Methan* frequently. Nonetheless, the early survey of Cochin from 1810 to 1821 by Lt. Ward and Conner described the Muslims of Cochin as *Jonaghur*²⁴ or *Jonaka Mappila*.²⁵ However, Lt. Ward and Conner had conducted a socio- economic and geographical survey for the state of Travancore (1818 - 1820) in which they depicted the Muslims of the state using various terms such as *Meitars*, *Moors*, *Labbai*, etc. According to Ward and Conner, 'The *Jonakas* are the descendants of the early settlers of the Arabs in the coastal regions of the state of Travancore. They were known as *Meitars* in Travancore'.²⁶ In 1839, an English Geographer, W H Horsley conducted a survey on Travancore titled *Memoir of Travancore*, which mentioned the native Muslims such as *Meithar*. He mentioned that, 'Karunagappalli, a tehsil (Sub District), 13 miles away from Quilon Residency was mainly inhabited by the *Meithars* and have a mosque for them'.²⁷

The rulers of Travancore also had given the title '*Methar*' to the Mohammedans / Muslims of the state. However, they were not influential or elite genre of the society alone, but artisans or skilled performers, so on and so forth. A re-script (*Nettu*²⁸) of the Maharaja of Travancore dated 9th of *Kumbham* 995 M E (1820 C E) stated that, a group of fire workers who enchanted the royal family members, while residing at Quilon (Kollam), were to be given titles and royal offerings by the Diwan Janardhana Rao Venkitta Rao. Some of them were Mohammedans: "...fire workers like *Kunjan Marakkan Kochu Methar* of Kakkazhathu, *Pappu Kunju Kochu Methar* of Purakkad and *Karuppu Kunju*, another *Methan* will be given the umbrella, chain lamp, valour chain and the titles such as *Valiamethar* (Greater *Methan*) and *Kochumethar* (Lesser *Methan*) respectively".²⁹

Etymology of the term *Methan*

An enquiry has been made into the etymology of the Malayalam term '*Methan*', as a separate entity among the Muslims in colonial Travancore. There were a large number of studies regarding the *Mappilas* of Malabar, yet there has been no study on *Methans* as such,

their counterparts in Travancore. As William Logan asserts, the origin of the word *Mappila* is from the Malayalam term, *Maha Pillai* (Great Child).³⁰ Likewise, according to some scholars, the term *Methan* has been derived from '*Meltharam Alkkar*' (great souls) as attributed to the Muslims by the native rulers. However, a doubt naturally arises as to how can a group of lower origin, petty traders, and daily workers like the native Muslims achieve the name that signifies greatness. The reason might be attributed to the transformation that the 'Avarnas' or the lower classes of the society underwent as they got converted to Islam. Since they attained a higher social status due to their conversion to Islam, they came to be called '*Meltharam Alkar*'.

The Savarnas (upper strata of the Hindus), called the Muslims and Christians as *Mlechans* (Impure).³¹ The term *Methan*, according to some scholars, 'is a palatalized version of the *Mlechans* (*impure*)'. Nonetheless, there is very little possibility that a negative term has become the name of a sub caste of a religious community. The term, however, has been in use for quite a while and there are any number of examples to prove its currency among the general public. Thus *Mecher*, a Muslim / Mohammedan deity worshipped in a temple at Kuttanad in Central Travancore, might have earned its name from *Methan*.³² Yet another argument is that the term originated from the Malayalam word *Mel Sthaniyar/ Melthaniyar* (high title holders). However, the *Methans*, Arab descendants and also converted Muslims, were very poor in language and culture and not in a position to be held equal with the upper strata of the community like the Sheik, Sayed, Meman, Pattanis, etc.

The term '*Mohammedan*' was used synonymous to Muslims in the early colonial records. It was during the 18th - 20th centuries, that the European ecclesiastical officials and Christian scholars described Islam as Mahometism, Mahomedanism and Mahometry.³³ The high officials of the state of Travancore were the English educated Brahmins from the Madras and Bombay presidencies. These officials have recorded the name of Muslims as Mahomedans (Mohammedans). From the frequent use of the term Mahomedans, the 'Maho' might have been clipped or lost, making the term *Metans / Medans*. This term

gradually attained currency through literary and other art forms of the land. The term Mahomedans was used to denote the Muslims in English and *Methan* in the Malayalam records of the state of Travancore.³⁴ The feminine *Methachi* (*Methan* womanhood) was also popular.³⁵

Stigmatized Identity of the *Methan* in Malayalam Literature

In Malayalam literature, especially in novels, short stories and plays, the Muslim community in Travancore and Cochin were depicted as *Methans* - a stigmatized identity - especially by the writers who belonged to the upper strata of the society. As the literary works of Malayalam was largely written by high-born writers, their attitude to and treatment of the Muslims was more or less a reflection of their surroundings. For example, the Malayalam novel *Bhranthalayam* (Lunatic Asylum) of P. Kesava Dev published in 1949 depicted the story of partition of India and its incursions in the native states of Travancore and Cochin. His characters sarcastically use the word *Methan / Methachi* (womenfolk of the Muslims) to depict the Muslim characters.³⁶

The *Aithiyamala* (1909) of Kottarathil Sankunni alias Vasudevan depicted the early life and activities of Kayamkulam Kochunni, the Robinhood of Kerala. In his story of Kochunni, it is said that he left his home at an early age and met a Brahmin at Avoor near Kayamkulam and introduced himself as a destitute Mohammedan boy. The Brahmin brings him into a nearby shop – *Valiaveetil peedika* and introduces him as a *Methan* child (*Methachekkan*).³⁷ Nonetheless, the narrative comments of the author as well as the remarks by the characters in the novel are to a very large extent, the result of the socio – political atmosphere prevalent at that time. Like P. Kesava Dev and Kottarathil Sankunni, famous writers such as Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai, M. P. Narayana Pillai, etc. have used the term *Methan* to denote the Muslim characters in their stories.

However, the Hindustani Muslim groups such Pattanis / Dakhnis were the main Muslim characters in the novels of 'Marthanda Varma' and 'Dharma Raja' of C.V. Raman Pillai, because these two historical novels discussed two big shots in the Travancore royal family – Anizham Thirunal Marthanda Varma and Karthika Thirunal Rama Varma. Moreover, the Pattanis

were military officials and medical practitioners, especially of Unani medicine with Hindustani as their mother tongue and they never mingled with the ordinary native Muslims of the region.³⁸

***Methan Mani* (Methan Clock): A Symbol of the Stigmatized Identity**

The identity of the Muslim was stigmatized by using the term *Methan* and this is evident even from the structures built during the colonial as well as monarchical age. *Methan Mani* (a clock tower) near Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple was one of the stigmatized symbols of the condescending attitude. It was during the attack of Mysore on Malabar that a large number of Brahmins fled to the Land of Charity-Travancore. The ruler of Travancore, Karthika Thirunal (Dharma Raja) wholeheartedly welcomed them. It was during that period that Dharma Raja decided to construct a clock tower at the centre of the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple.³⁹ In the clock's dial, a bearded man's head was erected in between two angry goats and at every stroke of twelve in the noon and at midnight; the two goats came together to hit the bearded man. The moaning of the bearded person was a thing to laugh. The Brahmins and the locals called it as *Methan Mani* due to the presence of the bearded man who represented the Mysore intruder Hyder Ali.

As part of the construction of the clock tower, the official records of Travancore (Mathilakam Records, Churuna (Scroll) 1271.2, Leaf 85, M E⁴⁰ 946 Chithira 8) state that, 'On 30th Thai of 945 M E, Muthunayakam of Puthapandi was given a sum of Rupees 400 as remuneration for making two needle, the head of a Methan (bearded man) and the copper dial to the clock'.⁴¹ The head of the bearded man was called Methan by the colonial mind and the local Savaranas (upper caste). Nonetheless, the Maharaja of Travancore had a maternal relation with the Kolathunadu (North of Malabar), an affected princely state of Mysore interlude. According to M.G. Sasibhushan, as revenge to the Mysore ruler Hyder Ali, the Travancore Raja deliberately included the bearded man to insult the Mysore as well the Mohammedans.⁴²

Mohammedan Groups: Unravelling the Identity Formation - Census Speaks

In 1872, the British started Census in India. However, in Travancore, the first census was

held during the reign of Swathi Thirunal. From 1881 onwards, the British started regular census with religion, caste, sub caste, education, literacy, language, health, etc. as their subjects. It was during the period of the British rule that the land was divided into three principalities such as Travancore, Cochin and Malabar and the British conducted the census activities in these native states. In the early Censuses of Travancore (1836 and 1854), the so called Muslims were recorded as Mussalman; but in 1875, they were recorded as Mohammedans.⁴³ The Cochin Census report of 1875 stated that, 'the Jonaka Mappila and Ravuthans were the two groups among the Muslims'. There were also a number of sub groups like Dakhini, Cutchi Memons, Sait, Naina, etc. "Pathans or Pattanis, the descendants of the Afghan Soldiers of the Raja of Travancore residing in the southern part of Cochin" states Mr. Sankaraih, the Census Commissioner of Cochin.⁴⁴

However, the Travancore Census of 1881 reported that, "there were Sunnis, Shias, Wahabi and Faraisi among the Muslims in Travancore. Among the total Muslims (6% of the total population were Muslims) the Sunnies occupied the prominent position".⁴⁵ The commissioner also stated that, there could be a division such as Sheik, Syed, Mughal, Patan, Labbai, Methan, Tulukkan among the Muslims, but no such efforts came from the side of the officials.⁴⁶ However, the Census of 1891 traced 28 sub-groups among the Muslims.⁴⁷ Among them, the Methans occupied the first position by numerical strength with 54086.⁴⁸ The main centres of the group were Karunagappaly (14244), Quilon (11741), Karthikappally (6851) and Chirayinkil (5597). These tehsils (sub districts) were the centres of medieval maritime trade with the Arabs/ Muslims.

By 1901, the Muslim groups of Travancore rose to 47 sub-groups.⁴⁹ They were Afghan, Alima, Ambi, Arab, Ashabi, Bora, Chinese, Fakhir, Faroshi, Hamdeyi, Hindi, Islam, Ismail, Jamat, Jonakan, Cutch, Khan, Labbai, Malabari, Mappila, Mali, Moula, Memman, Methan, Mughal, Muthali, Ostha, Pailman, Pathan, Panyar, Pilathi, Rajasbaniya, Ravuthan, Salyya, Sakhi, Sharibha, Sayed, Sheikh, Shngsha, Sikh, Sindh, Singhali, Thangal, Tharakan, Thulukkan, Weiz.⁵⁰ Of these sub castes, *Methan* occupied the largest number (55214). The other sub castes, however, came

from North - West India were mainly occupational groups too. The upper caste like the Nairs, as per the Census of Report (1901) had as much as 116 sub-groups; the Elavas (Ezhava) also held 33 sub castes excluding 13 sub divisions of the sub castes; the Pulayas and the Parayas held 80 and 64 sub castes respectively.⁵¹ In 1911, the population of the Muslims comes to 2, 26,617; the Jonakan, Mappila, Labbai, Methan, Pathan, Ravuthan, Sayed, Sheik and Tulukkan held the sub castes of the total population of the Muslims. The majority of them were the *Methan* (66864 souls) mainly concentrated in the seven Taluks of the State of Travancore: Vilavankode, Trivandrum, Chirayinkil, Kollam, Karunagappally, Kottarakkara, Karthikappally.⁵² In the census of 1921, the Muslims were categorized as seven major groups and 30 minor groups. These seven groups were the Jonakas, Labbai, Mughal, Pathan, Ravuthan, Thulukkan, Methan and the minor groups comprised only below ten thousand of the total Muslim population. The numerical strength of the Methan (89209) was high and they lived in the Central division of Travancore with Quilon, Chirayinkil, Karunagappay taluks. The Census of Cochin (1921) stated that the Muslims of the state comprised of the Bohra, Hanabhi, Jonakan, Cutchi, Pattan, Sheik, Syed and Shafi groups. Among them, Shafi group (1140) represented the Methans of Travancore.

In 1931, the population of the Muslims came up to 3, 53,274 and majority of them were the Sunnies. Among the Sunnies, twelve castes have been categorized into four groups. They were the Cutchi Memons, the Malabar Muslims (the Jonaka Mappila, the Methan and the Thangal); the Tamil Muslims (the Tulukkans, the Ravuthans and the Labbais) and the Northern Indian Muslims (the Dakhinis, the Sheik, the Mughals and the Sayeds).⁵³ In this category the Methans were included in the native groups of the Malabar Muslims. However, the Muslims of Cochin decided to represent them as a single category as Muslims of the state.⁵⁴ So they were reluctant to be represented using different names and obliging their request, the government accepted it in the Census Report of 1931. This was followed in the next Census in Travancore (1941) and the caste notation was avoided in the followed Census Reports.

Where Have the Methans Gone?

The petty traders of coastal regions, the *Methans*, later migrated to the inland also. The trade of spices flourished from coastal to hilly tracts of the state of Travancore and naturally they prospered owing to the trade. The European interventions had also curtailed the trade activities of the Arabs and the native Mappilas and Methans. The formation of the ports like Alappuzha and Poonthura promoted their trade and they became financially sound. Their life became steady after their migration to Straits Settlements (Malaya and Singapore) and Gulf countries. In later days after the integration of princely states and thereby the formation of modern Kerala, the Methan sub caste vanished from the records and existed only in the literary forms and arts forms especially dramas and cinemas. It however remained in the popular mind. In 1927, the Cochin government due to representations from the Muslims enacted laws to eliminate the term Mohammedan and instead, began to use the term Muslim. In 1943, the Travancore Government also recommended to change the designation of the Mohammedan Inspector of Schools as the Muslim Educational Officer.⁵⁵

Nonetheless, the Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) had designated the Methans in their publication as the Shafi Muslims. In 1998, they published three volumes 'People of India, National Series – India's Communities' under the editorship of K S Singh, which depicted around 280 Muslim communities in India. Among them, they mentioned a group of Sunni Muslims in Kerala with the title 'Muslim Shafi' as: 'a group of people who lived in the districts of former Travancore and Cochin states, with Malayalam as their mother tongue and worked as coolies, agricultural labourers, petty traders, etc. and they followed the Shafi school of jurisprudence.⁵⁶ It was also mentioned by another book of ASI published in 2004, that the life and culture of the *Methans* in the colonial Travancore such as Muslim Shafis were different from those of the Mappilas of Malabar⁵⁷, and they had the traditional prefixes like *Kunju, Kannu, Kutty*, etc.⁵⁸ Their marriage rites and attire especially their dressing style, etc. were different from those of the *Methans*.

The Muslims of the native origin rapidly changed in the course of time by migration to

other countries especially Malaya peninsula (The Straight Settlement) and the Gulf countries. There was also a social mobility among the native Muslims to improve their social status. They tried to mingle with other Muslim communities and assimilate the rites and rituals

including their ardent religious beliefs. This rapid change among the native Muslims brought about radical changes in the community, described by Imtiaz Ahmed as 'Ashrafisation'⁵⁹, which cleaned up the native identity notations, but retained enough of the contemporary society.

Notes and References

1. The Ravuthers (Rawthers) were the Muslims who lived in the Tamil countries, especially in the modern South India. The word Rawther is derived from the Arabic word Rabithu which means 'horse'. Dr U V S Swaminatha Iyer in his Nallurakovai pointed out that the Ravuthars had been given the name from their profession of riding and rearing horses. See, R Abbas, *Major Divisions of Muslims in Madurai*, The Proceedings of South Indian History Congress, Vol. XXIV, Ed., Dr B S Chandrababu, Madurai, 2004, p 190
2. Pattanis / Pathanis are a derivative 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. They were also known as Dakhinis, a name given to the Urdu speaking people who came from Deccan and they used the Hindustani dialect known as Dakhini / Hindustani or Dakkini Urdu which had a slight change from the original Urdu. Vide., S A Shanavas, et.al., (Ed.), *Linguistic Magnitude of Mappila Malayalam*, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2014, pp10,11
3. Lawrence Grossberg, *'Identity and Cultural Studies – Is That All There Is?' In Questions of Cultural Identity*, Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (Ed.), Sage Publications, London, 1996, p 89
4. Johanna Muukkonen, *Identity, Belonging and Othering in Caryl Phillips' 'Cambridge'* Post Graduate Thesis, University of Tumpere, January 2010, p 24
5. In Travancore and Cochin, the Muslims were known in different categorical names on the basis of occupation, place of origin and so on such as the *Mahommedans / Mohammedans, Jonakans, Tulukkans, Ravuthars, Labbais, Methan, Meman / Cutchi Meman or Sait*, etc. The term 'Mohammedan' was used to denote as the followers of Prophet Mohammed. The *Jonaka* is the corrupted form of the Yavanas in Sanskrit which means foreigners. Tulukkan is also a term coming from the word Turks (Turushka in Sanskrit) which means the Muslims from North India with Turkish lineage. The Ravuthars and Labbais are Tamil Muslims; the Cutchi Meman or Sait was the Muslim group coming from Western India especially Gujarat. However, *Methan*, the origin of the term denoting to the native Muslims was in obscurity.
6. An Anglicized term for the *Methan*, have been used by the British officials in their records. Vide., Lt. Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin States*, Vol. II, the Government of Kerala, Cultural Department, 1994(r. p.), pp 53, 54
7. Methar, a suffix to an individual belonged to the Methan Sub group. See., Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, W H Allen & Co., London, 1883, p 148
8. With regards to Travancore, a Hindu princely state (1729-1949) in the southern part of India was mainly spread from Alwaye in the North to Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) in the South. Vide., *Report of the Administration of Travancore*, 1122 M E (1946 – 47 A D), the Government Press, Trivandrum, 1948, p 1 - 4
9. Cochin, a feudatory Hindu princely state of the west coast of India and also a neighbouring state of Travancore and the British Malabar, who have also accepted the suzerainty of the British during the colonial period. The majority were Hindus (67%), following the Christians (27%), the Mohammedans (7%), and Jews only 1167 persons in the year 1921. Vide., *Report on the Administration of Cochin*, 1089 M E (1922 -23 A D), Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1923, pp 1-3
10. Imtiaz Ahmad & Reifeld, Helmut, *Lived Islam in South Asia: Adaptation, Accommodation & Conflict*, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2004, p xii
11. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, 1983, p 6
12. *Methans* - the plural of the English transliteration of the Malayalam word, the *Methan*.
13. The Shafi School of Jurisprudent enacted by Mohammed Ibn Idris ash Shafi, a native Arabia in the 9th century A D. He had introduced the jurisprudence primarily on the basis of the Hadith and Sunna (deeds of the Prophet) as the prime authority for the interpretation of Quranic injunctions. This jurisprudence is popular among the Muslims of Egypt, Syria, South of India especially Kerala, Palestine, Malaysia, Indonesia. See., Cyril Glasse, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, Stacey International, London, 1989, p 359
14. The word 'Stigmatized Identity' was coined by Erving Goffman, denoting a category which includes particularly negative representations of a group and its members. See., Johanna Muukkonen, *Identity, Belonging and Othering*, Op. Cit., p 24
15. A corrupted term for Turks
16. Rev. Samuel Mateer, *The Land of Charity: A Descriptive Account of Travancore and its People with Special Reference to Missionary Labour*, John Snow & Co., London, 1871, p 227
17. A group of people who lived in the western India
18. Povar situates near *Neyyattinkara* in Southern Travancore. The old name of Povar was Pokku Musa Puram (the land of Pokku Musa).
19. Rev. Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, Op. Cit., p 148
20. The descendants of Turks: As a matter of fact during the invasion Malik Kafur, a large number of Turks penetrated into South India and settled in various princely states as soldiers or bodyguards. In Travancore regions, these Muslims groups spoke Tamil and Hindustani / Dakkini (Urdu). But in larger context, the Tulukkans in modern Kerala and Tamil Nadu were the Tamil speaking Muslims belonging to Hanafi School of Islamic Jurisprudence.

21. One of the four Islamic religious jurisprudence was named after Abu Hanifa of Kufa.
22. Rev. Joseph Peet, *A Grammar of the Malayalam Language as Spoken in the Principalities of Travancore and Cochin, and the Districts on North and South Malabar*, the Church Mission Press, Kottayam, 1841, p 216
23. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXVII, Travancore, Part I – Report, the Government Press, Trivandrum, 1932, p 390
24. The term Jonaka derived from the Sanskrit word Yavana. The early Sanskrit text also mentioned the term Yavana to denote Greeks or Ionians. In later periods, each and every foreign people like Romans, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Arabs and the people belonged to the Christians, the Muslims and the Jews in Malabar Coast as well as South India and Sri Lanka. The Sangam works also depicted the Yavana as foreigner or westerners. Vide., Rohitha Dasanayaka, *Yavana: A Historical Perspective*, The Proceedings of South Indian History Congress, Vol. XXVII, Ed., Dr G J Sudhakar, Madurai, 2007, p 724
25. Mappila or Moplah, a term used to denote the Muslims of the Malabar Coast, especially the Malabar regions of the modern state of Kerala.
26. Lt. Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin States*, Vol. I, the Government of Kerala, Cultural Department, 1994(r. p.), p 134
27. W H Horsley, *Memoir of Travancore, Historical and Geographical*, the Government Press, Trivandrum, 1839, p 26
28. *Neelttu* means palm - leaf records
29. *Re-script of Travancore (Neelttu)*, Vol. 96, 9th Kumbham, 995ME (Malayalam Era), Central Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, p 284
30. William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, the Government Press, Madras, 1951, p 191
31. P. Bhaskaranunni, *Pathonpathamnootandile Kerala* (Kerala in the Nineteenth Century), Kerala Sahitya Akademi, Thrissur, 1988, p79
32. A Mohammedan (Muslim) legend also prevailed as the story behind the *Mechar* Idol of Kuttanad. He had some mysterious relations with the area where the idol was installed. Vide., Ramya R, *Samskarasamnyayathinte Adayalam* (A Symbol of the Cultural Symbiosis), Samakalika Malayalam Weekly, Vol. 21, Issue 11, July 2017, p 58
33. Juan E campo, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Facts on File, New York, 2009, p 477
34. *The Travancore Government Gazette*, 1884, p
35. Methan + Achi= Methachi. Achi in Malayalam means women / lady.
36. P Kesava Dev, *Branthalayam*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1949, p 68- 75
37. Kottarathil Sankunni, *Aithiyamala*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2013(r p), p 224
38. In his historical novels like Marthanda Vrama and Dharama Raja, the novelists treated the Muslim characters like Hakkim Nurudhin, Biram Khan, Shamsudin, Sulekha, Alihasan Kunju Pokku Moosa Marakkar, etc as the symbol of goodness and high admirations. The author had some personal relations with the Hindustani Muslim families while he was staying as a destitute at Hyderabad. Dr Sheeja R S, *Desacharithrathinte Sargayanagal: C V Novalukalude Charithravayana* (Mal.) Mythri Books, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015, p 45
39. The Sovereign Deity of Travancore situated in Thiruvannathapuram, the Capital of Kerala, which is one of the wealthiest shrines in the world.
40. The abbreviation of 'M E' represents the Malayalam Era, the official calendar of Travancore. There were a number of theories regarding the origin of the Era. Most accepted was that the Era begins with the formation of Kollam town (Quilon). So the Era was also known as Kollam Era. The Era commenced in 825 A D.
41. S Uma Maheswari, *Mathilakam Records (Records of Padmanabha Swamy Temple- the Sovereign Deity of Travancore)*, Sri Uthradam Thirunal Literary & Charitable Trust, Thiruvananthapuram, 2018, p 397
42. Dr. M G Sasibhusan, *Methanmaniude Charitrasuchanakal* (History of Methan Clock), Vijyanakairali Magazine, Vol. 50, Issue 5, May 2018, p 46
43. *Report on the Census of Travancore* - 1875, the Government Press, Trivandrum, 1876, p 45
44. *Report on the Census of Native Cochin* - 1875, the Cochin Sirkar Press, Ernakulam, 1876, p 41
45. *Census of India, Travancore*, Vol. XX, Part I, Madras, 1882, p 55
46. Ibid
47. *Report of the Census of Travancore*, 1891, Vol. II, Addition & Co. Madras, 1894, p 989
48. Ibid
49. *Census of India, Travancore*, 1901, Travancore, Vol. XXVI- A, Part II- Imperial Tables, the Malabar Mail Press, Trivandrum, 1903, p 170
50. Ibid
51. Ibid
52. *Census of India, Travancore*, 1911, Travancore, Vol. XXIII, Part III- Provincial Tables, the Anandam Press, Trivandrum, 1912, p 216
53. *Census of India*, 1931, Op. Cit., p 390
54. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XXI, Cochin, Part I & II, Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1933, p 237
55. File No. 643/1943, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, p. 5
56. K S Singh (Ed), *People of India*, National Series – India's Communities, Vol. V, Anthropological Survey of India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, pp 2424,2425
57. In Travancore, the Christians were named as Mappilas, especially higher castes. In Malabar, the Muslims were called Mappilas (Moplahs in foreign records). Lowis Moore stated that, the meaning of Mappila is bride groom or Son- in- Law of the country because Arabs made matrimonial alliance with the land. According to Francis Day, Mappila, a compilation of two words Ma means mother and Pilla means child, because the children of the Arabs had no right over their fathers. Percy Badger was of the opinion that Mappila, a corrupted word of Muflih (from the root falah) which means prosperous or victorious; Buchanan used the word Maflih for the same. William Logan is of the opinion that, the word maha (great) and pilla (child), an honorary title given to the Rajas to the early settlers of the Mohammedan

- community. Vide., K P Padmanapha Menon, *History of Kerala Written in the form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Series, New Delhi, 2001(r. p), pp.534-535
58. T Madhava Menon, et. al. (Ed), *People of India: Kerala*, Vol. XXVII, Part II, Anthropological Survey of India, New Delhi, 2004, p 1024
59. This rapid change among the Muslims, as a matter of fact, have considered by Imtiaz Ahmed as 'Ashrafisation', which might be compared to M N Srinivas's understanding of Sanskritization. The procedure of Ashrafisation essentially means a social mobility among the Muslims, a concern to improve their social status in periods of rapid change. It involved the adoption not only of modes of social behaviour such as Purdha, but also an adherence to what was believed to be 'high' Islam (High Islam, a term used by Brabara D Metcalf for Ashrafisation in Bengal) and the social and political values that derived from its prescription. See., Farzana Sheikh, *Community and Consensus in Islam: Muslim Representation in Colonial India*, 1860- 1947, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p 4

ISLAM, MATRILINY AND ARCHITECTURE: THE CASE OF PONNANI

P. Sameena Nasrin

Introduction

Matrilineality is the tracing of kinship through the female line. It may also correlate with a system in which each person is identified with their matriline –their mother's lineage-and which can involve the inheritance of property and or titles. In a matrilineal descent system, an individual is considered to belong to the same descent group as their mother. The co-existence of matriliney and Islam was often viewed as paradox, as Islam prescribes patriliney and patriarchal relations. In some parts of the world, Muslims follow matriliney. The matrilineal system of inheritance or *Marumakkattayam* is a peculiar feature of Malabar society and it occurs among a section of the Muslims of Malabar, the Mappilas also. The most common among the translations of the Malayalam term *marumakkathayam* are "female line", "mother right", or simply "matrilineal inheritance"¹. William Logan states in his *Malabar Manual* that "the most important of the customs in which the people of Malabar differ from people elsewhere is that connected with the inheritance of property"². C.A Innes and F.B Evans mentioned about *marumakkathayam* as a remarkable peculiarity of Malabar society³. Among the Mappila population, it mostly occurs in the coastal towns of Malabar and in the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi islands⁴. It seems reasonable to assume that centuries ago a matrilineal system, with the duolocal residence pattern, was brought to the Laccadives by the migrants from the coastal region of Kerala⁵. Ponnani was one of the active seaport in Malabar, which located on the confluence of Kerala's second largest river, Bharathapuzha and Arabian sea. Ponnani is the southernmost

Taluk of Malabar proper, and though separated from Palaghat by Cochin state and Nelliampati hills, forms with that taluk one of the three main divisions of the district. The shape of the taluk is most extraordinary.⁶ *Malabar Gazetteer* states that more than 95 percent of the inhabitants are Mappilas⁷. Ponnani, is often referred to as the cultural capital of Kerala Muslims. Ponnani was not known as a Muslim center before 15th century. The famous African traveler and historian of the 14th century Ibn Batuta, who had visited Kerala has not mentioned Ponnani in his travel description. It was the Maqdoom family that settled in the late 15th century in Ponnani who brought up this place as an Islamic learning centre, Subsequently Ponnani came to be famous as in the name of "small Mecca". Matrilineal Mappila *taravads* are very powerful in Ponnani region. The Maqdoom family of Ponnani was very famous matrilineal family which followed the *taravad* type of joint family system. The present paper attempts to assess the nature and peculiarities of matrilineal Muslim society in Ponnani, whether we can call this as matriliney or not and the Mappila *taravads* and its architectural peculiarities relating with this system of Ponnani.

Content

The origin of the *marumakkathayam* is a matter of debate as no authentic record is available. The European travelers who visited the Malabar coast since the 15th century A.D had left valuable accounts. It is generally believed that *marumakkathayam* was the direct result of the polyandry⁸. In such a system paternity was uncertain and a woman's children belonged to the father's side to a

number of men together, while on the mother's side they belonged to one individual. When paternity was uncertain a person found it safer to consider his sister's children as his heirs than his own children. Among the Muslims, matriliney was adopted as a matter of convenience. The initial phase of intermarriage between the Arabs and the local women was of a temporary nature and hence the father did not play a significant role. The children were brought up in the mother's house and this therefore planted the roots of matriliney among the Malayali Muslims⁹.

Sheikh Zainudeen Maqdoom 2nd mentions about *Marumakkathayam* in his work titled "*Tuhfathul Mujahideen*", who considered it as a strange habit of infidels of Malabar. "The inheritance of wealth and possessions in Nair community and the like went to maternal brothers, their children of sisters or maternal aunts or maternal relatives, not to the children. This non- inheritance of the children crept to the majority of Kannur Muslims though they recited the Holy Qurhan, memorized it, educated and performed prayers" ¹⁰. He states that Muslims practice *marumakkathayam* in Kannur and surrounding areas¹¹. Since he did not refer to Ponnani, so it is clear that the system did not exist in Ponnani at that time. Because he was a teacher spent a good part of his life in Ponnani and had contacted to children from different places, as a religious scholar, he was in constant contact with all kinds of people in the society. So if there was such a system out there, he would definitely record it. So it is reasonable to assume that there was no matriliney in Ponnani in the 15th or 16th century. In Ponnani, a great bulk of people follow the patrilineal system common to both Islamic tradition and practice of the other Hindu groups in Kerala. Majority of Ponnani Muslims follow *Makkathayam* system. Those who follow matrilineal system are concentrated in the old Jumuhath Palli ward and Angadi ward¹². Ponnani became a municipality in 1978 but the place still known as jumuhath palli ward and angadi ward among old generations. How did the matrilineal features come to be among the few muslims of Ponnani?. Similarity in customs and architectural styles buttress the conversion theory. A.P Ibrahim kunju, a scholar who studied in this area states that the most significant adaptation of hindu social custom by

Mappila Muslims of Kerala was *Marumakkathayam* system¹³. "The matrilineal kinship system was adopted by north Malabar Mappilas from the Nair community, probably as a result of intermarriage and conversion" ¹⁴. Ponnani, is a place where many Namboothiris and Nairs lived and as a port city, trade with Arab Muslim merchants may lead them to conversion. With the adoption of the new religious laws, they have retained many of the old laws. During 16th century Muslims and Nair army started war against Portuguese under the Samoothiri reign. To a certain extent this led to the formation of new customs and traditions which was the hybrid of the two.

For a system to be called by its name, it must include all its elements or at least include its important features. If so can this system that exist here be called as matriliney or matriarchy?. It has to understand that whether it is matriliney or matriarchy or a mixture of both systems existing there. Before we get into that, we need to know what the two are. The terms „Matriarchy“ and „Matriliney“ are often linked, which should be distinguished. The matriarchal society is the one in which the women are the leaders and rulers. A combination of female dominance, female kinship and female inheritance are found in matriarchal society¹⁵. But in the case of matrilineal society, there is no question of female dominance, only the kinship, descent and inheritance are traced in the female line. In the case of Malabar the matrilineal society existed as there was no female dominance, and the family system was patriarchal influenced¹⁶.

In Malabar, matriliney system was practised mainly by the Nair community. It would then take a comparative study with Nair matriliney to ascertain the extent of this condition among the Muslims of area under study. The most significant feature of *taravadu* formation was that women were central to the creation of many of them¹⁷. In case of Ponnani, we can see female dominance. The *karanavan* had a respectable position and the junior members obeyed him in Nair *taravads*, like that of the female head or *karanvatthi* commonly known as *Muthavalli* who holds a high position in family. If there is female dominance it must be matriarchy and if there is male dominance it must be matriliney. As far as these features concerned, it must be said

that there was matriarchy. Then, what about the inheritance? Inheritance from motherline is a common feature that exists both in matriarchy and matriline, but in Ponnani they had adopted certain aspects of the matrilineal system like adoption of title from motherline, the taravad system, matrilocal and dowry system, but in matters of inheritance, they adhered to the Islamic law means the *sharia* law. L.R.S Lakshmi in her work, "The Malabar Muslims" argues that this was exactly the same that existed in Kozhikode. She states that unlike the Muslims of North Malabar who follows matriline, the Kozhikodan Muslims were *Marumakkathayees* as far as descent and kinship was concerned but *Makkathayees* in their mode of inheritance¹⁸.

Ponnani is famous for Maqdoom family. The first thing to be said about the matrilineal system of Ponnani is that of the Maqdoom family. The Maqdoom family of Ponnani did not initially follow this rule. They have been observing it since the third generation. Sheikh Zainudheen Maqdoom II, a third generation of Maqdoom family spent much of his time working on knowledge, teaching and Islamic preaching, he couldn't do justice to "Maqdoom" title. So he nominated his sister's son and later everyone accepted this system. From this it can be seen that the family did not follow this matrilineal system initially¹⁹. There are three types of Maqdoom families - Maqdoom Tangals, Maqdoom Malabaris and common Maqdooms. Only those from the Maqdoom Tangals are considered for this position²⁰.

The *Marumakkathayam* joint family or *taravad*, as it is called, consists of all the descendants of a common ancestress, in the female line only²¹. All *taravads* of influence set apart property for the common use, and indeed it seems to have been for purposes of thrift that this system of inheritance was at first devised. So long as that common property exists any number of families may hang together and form one *taravad*²². The *taravad* property was vested in the hands of the *karanavan* in Nair families. The *karanavan* was not an absolute owner, but an agent or representative of the *taravad*. The *karanavan* conducted all the ceremonies and managed the *taravad* properties but in Muslim matrilineal family the

father conducts the marriage of son and daughters and gives part of their property as dowry. In Nair matriline, not all members of the *taravad* have the property rights, but among Muslims each member will be heir of their parents property while all have connected with the common *taravad* properties. Each *taravad* held huge tracts of land. Large areas of northern and coastal Malabar, especially regions around Ponnani and Kozhikode, were integrated into a highly commercial economy centred on pepper and coconuts. Pepper production proliferated well into the mid-nineteenth century in north Malabar, and it formed an extremely important source of wealth for the bigger taravads²³. The system prevented the partition of property as the women in whose name the descent took place, continued to live in the *taravad* even after their marriage.

In addition to the dowry the girls receive at the time of marriage, they will also inherit the property after the death of their parents. During marriage, the girl gets a lot of wealth as a dowry. The elder daughter gets more dowry²⁴. In most families there were at least 5 or 6 girls and when the last girl gets married, the family's finance will be low. After the death of parents, there is nothing much assets to share for sons²⁵. Women stay in their own homes after the marriage. The husband's house is often visited years later and staying at the husband's house is rare. This is known as *Kayari iranguka*²⁶. Husbands settled in wife house after marriage is called as *Kayarikooduka*²⁷. Dr. K.K.N Kurup and Prof: E Ismail argues that women is a permanent member of the house with all occupational and legal rights, though she makes occasional visits to her husband's house. Since they follow the matrilocal residence system even the freedom of movement is restricted to a great extent²⁸. Marriages at that time were celebrated in night and women went together and during the day time, women were not allowed to leave home²⁹.

The Mappila house was called a *taravad* or joint family house, a terminology adopted from *Nairs*. The word '*Akam*' appears in the name of the majority of households that follow this system. For example Kawdiyamakkanakam, Vettam Pokkiriakam, Noorudiyanakam, Thareekanakam, Maqhoom Puthiyakam,

Kodambiyakam, Mayanthiriyakam etc. As understood from the field study, there are two types of *taravads* existing in Ponnani, the *Nalakam* type and *Otta* type. *Taravads* having *nadumuttam*³⁰ which connects the rooms through *Kottil*³¹ is *Nalakam* type. This type have a resemblance with Nalukettu houses. From padappuram enters into *nadumuttam* and other three sides have *kottil* which connects the rooms. The *kottil* in *nalakam* type is a raised platform from *nadumuttam*. Each *kottili* have two or three rooms or *Aras*. Each *kottili* have different functions such as for dining, gathering space, space for common activities. Addition of spaces is done adding one *nadumuttam* and adjacent *kottili* and rooms. This type of growth needs more space. *Taravads* which have one *kottili* that connects four adjacent room is *otta* type. *Nadumuttam* is not seen in this type. Four rooms have a single hall and this hall act as multifunctional hall. Addition of spaces is done by adding one *kottili* and four *aras*. This type of growth needs less space than *nalakam* type.

For every marriage, each room called *Ara* is added to the house. Each *Ara* has an entrance called *Mathok*³² or groin door. It is believed that the *Mathok* can extinguish fire. The *Aras* are set up as small houses or apartments in a big house. An *Ara* or *Mandokam* comprises of three rooms each has separate character. The three rooms are *Kadakkunna Mandokom*,³³ *Nadukkale Charu*³⁴ and *Thalakkale Mandokam*. *Thalakkale Mandokom* includes Kolai, bathroom and courtyard. In wealthy families *Thalakkale Mandokom* comprises well or shared well and *hau*³⁵ as per grooms demand. *Kadakkuna Mandokom* is more like a foyer where the door to the *Nadukkale Charu*. This room is used for seating and reading. *Nadukkale charu* simply means the bed room. These *taravads* follow simple plans and space organization in such a way that spaces are multifunctional, designed to accommodate big group of people. Subaida, a member of Chozhimadam *taravad* says that this system will ensure the safety of women as well as ensure that there will always be women in the family, and if daughters or daughter in laws (now many *taravads* including this in Ponnani began to follow *makkathayam* system) no longer have to take this house, then this house will go to Maenathul islam sabha of Ponnani

as per the *wakf* accord done by her grand father³⁶. According to L.R.S. Lakshmi two kinds of *wakfs* were made-one for the religious or charitable purpose of the public called the public *wakf* and the other for the benefit of the *wakif*'s family and his descendants called the private *wakf*. The private *wakfs* were also known as family *wakfs*³⁷. In case of any damage occurs to house, *wakaf* organization is responsible to grant financial assistance³⁸. When fire broke out years back, they allotted four lakhs rupees for repair. The *taravad* property will be equal to every one. When the *taravad* house could no longer accommodate any more members, smaller branches of the joint family were created. They were known as *Thaavazhis*. A *thaavazhi* is a group of persons consisting of a female ancestress, her children and all the descendants in the female line³⁹. In Ponnani, there are lot such *thaavazhi* families, because many wealthy *taravads* bear the same *Taravattuperu*. Those who can afford to build their own homes will later move out of the *taravad*. Then they can lock their *Ara* or leave it to others. In many *taravads* such locked room can be seen. They can come back at any time, because the property of *taravad* never be partitioned. But now things have changed completely. Today these houses are on the verge of collapse due to various reasons and most of the families began to follow *Makkathayam* system. Those who are financially prominent today use to buy the *taravads* and giving others their share.

From the age of the *taravads* it can be seen that the oldest were *nalakam* type and *otta* type formed later. The reason for the formation of *otta* type is to accommodate more members and it requires less space while the addition of spaces. *Mamacham veedu* is the most aged *taravad* and its condition is very poor and many spaces there were not using because of its poor condition. One of the reason that it is not maintained is the formation of nuclear family and the extinction of *Marumakkathayam* system existed there. Although the traditional style of construction and construction materials are same in the case of wealthy families, The Hindu-Muslim houses in Ponnani have a different architectural structure⁴⁰. The *Masjids* and large residences of Ponnani are repositories of knowledge and information and

are unique in their form and high heritage value as they demonstrate the Arab –Hindu fusion. The unique architecture of Ponnani is a rare expression of the Islamic culture brought by the Arab trading community built by the expertise of native traditional craftsman. This is an imprint of Islamic culture which is different from that observed in other Islamic cities in india⁴¹. The new generation,who fond of modern amenities soon extirpate such traditional taravads soon.But such homes are being protected by paucity of new generation .

Conclusion

The social customs of Ponnani are a mix of both Islamic and native components.The religious customs are a mix of both and beliefs are purely Islamic. By reading Leela Dube's ,*Matriliney and Islam – Religion and Society in the Laccadives* and P.A Muhammed Koya's ,*Sulthan Veed* a novel which gives idea of matrilineal system existing in Kozhikode,we can understand that the matrilineal features of Ponnani similar with these two places. The institution of Taravad,with definite lines of authority and coordination as well as close cooperation of the matrilineal kin, has remained the distinctive feature of the social structure of the island⁴². This is exactly same in Ponnani.We can see that female members have dominance in Ponnani *taravads*.The servants were paid the salary from the *Karanavathi* and also the managers reported the accounts to *karanavathi*.

The disintegration of the system was caused by the continuous conflict among family members of the *taravad*, huge expense to maintain a *taravad*, financial liability for preparing *arav* wedding expense and dowry, partiality, dissatisfaction against muthavalli, and external factors like education, migration from village to town for job,urbanization,increasing population in *taravad* etc. ultimately caused the disintegration of this institution.L.R.S. Lakshmi states that matriliney was more strictly followed and well preserved by the Muslims of Malabar as compared to the Hindu *marumakkathayees*.This is absolutely correct because we can't find any key elements of this system among present nair families but it is still followed by some Muslim families. It is doubtful whether matriliney could be called upon this system in Ponnani.The resemblance with nair matriliney is taravad system,adoption of title through mother line and matrilocal system of grooms. It is appropriate to say that the term matriarchy is more suitable for Ponnani rather than matriliney because the women is dominant. Inheritance through mother line here,the principal feature of both matriliney and matriarchy is absent in Ponnani ,instead they follow sharia law.Therefore,it is appropriate to refer to this system of Ponnani as a cultural synthesis rather than called it as a matriliney or matriarchy.Because of the dominance of the women and inheritance based on *sharia* ,the term matriliney does not fit to Ponnani.

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 33. Also called as *Mandokom*.
 34. Also called as *Puramandokom* or *Charu*
 35. A small pool for take ablution.
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CRIME AGAINST DALITS : A STUDY ON MELAVALAVU MASSACRE

A. Sevugaperumal

Melavalavu Panchayat was formerly in general category in the MelurTaluk of Madurai District. In 1996 the said Panchayat was notified as reserve category exclusively for scheduled castes. This change of general category into reserve category was not liked by the people of other communities particularly Ambulacra community. During the Panchayat Board Election, at Melavalavu Village some protest was there as if the scheduled caste people should not contest, after some mediation etc. election was conducted finally on 31December 1996 in which there was contest between the deceased Murugesan and one Mayan Karuppan and however, the deceased Murugesan was elected as President of Melavalavu Panchayat Village. After such election they said Murugesan as President was not in a position to function as President freely without fear and embarrassment. This was the situation till the incident of this case on 30 June 1997.

I

The gory incident which took place had its seeds sown in 1996, when Melavalavu Village

Panchayat was declared to be reserved for the Scheduled Caste people. This was not liked by the Hindus of the Village, generally belonging to Ambulacra community and thus, an inimical feeling was being nurtured by the people of this community against the Adidravida persons. So much so that when the elections were declared in 1996, some of the houses belonging to the members of the Scheduled Caste were burnt¹. The election was conducted on 31 December 1996 and one Scheduled Caste candidate namely Murugesan was elected as President of Melavalavu Panchayat. Even before this election, twice the election had to be cancelled, as on both occasions, the whole election process was thwarted by the caste Hindus². On the fateful day, Murugesan, Mookan, Vice President Chelladurai, Sevagamoorthi and some others had gone to Collector's Office, Madurai for claiming compensation for the damage caused to the houses of three persons, which houses were burnt. They could not meet the Collector, as he was not available, therefore, one Kanchivanam was asked to wait in their office and the others boarded the bus from Madurai³.

On 30 June 1997 the Krishnan visited Madurai Collector Office for his personal works and he met there the President Murugesan, Vice President Selladurai, and also him with Sevagamoorthy, Nithianandam, Pandiammaland Mookan. He also came to know from them that they came there for Kanchivanam demanding some compensation due to the destruction of the houses of three persons by fire. Thereafter, since the Collector was not available at office, they returned from Madurai after leaving the said Kanchivanam in the Office itself to meet the Collector on his arrival⁴.

Afterwards, the as well as the above said person was travelling in KNR bus from Madurai to their Village. On arrival of the bus stand at Melur, the Kumar and Chinnaiyya also got into the bus. At the same time, first accused Alagarsamy, second accused Duraipandi, 5th accused Manikandan, 4th accused Jothi, deceased accused Jayaraman, 6th accused Manivasagam also got into the bus. When the bus arrived at Melavalavu Agraharam Kallukadi Medu at about 2.45 p.m the second accused Duraipandi shouted to stop the bus and consequently, the bus was stopped by the driver⁵. Immediately, all the accused under the president ship of 40th accused Ramar with weapons surrounded the bus. Thereafter, the first accused Alagarsamy attacked the President Murugesan by saying as if upon his right shoulder. Consequently, the passengers inside the bus ran away⁶. Further, first accused Alagarsamy severed the head of Murugesan and rushed towards west along with the severed head. At the same time, 40th accused Ramar attacked by cut Raja and 5th accused Manikandan attacked Selladurai by cut upon the left shoulder accused Manivasagam attacked Kesavamoorthy by cut upon right neck and left ear and at that time Vice President Mookan tried to run towards east and however, 4th accused Jothi attacked him by sword upon the back portion of the neck and Bhoopathy also tried to run towards west and however third accused Ponnaiyya attacked with cut upon the neck and hands⁷. Further when the Krishnan tried to run from the bus like Kumar and Chinnaiyya tried to run, 16th accused Karanthamalai attacked Chinnaiyya by cut upon right cheek and second accused Duraipandi attacked with cut upon his right shoulder and 19th accused Tamilan attacked Kumar by cut and 29th accused Asokan

attacked Kumar with cut. Due to such attacks the body of Murugesan without head was lying on the road and other persons attacked were also laying dead⁸.

Thereupon, the injured witnesses 1 to 3 with the help of three other villagers proceeded to Melur government Hospital for treatment and from there they were sent to Madurai Rajaji Government Hospital for further treatment⁹. While was in the hospital at Madurai, the Inspector of Police, Melur viz. Rajasekar came there and recorded the statement of and based upon such statement marked as registered in Melur Police Station and prepared printed first information report marked as and preceded to the incident place¹⁰. M. Subramaniam, the Deputy Superintendent of Police attached to District Crime Branch, in Madurai¹¹.

The Inspector of Police Narayanasamy and another Inspector viz. Koodendi and other Head Constables¹². Thereupon, the Subramaniya made arrangements for conducting inquest upon the dead bodies of six persons viz. Murugesan, Mookan, Selladurai, Raja, Sevagamoorthy and Bhoopathy with the help of these two Inspectors and prepared the inquest reports marked as. Thereupon, he examined the witnesses and Panchayat available in the incident place¹³. Then, he made arrangements for postmortem upon the dead bodies by sending requisitions through constables and consequently, the doctors Meyyalagan, Maharani attached to Forensic Department of the Madurai Medical College Hospital conducted postmortem upon the dead bodies and furnished postmortem reports¹⁴.

Out of the total prosecution witnesses, the Krishnan, Kumar and Chinnaiyya have been examined as injured and eye witnesses and have been treated as hostile when they were recalled on the side of the accused for cross-examination. Sathiamoorthy examined as eye witness also has been treated as hostile. Periyavar, Palani, Ganeshan, Yeghadesi, Maravarand Kalyani have been examined as eye witnesses to the incident. Karuppan, examined as eye witness also has been treated as hostile viz¹⁵. Santhanakrishnan, the K.N.R. bus conductor and viz Nagarajan the driver of the said bus also have been treated as hostile¹⁶.

As of February 1999, all the 40 arrested for the Melavalavu were out on bail and none of

them had been prosecuted. Ramar the ringleader of the Ambulacra gang was arrested only in 2001. Dalits of Melavalavu organized the handling of the murder case¹⁷. Out of 41 accused only 17 were awarded punishment. This case was first tried at the Melur Magistrate Court and subsequently transferred to the IV Additional Sessions and District Court of Madurai¹⁸. Based on an appeal filed by key witnesses who apprehended a threat to their lives if the case was conducted in Madurai, the Supreme Court permitted the transfer of the cases to the Salem Sessions Court¹⁹.

Conclusion

The Petitioner also prayed for exhuming the dead bodies buried in four different burial

grounds within Madurai district and arrange for a re-post-mortem of the same by independent doctors other than Government Hospital doctors of Tamil Nadu Government, preferably by doctors from outside the State of Tamil Nadu. On 26th July the High Court directed that the Petitioner be provided with copies of the post-mortem reports at his cost. A close scrutiny of the major conflict in the study area is expected to shed more light on the undercurrent of the caste tension. The Melavalavu conflict which provides a general background of conflict, details of Tamilnadu Parties, six dalits, and other groups involved in this conflict, trends in the course of conflicts and other related aspects.

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RECOVERING DALIT HISTORICAL PAST IN KERALA: CONTRIBUTIONS OF T.H.P CHENTHARASSERY

K. Shaimam

In Kerala, history writing emerged from the anthropological studies of the colonial period. Most of the early historical studies were influenced by dominant categorization of evidence and subjectivity of the writers who engaged in them.¹ These writings neglected the position of Dalits and other marginalized sections of the society who are subjected to the

most inhuman kind oppression and exploitation. This neglect and invisibility led to the growth of Dalit intellectual engagements in Kerala as a critique of the existing dominant historiographies' deficiency in dealing with the notion of caste, movements of the marginalized and their subjectivities. The dominant discourses in Kerala, failed to recognize subjectivity and

agency of the slave castes. The historical past of Kerala and the materials by which it produced had elitist underpinnings and somehow shaped by the interest of dominating power. Dalits are not represented as speaking subjects in these writings but they emerge as objects of representation. Therefore, Dalit discourse is a political mode of enquiry and explanation generating studies on the past, present and future of Dalits in order to help them find a place in history and culture and shape their future.² In Kerala historiography, Dalit historical writings are making a strong presence which is in the process creating an alternative historical realm.

Ambedkar's thoughts and writings had been an inspiration for almost all Dalit movements and Dalit writers all over India. But in the case of Kerala, even before the strong presence of Ambedkarite thoughts Dalit historical and biographical works began to appear.³ From 1980s onwards, wide variety of Dalit historical and cultural works began to appear in Kerala historiography. The publication of T H P Chentharassery's *Ayyankali* (1979) marked the beginning of Dalit historical writings in Kerala. Through this works he laid the foundation of Dalit historical discourse in Kerala's academic realm.

He was born in 1928 at Pathanamthitta as the son of Kannan Thiruvan and Aninjan Anima. His father Thiruvan was the Area Secretary of Thiruvalla Sadhujana Paripalana Sankham. His full name was Thiruvan Heera Prasad Chentharassery. He lived in a milieu where caste discrimination and oppression were predominant, since his childhood he had experienced its brutalities firsthand.⁴ This made him think about the absence of caste and Dalit history in dominant writings and he realized the need for writing history from a Dalit perspective. He penned a number of works on ancient, medieval Kerala and wrote several biographies of Dalit leaders who were invisible in mainstream Kerala historiography. Chentharassery passed away on 27th July 2018. Though he is considered as an amateur history writer, it is an undisputed fact that, he enriched the field of historical research of Kerala with more than forty titles to his credit. His biographical and historical works critically engage with the stereotypes and hegemonic structures of

dominant historiography and reconstructs a Dalit historical past.

Biographical works

The history of religious reform movements which played an important role in the formulation of socio-religious sphere of pre-independence Kerala society is filled with narration of mainstream reform movements by upper caste reformers. The reform movements led by Dalit communities and leaders like Ayyankali, Poykayil Appachan, Pampady John Joseph got insufficient academic attention in the history of Kerala renaissance. It was in this context; T.H.P. Chentharassery came with the biographies of Ayyankali, Poykayil Appachan and Pampady John Joseph which stirred up a kind of awakening in the Dalit movements. Chentharassery's biographical works pointed out the elite character of Kerala social modernization.

The publication of T.H.P Chentharassery's *Ayyankali* in 1979 was an important milestone in the history of Dalit writings. He is considered to be the first biographer of Ayyankali and all succeeding works on Ayyankali were influenced by this work. T.H.P's work played a significant role in bringing Ayyankali back into the public sphere of Kerala who was a totally forgotten figure after his death and this renewed the debates on Kerala renaissance from a Dalit perspective.

Ayyankali (1863-1941) is considered as the first ever revolutionary social reformer from Dalit community in Kerala who worked for the advancement of lower castes communities in Travancore. T.H.P's work provides a detailed discussion about the life and struggles of Ayyankali. He begins with a discussion of the relevance of Ayyankali as an organic intellectual in the historical milieu in which he lived⁵

He gives a meticulous description of Ayyankali's rise as a revolutionary who resisted the evil practices of caste system. In the dominant historiography historical struggles lead by Ayyankali, which includes *Thonnooraamandu Lahala*, *Pullattu Lahala*⁶ are simply analysed as an agrarian protest but Chentharassery located this vibrant protests as a result of lower castes revolutionary move to access education⁷

Chentharassery in his biography on Ayyankali highlights how he made a transformation of an untouchable caste body into a martial body which thereby subverted the symbolic world of relations⁸ This can be seen in the forceful entry of Ayyankali into the public space dressed like upper caste man on a *Villuvandil*. His struggle for entering public space which was denied to lower castes by caste rules brought together people of various Dalit groups for a common cause. Chentharassery point out that the most important thing with the reforms promulgated by Ayyankali was that they were to be within the legal framework existing in the State. Even when he challenged the existing rules he did it with the final appeal of the Maharaja of Travancore. Ayyankali considered society as his own family. He always wished to have bachelors, intellectuals and higher officials from his community and they will be able to further take up the causes of Dalits. In this angle, Chentharassery could be considered as the first intellectual in Ayyankali's dream.¹⁰

Chentharassery wrote a biographical work on Pampady John Joseph (1887-1940), a Dalit reformer and founder of Cheramar Mahajan Sabha that swept Travancore during early 20th century. This work provides a vivid description of the life and activities of Pampady John Joseph. In this work Chentharassery point out John Joseph's deep sense of his story and its importance in identity formation. John Joseph articulated that lower castes such as *Cheramar*, *Pulayas*, *Parayas* and *Kurava*¹¹, all belong to the Adi Dravida race¹²

They were the rulers, landlords, agriculturalists and educated people of the land. He even traced a family called Aykara Yajmanans, then living in central Travancore, belonging to this lineage¹³. Thus, the original inhabitants of the land were the Cheramar and the foreign invaders conquered their country and made them slaves. The enslaved began to be known as *Pulayas*. This was a new endeavor in creating a separate identity and giving self-confidence to the marginalized sections. T.H.P states John Joseph tried to construct the history of the polluted castes based on their ancient legacy and glorious memories of the past and worked for the advancement of lower castes from the inhuman practices of untouchability. Under the banner of Cheramar Mahajan Sabha

(1921), he reacted against the problem of caste oppression within the Christian Churches and attitude of upper caste Hindus towards lower castes.¹⁴

John Joseph played an important role in awakening consciousness and identity of the lower castes during the first half of the 20th century. Another important biography written by Chentharassery is on Poykayil Appachan (1879-1939). He was a Dalit social reformer of Travancore in early 20th century who established Prathyaksha Raksha Daiva Sabha (PRDS) in 1910¹⁵

He tried to construct the history of his people in order to create a Dalit identity as a strategy to claim social agency by the subaltern groups. His notion of history that the slave castes were heir to a historical past which was destroyed by the conquering races had a great influence in the development of Dalit discourse of Kerala. Chentharassery shows how Poykayil Appachan strategically used the Christian theology for spreading the message of salvation and liberation among the outcaste. He established serious theological debates with the mainstream Christian churches. He identified caste as the core of evangelical discourse in Kerala and critiqued it through his dissident speeches and songs and by burning the Bible.¹⁶ But Poykayil Appachan strategically used the opportunities provided by Western missionary intervention for the liberation of the lower castes.¹⁷

According to Chentharassery, Ayyankali, Poykayil Appachan and Pampady John Joseph, the historical figures of Dalit struggles in Kerala were successful in materializing the notions of Dalit identity and public sphere for Dalits. His reading of Kerala renaissance is mainly centered on certain points like, caste, community and identity. It is under these posits he tried to re-read Dalit historical pasts. His biographical works are best example for Dalit subaltern historiography. T.H.P tries to read contemporary issues in the light of historical events. The works expose various parallel paths within reformist movements which were determined by caste hierarchies and reveal how various community enjoyed rights differently. Chentharassery critically examines how reformist movements got narrowed down to caste groups and how this

led to the emergence of Dalit agitations under the leadership of Ayyankali, Pampady John Joseph and others.

Historical works

In the dominant historiography of Kerala, the history of the slave castes has been overlooked consciously or unconsciously. The mainstream historiographies- Marxist, Liberal, Traditional etc tried to explore the notion of caste slavery but failed to provide a deeper analysis of the phenomenon. Prominent Marxist historians like K N Panikkar, K K N Kurup, Rajan Gurukkal, M R Raghava Varrier and so on studied the agrarian social structure and peasant movements but they did not address the question of caste slavery as a significant problem of the agrarian system in various periods of Kerala history thereby failed to give Dalits an agency of historical transformation.¹⁸ In the Marxist analysis, the question of caste and lower caste struggles has been subordinated to the questions of class and national unity. The traditional historians focused on the mobilization of the lower castes beginning with the breast cloth agitation which they interpreted as 'people's revolt'. The Liberal historians of various periods do not make any constructive attempt to understand Dalit historical past. The pasts of the oppressed castes do not figure in the projects of these writings. It was in this context Chentharassery's historical works gain prominence which tried to recover and reimagine the latent presence of Dalits in Kerala history.

T.H.P Chentharassery had made valuable contribution in reconstructing the history of ancient and early medieval Kerala society from a Dalit subaltern perspective. His historical works includes *Charitrathile Avaganikapetta Edukal*, *Kerala Charitrathin Oru Mugavura*, *Keralathinte Malarvadi*, *Kerala Charitradhara*, *Kerala Charithram: Sathyavum Midhyayum* etc. In his historical works he focused on the history of early inhabitants of Kerala that has been neglected by the historians as they only wrote about the elite sections of the society and their historical developments. As Chentharassery argues a country's history should start from its early inhabitants. But, the so-called historians have left them out. They consider early inhabitants as barbarous, uncivilized and untouchable people. T.H.P severely criticizes the

mainstream conventional historians of Kerala who neglected the early inhabitants and their history.¹⁹

Chentharassery points out that the 'outcaste' has a clear and glorious past. And, he further adds that the intellectuals among the outcaste should come forward in order to bring this glorious past in to light.

T.H.P's *Charitrathile Avaganikapetta Edukal* deals with ancient and medieval Kerala. In this work, the author traces various chiefs of non-Brahmin origin and tribal historical past. He tries to locate the ancient and early medieval history of Dalit community and their culture. T.H.P also analyze various aspects of caste subordination and servitude in early medieval Kerala. Through this he tried to map the history of early inhabitants of Kerala and calls them as *Adhima* Dravidians. These groups belonged to the Negrito race. Chentharassery also makes a geographical analysis of early historical Kerala landscape. In the early historic times South India was not the part of Asian continent but it was the part of Lemuria which was hidden in Indian Ocean as a result of flood²⁰. Before the flood, Lemuria was a vast continent and it shared boundaries in the south with Australia, north with Malaya and in west with Africa. In his works, he made an attack on the legendary Parasurama story, *Keralolpathi* and *Keralamahatmyam*²¹ as these accounts justify the *Namboothiri*²² social formation based on caste and property and it was these sources which were used by most of the historians to reconstruct the early history of Kerala.

Most of the socio economic and political views on ancient Kerala are contradictory and controversial. He points out that some scholars argue that during the arrival of Brahmins there were no political rule or dynasty and others states, the Brahmins with the help of rulers dominated the areas. He says that even before the coming of Brahmins plough agriculture were known to people. The idea that Adi Cheras had no knowledge of iron technology is entirely wrong which could be proven by the discovered iron articles in Megalithic remains.²³ He argues that it was not the Brahmins who taught the people about agriculture.

In his work *Kerala Charithram: Sathyavum Midhyayum*, he made an in depth analysis of the

Aryan migration, a controversial topic in history. He says that scholars like Kosambi, Romila Thapar and M.G.S Narayan etc. build up the entire Indian historical foundation on the so called Aryan theory which is an explanatory mode of analysis in the colonial administrative ideology. The Aryan migration badly affected the social relations which existed during that time. There were conflicts between the Aryans and Dravidians. The main conflict was over the matters of culture. Because of Aryan supremacy the early Dravidians were forced to leave their place and began to settle in South India. Though Aryans established their supremacy in North India they began to move towards the South in search of pastoral land and livelihood. This was a gradual process. But in several occasions they came in contact with early Dravidians like in the case of marriage. On the basis of this, T.H.P reveals that the group which moved from North to South was of mixed races²⁴

He exemplifies the Arya-Non Arya marriage in South India and through this how Aryans established their dominance. The early Dravidians were a mix of various clans. However, there were no caste or class differentiations. New sub classes began to emerge as a result of the changes in productive forces. He says that when the Aryans reached in Kerala they almost lost their distinctive cultural social aspects.²⁵ The intermixing among them led to the rise and decline of a number of sub sections. It was the control over production and distribution determined the rise of such groups. T.H.P says that some sections among Dravidians (third section) showed loyalty to Aryans. There emerged a situation in which these groups began to control the properties of temples. Gradually, the third section becomes powerful. Because of this which put an end to the marriage between Aryans and early Dravidians and they began to marry from the third group, which can be called as *sambandham*²⁶ All these led to the emergence of new Jatis and castes.

His *Kerala Charitraithin Oru Mugavura*, is a general introduction to the problems of Kerala history provides a vivid picture of the origin and proliferation of caste system in Kerala. He says that till 7th century AD there were castes based on occupation. Agriculture was considered as a dignified occupation. He says that caste system was introduced by Aryans in India. Before the

arrival of the Aryans, he writes, the caste system was unknown in Dravidian society. Aryan invasion and the subsequent process of sanskritization propagated caste system as a means to enslave the original inhabitants of the land.²⁷ He argues that the caste system emerged when the Brahmin dominance and Chaturvarnya system joined with Gotra social system. It was feudal system at that time led to rise of caste system. When Chaturvarna system led to rise of society based on the notions of dominant - subordinate and feudal system on the basis of production relation led to division of society. It was after the Sangam period such a system began to emerge²⁸. Gradually, there emerged occupational division and specialization. This led to the transformation of endogamy pattern of marriage. The emergence of *jati* in medieval Kerala transformed its agrarian setup. Tilling in the soil was regarded as a low rank affair. This conceptual change created a new social paradigm which made lazy *Namboothiri* and *Nair*²⁹ respectables in the society³⁰. The new *Namboothiri* discourse of Kerala created a wide gulf in the socio- economic scenario of the land. Here the author is tracing the shift in the social relations during and after the Sangam period.

Chentharassery's *Kerala Charitradhara* is a historiographical critique which made an attempt to recover the possibility of non Brahmin historical past of Kerala. In this he made a detailed description on the origin of slavery in Kerala. He points out that the agrestic needs and Brahminical approach to manual labour together generated a social compulsion which caused the emergence of the slave mode of production in Kerala³¹

Chentharassery notes, untouchables who were the aborigines of this land lost their footing due to historical reasons. The new social formations which emerged out of the political condition ushered in the Chera country out of the historic hundred years war, totally changed the social equations. The new social equations which emerged out of the new situations and the emergence of *Namboothiris* and Vedic Brahmanical Hindu religion were really an unequal combination in the case of the aborigines Kerala³² The refusal of the aborigines to Brahmanical designs caused social tension in the society. When their designs got impetus in

the society, they started the process of exclusion of the aborigines. The untouchable community, once the rulers of this land, lost their ground became mere slaves by virtue of the changing equations.

In the Sangam and pre-Sangam period, most of the would be *Avarna* or untouchable factions of Kerala or the Tamilakam enjoyed freedom and commanded respect³³ T.H.P brought light to the past glory of *pulaya* community which was never addressed by the conventional historians. In the post-Sangam period, the rotten Chaturvarnya system got its root in the soil of Kerala along with the Vedic Brahmanical religion. By which, the most affected section in Kerala was the untouchable/*Avarna* community. *Nairs* lost their social status and sacrificed their family setup to the *Namboothiries* through the rotten system of *Sambandam*. In the post Sangam period and the following years the looser communities were dehumanized with the upper class strategy of *Ayitham* (*Social Ostracism*). Even after this drastic fall of the untouchable community, in some parts of Kerala (in some remote pockets) they (untouchables) remained as independent community through the centuries.³⁴ But they never enjoyed any civil rights or privileges which were enjoyed by the other Savarna community. At any place, there was a probability of enslavement by all-powerful Savarna community.

T.H.P provides a detailed description about the origin of *Pulayar*. The origin of caste in Kerala speaks a different story from that of North India. The schedule castes of today claim to have had a predominant position in the early society of Kerala. Their status was as of free man in the

casteless society. They seem have had their own government and ruling dynasty. During the second Chera Empire the *Pulayas*, the largest among them was a powerful and dignified community.³⁵ But by 1800 AD all the old glory of the *Pulayar* had vanished and they were reduced to a state of slavery. He exemplifies *Trikakara* and *Parthivapuram* inscriptions to trace their origin. It was the *Pulaiyar* who engaged agriculture later came to be known as *Pulayar*. Later these groups became untouchables.

Chentharassery's works altogether represent the blend of Dalit subaltern notion and peoples' history. His Dalit subaltern history can be conceived as an alternative to all existing conventional historiographies in Kerala. Chentharassery tried to recover the voice of the marginalised by using unconventional and endangered sources materials. He successfully took up the challenge of re-defining dominant historiography in relation to the marginal people and groups. He focused on the implicit and silent forms of resistance by Dalits that have not attracted much scholarly attention. Chentharassery represents a democratic, socialist and Anti-caste position in his views. He deals with the questions of social and political democracy as well as equality and emancipation of downtrodden and oppressed. His works problematized caste and subordination, bondage, servitude, dominant- subordinated, and quest for gender equality. Chentharassery tried to provided a visibility to Dalits and other oppressed sections by remembering' them as part of Kerala history through his works.

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6. *Thommooraamandu Lahala, Pullattu Lahala*- Agricultural strike conducted by Ayyankali for the educational rights of lower castes.
7. *Ibid.*, p.71.
8. Dr.K.S. Madhavan, 'Formation of Dalit Identity in Kerala', in *Symposia on Dalits*, (ed.), P.Prabhakaran, 2012, p.32.
9. *Villuvandi*- Bullock cart, *Villuvandi Samaram* (1893) is an important struggles led by Ayyankali in which he rode a bullock cart on a public road of Travancore

- where access to lower castes was denied by caste norms.
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 20. *Ibid.*, p.13.
 21. *Keralolpathi and Keralamahatmyam*- The chronicles which describes the legendary history of the land and people of Kerala.
 22. *Namboothiri*- Brahmins of Kerala.
 23. *Ibid.*, p.36.
 24. T.H.P Chentharassery, *Kerala Charithram: Sathyavum Midhyayum*, Prabath Book House, Thiruvananthapuram, 2016, p.24.
 25. *Ibid.*, p.28.
 26. *Sambandham*- Term denoting customary marriage.
 27. T.H.P Chentharassery, *Kerala Charithrathinu Oru Mughavura*, Mythri Books, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015, p.41.
 28. *Ibid.*, p.65.
 29. *Nair* - The principal military class among the Malabar Hindus.
 30. *Ibid.*, p.43.
 31. T.H.P Chentharassery, *Kerala Charitradhara*, Mythri Books, Thiruvananthapuram, 2008, p. 24.
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 33. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
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ALCHEMY OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND THE PLEA FOR INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY: RE-LOOKING THE DIALOGUES AND PROTESTS WITHIN THE SREE NARAYANA MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN KERALA

A. Shaje

Introduction

The one community in Kerala, which started and carried on it to its logical conclusion, the relentless crusade against the social evils like caste system and pollution was the Ezhava community. Ever since the emergence of S.N.D.P.Yogam that guaranteed caste solidarity to different sub-divisions of the Ezhavas, the elites of this community devised various measures and adopted various tactics for the social and political advancement of the members that the community represented. From the very beginning of their community-oriented work itself, the Ezhava leaders earnestly thought and even wrote and spoke on the easy ways available to get rid of the havoc caused by the inhuman practices to their community members as well as to other communities whose social positions were below their rank. They have

unequivocally declared that political freedom even if attained from the British rule would be meaningless unless it was backed by social and economic freedom.

Several low caste people of Travancore including Ezhavas converted themselves into other religions especially Christianity since they found it the easiest way to escape from caste tyranny.¹ In the beginning the leadership and the general masses within the community looked towards the leadership of Sree Narayana Guru for a spiritual solace. Guru was silent on the issue of conversion and at the same time started the construction of parallel temples for the Avarnas as part of sanskritisation. In fact what Guru meant was to reform Hinduism and not to abandon it, to purify Hinduism and not to annihilate it. He wanted a fair share to all the avarnas in Hinduism. For the accomplishment of these aims

he adopted such measures as simplifying Vedic texts, establishing Sanskrit schools to the low castes, changing mode of worship etc.²

Guru gifted a lot of principles of humanity, but the leaders of S.N.D.P. never tried to rely only on these principles. Instead they realised that it would be disadvantageous to them if they adopted such principles in practical politics. What they wanted was immediate and direct solutions to many vexed problems faced by their community members. On the issue of religious conversion the opinions of Ezhava leaders radically differed and these differences of opinions they expressed through their publications. From the very beginning itself the official Ezhava publications *Vivekodayam* adopted a moderate stand on many issues including conversion. On the other hand publication like *Mitavadi* of C. Krishnan, *Sahodaran* of K. Ayyappan and *Kerala Kaumudi* of C.V. Kunjuraman adopted extreme radical stands.

There were at times confusion prevailed about the stand of Kumaran Asan regarding the conversion issue. Like Mulur, a poet of the community who was also called "Sarasakavi" who translated Dharmapada into Malayalam, Kumaran Asan published a few works on Buddhist themes. His works like Chandalabhikshuki (1923), Karuna (1925) and Sri Buddha Charitam (Translation of Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia) created an impression that he was in favour of conversion to Buddhism. But his subsequent speeches and writings undermined this notion. On the question of the conversion of Ezhavas to Buddhism, Kumaran Asan and Mitavadi Krishnan expressed their difference of opinions. Though these contradictions and differences on viewpoints touched many areas of intellectual life, the discourse was purely academic and not touching the masses. C. Krishnan wrote the editorial articles both in English and Malayalam through his publication *Mitavadi* dated 28 May 1923. In this editorial he challenged the views expressed by Kumaran Asan about Buddhism while he presided over the S.N.D.P. Yogam meeting held at Kollam. C. Krishnan was of the opinion that the best way to extricate themselves from the caste tyranny was to embrace Buddhism en masse. But Asan through his rejoinder to the editor of *Mitavadi*, strongly proclaimed his stand

that Ezhavas should remain in the fold of Hinduism and work for their salvation. He entitled these rejoinders as "Alchemy of Religious Conversion" (In Malayalam it was known as Mathaparivarthana Rasa Vadam).³

Along with the conversion, move forwards rationalism also developed among the Ezhavas. From 1920 onwards Travancore witnessed the growth of rationalist movement represented mainly by the radical youths of Ezhava community. In their agenda they had given prime importance to the temple entry demand. A peculiarity of this movement was that instead of appealing for conversion, the leaders exhorted the members of Ezhava community to stand as an Independent Community (Swathantra Samudayam). Karappuram⁴ was the strong centre of this movement. An organisation known as Karappuram Seva Sangham of Ezhavas was founded in 1920, which became Karappuram Ezhava Yuvajana Sangham in 1921.⁵ The main objective was to effect political and social reforms in Hinduism. Karappuram witnessed the emergence of two other organisations namely the Karappuram Sahodara Sangham of Ezhavas founded in 1920 and Karappuram Ezhava Union in 1930. However Karappuram Ezhava Yuvajana Sangham became very popular and it was later renamed as "All Kerala Thiyya Yuvajana Sangham." When this organisation was founded the President was Chirappanchira Krishna Panicker of Muhamma and Sathyavrathan was its Secretary while Koriampallil Raman became Treasurer. The other major leaders included Kariampallil Vava Vaidyar and K.C.Kuttan. The first meeting of this organisation was held at Cherthala English School under the presidentship of Kunjikkannan Kurukkal. In this meeting Manchery Rama Ayyar and Sadhu Sivaprasad made provocative speeches. Violence broke out in the area and police arrested leaders like Krishnanayyappan.

In the third meeting of the Thiyya Yuvajana Sangham held at Pattanakkad in 1934, E. Madhavan presided.⁶ In his presidential address, he exhorted the Ezhava community members to remain as an independent community (Swathantra Samudayam). This speech was reproduced in a book form in October 1934 under the title *Swathantra Samudayam*. The book was highly critical towards all religions and immediately after its publication demands came

from several quarters for proscribing its circulation. The Dewan of Travancore asked the Chief Secretary Kunjan Pillai to look into the issue. The Government sought the advice of the Sirkar Vakil who however did not recommend for its proscription.⁷ This book was proscribed first in Travancore. Later its circulation was prohibited in Cochin, Malabar and Madras. The book attacked all religions, but the attacks on Hinduism were violent and the Travancore Government was charged with being a caste Hindu Government. E. Madhavan asserted that the Ezhavas and other avarnas received from Hinduism, nothing but harm. So they must throw that yoke and free themselves. To him religion had given to man nothing but harm. It blocked the progress of education and science, suppressed freedom of thought and caused wars. He criticised Gandhiji's anti-untouchability programme as a mere fake. He also criticised the Suddhi movement as a trick and argued that the savarna leaders must reform the savarnas first before trying to uplift the downtrodden. To him

religion was a total waste. He said, "A Christian of the lowest class can become a Kathanar. Muhammadanism does not stand in the way of any Muhammeden becoming a Maulavi. The Brahmin cook of an Ezhava can become a Priest. But the Hindu religion does not allow Holy Sri Narayana even to walk along the public path."⁸

E. Madhavan visualised Ezhava community as an independent community and suggested that without converting to any religion they should opt for atheism. He was attracted to Russian Communism and suggested the communist society as an "idealistic society." In the concluding remarks of his speech, he addressed the audience as "Comrades."⁹ The Swathantra Samudaya Vadam was an offshoot of rationalism developed among the Ezhavas. All these developments were the results of the community's ire targeted at the savarna Hindu domination which they wished to brake for the establishment of an egalitarian society.

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9. He said, "We did not get any reform or benefit from our connection with Hinduism. Hindu reforms were not reforms to us. We have benefited not from the Penal code of Manu, but from the British Penal code..If we abandon our religious connection, people will not only respect us but also love and care us..Don't be blind believers but be rational thinkers..Don't bother about the questions whether there is God or no God, whether religion is good or bad, think about the benefits that we will get from these things in this world. If there is another world after our death, we can think about it at that time. Now we need facilities for better life in this world..We have to awake! We have to rise! As in the case of several other reforms we accomplished, we have to take initiative for abandoning religions. In that case the future historians will record the heroism of Tiyya Youths", pp. 225-232.

URBAN GOVERNANCE IN COLONIAL MALABAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CANANNORE MUNICIPALITY

M.C.Shalima

The British established trade relations in Malabar with the establishment of a factory at Thalassery during the last quarter of the 17th Century. However, they were able to establish political authority only during the last decade of the 18th Century. It led to dynamic changes in the society and economy of Malabar.¹ Initially, they focused on trade and economy and increasingly on political and administrative regard, which ended with the territorial appropriation of the country by the British.² Subsequently the colonial state realized the importance of political power of the region for the smooth conduct of commercial activities and this led to their interaction in native political structure. The British took control of Malabar in 1792 as part of the treaty of Srirangapattam and established an administrative institution as per the British standard. The most important reason for establishing British administration was to set up an efficient administrative system within the province since they regarded the prevailing one as anarchic.

During 1800, as part of some administrative reforms, the British divided the province into two parts under the control of two superintendents. Later, they divided the province into 10 districts, each run by a Revenue Collector. In the same year, the British government handed over the civil and military administration of Malabar from the Bombay Presidency to Madras Presidency allowing them to build up an effective administration in this province.³ All these led to the establishment of supreme power of the British in Kannur. As part of reforms introduced in the provincial administration, the British introduced the Town Improvement Act of 1865 which envisaged the introduction of municipal administration in Kannur. The main objective behind the introduction of municipal administration was to attract the interest of more efficient communities of the town in sharing the responsibilities of colonial administration. The subsequent result of this act was the constitution of Kannur municipality in 1867.

The main developmental schemes of Kannur municipality included the construction, repairing and cleaning of drains and maintenance of roads, streets. The municipal council also gave priority to lighting, water supply and prevention of fire. The Kannur municipality maintained roads annually for the easy movement of goods and people, which in turn facilitated the growth of trade.

Even before the colonial administration, Kannur has trade relations with Coorg. It is evident from that the municipality maintained a road from Kannur to Coorg to facilitate trade. During the Mysorean invasion Kakkad ferry developed as a hub of inland water transport. Some years later the municipal authority upgraded it by constructing roads to Kakkad. Kannur Municipality also maintained roads in order to develop transport facilities within the municipal limit. These roads connected different parts of the town and in turn they helped the easy movements of people and goods towards different directions. They are mainly Camp bazaar branch road, Cross road near municipal market, Anayidukku road, Jail road etc.

For the maintenance of roads around 55% of the total budget amount of the municipality was utilized during the period between 1906 and 1907. The mileage of roads increased from 23 miles in 1901 to 30 miles 1931. The difference was due to the transfer of roads to the municipal council maintained by the military department.⁴ The old wooden bridge connecting Payyambalam with the beach was replaced by a strong bridge with iron girders.⁵

The construction of beach road was undertaken in the year 1910-1911.⁶ The total cost of the work was Rs. 941/-. This road was connected with *Chalat* road.⁷ The municipal council also maintained the municipal and the jail roads. The earthenware pipe drains were substituted in three places.

The road repairs were carried on departmentally during the year 1934-35. The sub overseer was in charge of the building work

including maintenance of roads, bridges, lighting, and avenue trees. There was no trunk road during this period. 3.71 miles of military roads that were transferred to the municipality were treated as second class roads. The total length of road was 27.59 miles. Besides these, there were other roads that were maintained by the military. The Calicut- Kannur road passes through the municipality. The metal for the road was obtained from the municipal metal quarry at *Avera*. The metal was best suited for this purpose. The municipal council also tried to improve the roads in old town.⁸

The public works department Sub-overseer of Kannur reported regarding the repair of roads in Kannur Municipality in 1935. The main roads repaired by Kannur Municipality were *Camp Bazar road, Bellard road, Pattalam road, Thayatheru road, Burnachery road, and Chovva - Thayyil road* and the total cost of repair was Rs.550/-.⁹

Public health and sanitation were a great concern of the Kannur Municipality too. When Kannur was an important military station, Garrison Hospital was located in Kannur town. In 1863, this hospital was designated as a general hospital. In 1864, it was handed over to the municipality. Thus it came to be known as 'Municipal Hospital.' In the 18th century, the daily attendance was two indoor and eighteen outdoor patients. But during the 19th century the figures increased up to ten and sixty respectively. In 1900, the total number of patients who sought treatment was 419 indoor and 18887 outdoor patients. In 1910, the figure rose up to 319 and 28013 respectively. The highest figure was in 1912 when the inpatients were 894 and outpatients 31841.¹⁰

The Kannur Municipal council continued to maintain a municipal Ayurvedic dispensary at *Aanayidukku*. There were other private dispensaries in the town besides military hospitals and the railway dispensary. A medical officer was in charge of the municipal Ayurvedic dispensary. He was assisted by two peons. Most of the medicines required were prepared at the dispensary itself and some of the raw drugs were purchased locally. The dispensary functioned in a rented building. There were two sanitary inspectors in municipal service who were appointed at a cost of Rs. 1868/-. The District

Health Officer remarked in his inspection notes that the conservancy staff was sufficient.

With reference to the correspondence between the Sanitary Commissioner, Madras and the Chairman of the Municipal Council, Kannur on 27th November 1913, the former advised the latter to improve the sanitary measures in Kannur and instructed him to draw up an estimate for sanctioning fund for the implementation of proper sanitary improvements in Kannur Municipal town. The Sanitary Commissioner also recommended to conduct regular sanitary programs within Kannur Municipal town for which separate minor sanitary grant was also sanctioned.

With the sanctioning of the grant from the Sanitary Commission, Kannur Municipal Council drew up a sanitary program within the municipal limit. Following this, the Government sanctioned the grant for the scheme of town improvement in its wider sense, which mainly included acquisition of land for town expansion, widening of roads, opening parks for recreation, house sites for the poor and many other similar amenities as in other countries that take care of their urban properties.¹¹

The town was free from all epidemic diseases except for the 2 deaths from small pox during the year 1934-35. In order to prevent the epidemic of small pox a large number of revaccination was carried out especially in and around the infected localities. All other necessary preventive measures were also undertaken. A shed was built by the municipality during the year 1934-35 as well to treat small pocks. The municipal council maintained a child welfare center at *Thayyil*. The total number of children who attended this center during the year 1934-35 was 10361.¹²

Two sanitary inspectors were appointed in Kannur Town. One was for cantonment division and the other was for the old town division. The town and port of Kannur had infection-free milieu during the period of 1934-35. The town was also free from epidemics. Vaccination was carried out extensively. In order to improve the general state of public health, general drainage system was introduced. Moreover, the number of houses with latrine accommodation increased by 2%.¹³

During the period of 1934-35 there were 22 public latrines including the urinal in

Talikkavu. They were kept in proper state of repair by spending a sum of Rs. 385/-. The total number of private latrines conserved during the year was 2315. The total number of residential houses was 4822. The percentage of the number of the houses in the municipality was 48% as against 46% of the previous year. In the case of large number of houses congested areas like *Burnachery, Tekki Bazaar* and *Thayyil*, it was not quite possible to have separate latrines for want of space. Steps were taken as far as possible to extend the provision of latrines to a large number of houses. A few more scavengers were sanctioned in the 1934-35 budget. The night soil from private and public latrines were removed in lorries and trenched in municipal trenching ground which was situated at the outskirts of town and was kept in a sanitary condition. The ground was rented out yearly for growing vegetables in order to promote the properties of nitrification of the soil. The rent for year under report was Rs. 45/-.¹⁴

Thus, with the enactment of the Towns Improvement Act of 1866 Kannur became a

municipal town in 1867 and witnessed the introduction of many urban amenities like education, public health, transport and communication. These developments resulted in the growth of urban outlook among the people of Kannur. Thus the formation of Kannur municipality and its native urban governance played a crucial role in the urban process of Kannur. The administrative reforms in the field of public health and sanitation, maintenance of roads, establishment of educational institutions etc., developed the town as a center of power. These interventions resulted in the emergence of urban society, culture and urban life which is apparent in urban forms, change in attitude, change in dress, food, house, education etc. To cater to the ever increasing demand of the urban class many halls, hotels, lodges, tea shops, libraries, barber shops etc. were emerged which resulted in the emergence of a public sphere in the society. The demographic structure and the population distribution in Kannur also had a decisive role in molding the town as an urban center.

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CONTEXTUALIZING THE CHANGE IN ATTIRE: A STUDY OF THE SARTORIAL PRACTICES OF THE MAPPILLA IN COLONIAL MALABAR, 1800-1921

C.H. Sharafunnissa

Malabar is an ancient name for the entire Malayalam territory stretching from the northern landmark of Mt. Deli to Cape Comorin. It was a general designation for today's Kerala and was also occasionally applied to the coasts of Tamil

Nadu and sometimes to the whole of south India. Malabar became one of the two districts of the Madras presidency on the shores of the Arabian Sea for a distance of 150 miles. From the British period the use of the term began to be restricted

to those portions of the west coast area which came under direct British rule. This area which covered the northern third of Kerala became the administrative district of Malabar.

The area known as Malabar includes 67 per cent of the Mappilla¹ population.² The tradition of the origin of the Mappillas connects with the conversion of a Perumal to Islam in the ninth century. There was considerable trade between Arabia and Malabar in the eighth and ninth centuries, and no doubt many of the traders gradually settled in the country. The result was the rise of a hybrid community composed of the offspring of mixed unions and of converts from the lower classes of the Hindus. They were spread over the whole of the district. The population is most dense along the coast and for some distance in to the interior because a large portion of the country to the Eastward being mountains and hills overran with forests.³ There are no compact villages or towns in Malabar, except along the coast, which are generally inhabited by Mappilla merchants and Mukkuvans or fishermen.⁴ This paper tries to understand the distinctive social custom of Mappilla clothing and their changes in practice of dressing during the colonial period. It also finds out the manufacture and supply of cotton goods in colonial Malabar.

Clothing is a collective term for items worn on the body. It may change depending on different ethnicity, geography, or climate. The Mappillas have absorbed many elements of Kerala culture to their way of life. In the fourteenth century Mappilla women wore a single long cloth as their dress, similar to Hindu women.⁵ Later their mode of costume is changed, and became different from the Hindu. It may have been an increasing withdrawal from social contact paralleling to the deterioration of relations between the two communities.⁶ Clothes serve many purposes like showing the identity, a sense of protection, a feeling of belongingness, a kind of status and sometimes gender also. In the royal families of Malabar clothing was a special case of body adornment, which signified their royal identity.

During the colonial period, the ordinary dress of a man was a *mundu*⁷, or cloth, generally white with a purple border, but sometimes orange or green or plain white.⁸ It is tied on the left (Hindus tie them on the right) and kept in

position by a *nul* or waist string, to which are attached one or more *elassus*⁹ of gold, silver or baser metal. These *elassus* contained texts from the Quran or magic *mantras*. A small knife is usually worn in the waist. Important persons worn a long flowing white garment of fine cotton and over this again may be worn a short waistcoat-like jacket. Though this is uncommon in South Malabar, and in the case of Tangals, etc. a cloak of some rich coloured silk.

The European shirt and short coat was also coming into fashion in the towns. A small cap of white or white and black is very commonly worn, and round this an ordinary turban or some bright colored scarf may be tied. Mappillas shave their heads clean. Beards are frequently worn especially by old people and *Tangals*¹⁰. Hajis or men who have made their pilgrimage to Mecca and other holy men often dye the beard red.¹¹

There are differences in opinion among the colonial writers about the clothing of women in public. In the words of William Logan, who had written a manual on Malabar, "the women appeared in public without veils, but among the better class it is usual to envelop the head and person but not the face in a long robe. The Mappillas are very scrupulous about the chastity of their women, who however enjoy much freedom".¹² But C. A. Innes, the settlement officer in Malabar had scribbled in the Madras District Gazetteer on Malabar that, "women wear a *mundu* of some coloured¹³ cloth, dark blue is most usual, a white lose bodice, more or less embroidered, and a veil or scarf on the head. In the case of the wealthy, the *mundu* may be silk of some light color. Women of the higher classes are kept secluded and hide their faces when they go abroad, but the lower classes are not particular in this respect".¹⁴

Men wear no jewellery except the *elassus* already mentioned and in some cases rings on the fingers, but these should not be of pure gold. Women's jewellery is of considerable variety and is sometimes very costly. It takes the form of necklaces, ear-rings, zones, bracelets and anklets. As amongst Tiyans and Mukkuvans a great number of ear-rings are worn; the rim of the ear is bored into as many as ten or a dozen holes in addition to the one in the lobe. Nose-rings were not worn.

Manufacture of Cotton Cloths

With regard to the history of manners customs and distinction of various castes in Malabar, it is necessary to refer the invaluable work of Francis Buchanan, A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar. When Malabar became under the control of the British rule, a commercial resident Mr. Torin has been endeavored to establish a manufacture of the plain cotton goods at Calicut which were called *long cloth*. It is to say the pieces are 72 cubits long, by 2 ¼ in width.¹⁵ The prices given to the weavers are 34, 32 and 30 gold *Fanams* for a piece according to its quality. The weavers have been brought from the dominions of Travancore and Cochin. Mr. Torin has established another manufactory of the same cloth at Palakkad, where the cloths are better and cheaper. In every district a few weavers make coarse cotton cloth for the use of the lower classes, and at Tellicherry a few make table-cloths, napkins, and towels for the Europeans and native Portuguese.¹⁶

Weaving was not an industry of very great importance in Malabar even though the fact that calico takes its name from Calicut. The cotton handloom weavers are chiefly Chaliyans, colonies of whom are found scattered over every taluk except Wayanad. Among Kaikolas, Tamil Devanga Chettis and a section of the Rowthens in the Palghat and Walluvanad taluks, weaving is the hereditary occupation. Each *amsam*¹⁷, however, has its group of weavers. The handloom weaver is a very conservative person and refuses to benefit by the recent improvements in handloom weaving, although by working with his wife and children long hours at his loom he is hardly able to earn more than six *annas* a day.¹⁸

Even though cloth is manufactured in this province, it is also imported through the ports of Calicut and Tellicherry. The import consists of cotton piece goods, shawls, broad cloths, nankeens etc and many other European articles

on which a duty of eight per cent is charged.¹⁹ The Mappilla imported coloured cloths for his womenkind from Madras and gets his own cloths from Tiruppur, Vaniyambadi, Salem, Kumbakonam and Kulasekharapatnam. Locally woven cloths have narrow coloured borders at their ends and the yarn is mostly Indian mill-made purchased from the Mappilla merchants. Taliparamba towels have attained some local celebrity. The Rowthens of Palghat woven the *lungis*²⁰ for Muhammadans. There is very little weaving of silk cloths in the district of Malabar.²¹

The manufacture of Mappilla skull caps was comparatively expensive when embroidered. So these articles practically dead in Malabar and has shifted to Talangeri, two miles from Kasaragod in South Canara where it flourished as a cottage industry. With the introduction of sewing machines, the caps can be made quicker and at less cost. Boys stitch the design and the women fill up the interspace with black yarn. Cannanore supplied the yarn and about 150,000 caps are made in a year and exported to Arabia, Basra, Colombo and the Straits Settlements and to Madras and Bombay.²² Each cap costs about 12 annas.

Conclusion

The Mappillas are Malayalis and Kerala is their home. They participated as citizens in the life of the state. They were a distinct community within Kerala society and their own life is qualified by its characteristics. The political, social, economic and educational pressures have brought many influences in their life. The dress of a Mappilla is extremely simple during the colonial period. Dress is significant in the very smallest detail because the language of dress in a society reveals their identity and sometimes their status. It doesn't mean the Mappillas were no longer the same. They were both receivers and givers in the process of the development of a whole people.

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4. *Ibid.*, p. 3
5. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, p. 221, quoting *Rahla* of Ibn Bathutha, tr. by Mahdi Hussain, p. 129
6. Roland E. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 251
7. The mundu is a common garment in Kerala which would wear around the waist. It is normally woven in cotton and coloured white or cream.

8. C. A Innes, and F. B. Evans, *Madras District Gazetteers: Malabar*, vol. 1, State Editor-Kerala Gazetteers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1951 (1908), p. 187
9. Small cylinders
10. An honorific title commonly applied to Mappillas who trace their descent to the Prophet's family.
11. C. A Innes, and F.B. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 187
12. William Logan, *Malabar: Manual of the Malabar District*, vol. II, Madras, 1887, p. 198
13. The colour is depending on whether the cotton is bleached or unbleached. When bleached the mundu is called '*neriyathu*'.
14. C. A Innes, and F.B. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 188
15. Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through The Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, London, 1988(1807), p. 475
16. Francis Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 476
17. The smallest revenue administrative division
18. C. A Innes, and F.B. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 254
19. Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995 (1906), p. 4
20. Lungi is locally known as kaili or kalli mundu. It was used by both men and women as a casual dress or working dress, and is generally colorful with varying designs.
21. C. A Innes, and F.B. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 254
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SOCIO-CULTURAL OBSTACLES AND THE EXPANSION OF WESTERN MEDICINE IN COLONIAL KERALA

K.A. Sheeba

The beginning of Social history of medicine as a field of historical study can be traced back to 1970 in Britain with the formation of Society for Social History of Medicine. The social history of medicine includes not only the history of diseases and its healing but also all aspects related to health including human attitude towards diseases, health policies of government, and social, political and cultural aspects of medicine. The advent of western medicine in India started with the arrival of the Portuguese. But it was the British who used western medicine as a tool for colonialism and conquest. Consolidation of British power in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar provided background to the dissemination of western medicine in Kerala. Though there were some changes in the nature of patronage to western medicine in the princely states (under indirect British rule) and Malabar (under direct British rule), the colonial imperatives behind western medicine were same in all territories whether directly or indirectly controlled by the British. When the British introduced western medicine in Kerala they faced many challenges. Did the socio-cultural features of Kerala have acted as obstacles to disseminate western medicine? If yes what were the methods and techniques adopted by the British to overcome these challenges? How did natives respond to those colonial attempts? This paper is an attempt to answer these questions. The theories and approaches of David Arnold regarding colonial medicine is adopted in

this paper. David Arnold argued that western medicine not only represented an immediate domain of health but a wider realm of cultural and political hegemony¹.

Earliest Western medical hospitals in Kerala

Though vaccination was introduced in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore as early as 1810's, Western hospitals were started in 1850's. In Cochin, State vaccination was introduced in 1802 with regular vaccinators. C. Achutha Menon remarked the first attempt to introduce European medical treatment in Cochin was made by a missionary, Rev. J. Dawson, who opened a dispensary in Mattancheri in 1818. In 1848, Diwan Sankara Variyar opened the first *sirkar* hospital; the Charity Hospital of Ernakulam². Earliest Western medical hospitals and dispensaries in Cochin were started at Thrissur (1875), Chittoor (1885), Irinjalakkuda (1888), Thrippunithura (1888), Kunnankulam (1888), Mattancherry (1890), Vadakkancherry (1891), Crangannur (1893), Nelliampathy (1898), Chalakkudy (1893), and Mattancherry (Male Dispensary, 1909).

In Travancore, Rani Gauri Lakshmi Bai (1810-1814) started a small vaccination Centre in 1813. But the public was afraid to take vaccination. Hence she instructed the members of royal family to get vaccinated firstly. In 1814, a Charity Dispensary was started in Thaikad for the prisoners. Great Maharaja Sri Swathi

Thirunal (1829-1847) upgraded the dispensary as a Charity Lying-in hospital in 1837. In 1864, Civil Hospital was started, which later developed to the present General Hospital. District Hospital Alleppey (1866), District Hospital Kottayam (1866) and Ophthalmic Hospital, Trivandrum (1905) some of the earliest western medical hospitals and dispensaries in Travancore.

Annual Report of the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries in the Madras Presidency reported that in Malabar either Civil Hospitals or dispensaries existed at Cannore, Mananthavady, Manchery, Palghat, Pallipport, Ponnani, Tellicherry and Vaytiri in 1881³. Nilampur Hospital, Mission Hospital Calicut (1892), Leper Asylum Chevayur (1901), Mental Hospital Pudiya, Railway Dispensary Calicut, Railway Dispensary Shoranur, and Railway Dispensary Cannanore were some other earliest Western medical hospitals and dispensaries in the district⁴. In 1931, there were thirteen hospitals run by the government and thirty dispensaries were under the local boards in Malabar⁵. It was not till October 1845 that the first public hospital was opened at Calicut⁶.

Socio-cultural obstacle

Initially, the British introduced western medicine for the Europeans in India and gradually it expanded among the natives. There were two understandings in European mind when they started the western medicine. First, it was not easy to introduce an alien system of medicine among the people who were racially and culturally differed from the Europeans. Since, the methods of healing, concept on causation of diseases and the life style of natives were different from the Europeans. In colonial point of view the natives were, thus racially and culturally backward and barbarous. Second, diseases affected the Europeans and natives discriminately, which strongly asserted the assumption of the socio cultural elements in the pathogenic agents. Since the introduction of a new system of medicine was not only medical but social and cultural matter too. Some of the earliest medico-topographical reports of military departments served the purpose of knowing social, cultural, geographical and economical peculiarities of the people and the land⁷. The importance of the locality, population details and pathogenic environments were considered when the British started dispensaries and hospitals in a

place. A report from the Local Self Government and Public Health Department of 1925 regarding the opening of one rural dispensary at Meppady in Wayanad revealed that the importance of population strength as one of the criteria for opening dispensary. Wayanad *taluk*, they said, as per the Census of 1921 had an area of 821 square miles consisted of 58 villages with 84771 people⁸. So a dispensary was opened there. The same demographic criteria considered when the British opened dispensaries at Parappanangady and Kottakkal in Eranad Taluk.

Regarding Indian society and its attitude towards western medicine, David Arnold remarked that “..the dispensaries became asylums for the destitute”⁹. These were places where prostitutes or the European poor went for treatment, and created a dilemma for the colonial medical establishment¹⁰. “While the higher classes of Hindus and Muslims had strong religious and social objections to visiting European hospitals and dispensaries, the lower social strata apparently had few such objections or became patients less from choice than from desperation or because the police or their European employers sent them there.”¹¹ Similar to this view, W.H. Davids, the Assistant Surgeon of Calicut pointed on some obstruction to the spread of vaccination. “The intense caste prejudices and good caste men with sufficient intelligence necessary to grapple with the first obstruction¹². In a report on vaccination in 1853 noted that

“apathy and indifference on the part of the native community was also an obstacle to its expansion..the utmost zeal and vigilance on the part of all connected with the supervision of vaccination must be continued, not only to disarm objection and prejudice, but to make its value known amongst the people, so as that they shall be made not merely willing to receive this great protective good for themselves, but also to be interested in its wide diffusion over the entire country”¹³.

The higher caste considered hospitals as an asylum for poor people and destitutes. Since the initial period of operation the convicts, prostitutes, workers and the people belonged to lower class were the visitors of hospitals. They were forced to come under periodical medical checkup. The entry of upper caste and lower caste within the same hospital was against the

social customs and practices of that period. The use of same medical equipment for people from different castes also invited an opposition from the part of higher castes.

For the spread of western medicine the British government tried to accommodate castes and beliefs of the natives. They only selectively rejected traditions and practices of the people of the land. When upper caste patients hesitated to visit in a same room along with the lower caste for medical consultation, separate arrangement was made for the upper caste patients¹⁴. Attempts were also made to meet caste requirements with respect to "diet, accommodation and even the choice of acceptable medicines and treatments, and latterly by constructing hospitals and dispensaries..."¹⁵. E.J. Barker, Asst.Surgeon reported on the supply of different items including screens and *purdah* to Civil Dispensary at Calicut in his report in 1855¹⁶.

The social practice like untouchability prevented the upper caste people to accept western treatment from the lower caste who were trained in various subordinate medical services. When caste prejudices prevented the higher caste women to accept the medical assistance from lower caste *dais* and midwives, the government appointed women from the Nair community as midwives to visit households of the higher caste to attend delivery cases¹⁷. The same method was adopted to the promotion of vaccination programmes.

Senjee Pulney Andy, in his book *Govassoory Prayogam Allenkil Vasoory Nivaranam* opined that " the superstition of the Hindus regarding smallpox which is generally believed by them as the visitation of the Goddess *Maridha* is corrected; and to ensure confidence proved also by reference to their shastras wherein the scourage is considered as the Priest of all disorders" ¹⁸. His account continued that the natives might have showed hesitation to accept western medicine against small pox because of two reasons; first, the Europeans were foreigners and believed in another religion so that the Hindus were unable to accept all what they said. Second the natives had faith in their *shastras* which contained methods of healing¹⁹. To overcome this problem, he opined, to allow the natives to follow their *shastras* and to convince them to accept western medicine along with it.

These kinds of colonial accommodation to the cultural aspects of natives was a technique of colonialism to expand western medicine.

Women showed some hesitation to accept western medicine during the initial period. There was a belief among them that the new medicine was intended for prostitutes since those class of women came under compulsory vaccination and the medical gaze. More over the higher caste women and the *purdah* women neglected hospitals. They were also unwilling to visit or being admitted to hospital wards where male patients present. The government provide more attention to this issue because health of women and children was a matter of prestige in the colonial competitive world.

There were three methods used by the British to change the attitude of women towards western medicine. Firstly, women were appointed in medical institutions as assistants. The colonizers wanted a group of natives as medical assistants to perform minor works in dispensaries, civil hospitals and to serve in the success of their vaccination programmes. Women were trained as *dhais* and midwives. The appointment of native women increased the confidence of the female patients to visit hospitals and dispensaries.

Secondly, women were encouraged by providing incentives to their services and also were provided with scholarship and funding for their studies. The Victoria Scholarship Fund was started in 1903 to provide grant to the midwives and indigenous *dais* to get training in the western medicine²⁰. In a report of the Local self-Government Department on public health remarked that Rs 75 was paid to the midwives of Mattannur as subsidy for a quarter of year in 1931. The amount was paid for their services during epidemics, fairs and festivals²¹. Allowances were also paid to candidates when they were sent to Madras for attending examination in the midwifery²². Moreover, the cost incurred for training was met by the government. A report in 1929 said that the Taluk Boards took initiatives to provide a 6 month training to the *dais*. They were trained another 3 months more to become recognized midwives²³. Moreover when the vaccination programme was started mothers had been provided incentives to take their children for vaccination²⁴.

Thirdly, separate hospitals, clinics and dispensaries were started for fulfilling the medical needs of women. The famous hospital for women and children was started at Thaikkad in Trivandrum. In 1837, it was upgraded as Thaikkad Lying-in Hospital. Government constructed separate wards adjacent to the hospitals for women and children. In 1870 separate wards were constructed in the General Hospital Trivandrum; one for Brahmin women and the other for the Nair women.²⁵ The Victoria Hospital for women and children was opened at Kollam on 16th February 1887, in connection with the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign²⁶. This institution, also, provided training for the midwives who could use their services in different hospitals and dispensaries. In Malabar, the Women and Children's Hospital was opened at Calicut. Asst. Surgeon S.J Wyndowe M D who was in charge of the Calicut dispensary wrote that "18 cases of primary Syphilis have been treated in hospital there being a European detachment at this station. I have admitted all women who were willing to enter the hospital suffering from that disease, and have encouraged others as far as possible to attend at the dispensary for the treatment" ²⁷. In order to overcome the prejudices of the native women, the Asst. Surgeon organized classes to the midwives for instructing to them the need of accepting western treatment²⁸.

Modernization of natives was one of the ways to the promotion of western medicine in Kerala. The missionaries were the best mediators who worked for the removal of cultural barriers among natives in one sense and between natives and colonizers in other. L.M.S and C.M.S were active in Travancore and Basel Mission in the Malabar. They played a vital role to limiting the rigidities of caste and in spreading the western medicine. Missionaries realized that medicine was one of the ways to convert upper caste. This civilizational, philanthropic and humanitarian aspect of the missionary medicine, called "clinical Christianity" added to the acceptability of western medicine²⁹.

The intolerance towards the natives to their 'ignorance of knowing good effects of western medicine' is revealed from the words of Asst. Surgeon E.S Cleveland. He remarked that the "supply of rice they receive being their sole attraction" to visit hospitals³⁰. Likewise the

importance of modernizing people from medical point of view found in a report on Vaccination in 1855. People showed hesitation to accept western medicine "not only to their disagreement on vaccination(western medicine) but also against other means devised for the good of the country and which can only be expected to be overcome fully, by educating the community generally, and enlightening their minds with true knowledge"³¹. In another report colonial medical officers commented on the attitude of indigenous *dais* that they were very prejudiced and jealous of their reputation and in honesty convinced that no one could teach them anything as regards to the normal labour. They believed that doctors were required only in abnormal cases, but they themselves were the proper judges as to when a doctor should be called in³². The government wanted to remove these types of 'uncivilized' views of patients as well as traditional healers. The colonizers believed that "the intellectual development of the people would relieve them from much suffering and prepare them for increased usefulness to the state" ³³. Dissemination of western rationality through various colonial institutions like educational institutions, press, judiciary and bureaucracy had an effect upon natives to accept western medicine and to consider one as civilized.

Language was another cultural issue faced by the British when they introduced western medicine. Colonial records show that when the British introduced vaccination programmes, notification in the vernacular language was published throughout in several districts, upholding the better effects of vaccination. The Superintendent of vaccination in Malabar district knew Malayalam, which helped him to carry out the programmes easily in 1858³⁴. Apart from this, awareness programmes and celebrations were organized for the natives and it projected the 'good effects' of the western medicine. Many missionary congregations also actively participated in this attempt. A Central Propaganda Board started in Madras for giving awareness among the natives³⁵. Fifth National Health and Baby Week were organized in the Wayanad Taluk in 1927-28³⁶. Similarly the Health Week was organized in Malabar from 24/02/1930 to 02/03/1930³⁷. Separate committees formed to provide awareness among the natives on health and hygiene. They made

propagandas through songs and postures in vernacular language. These propagandas and celebrations made the native people more close to the Western method of treatment and healthcare.

Though cultural barriers prevented the upper caste people to take western medicine along with the lower caste people, the former became the ardent supporters of western medicine in later periods. They provided financial supports and some of them donated land for starting dispensaries. Government Order in 1921 revealed that when a dispensary was opened at Kannambra in Palaghat Taluk, Chachunni Valiya Nayar paid Rs 5000 towards the initial cost of opening the dispensary and also promised a site for the construction of a building free of cost. He also promised to give an annual contribution of Rs 200 towards the maintenance of the dispensary³⁸.

The socio-cultural conditions created many obstacles to the spread of successful dissemination of western medicine in Kerala. British used many strategies to overcome these obstacles. In spite of supporting modernizations the attempts were made by the British to accommodate the caste prejudices and other interests of upper caste people. That is why the upper caste later became the supporters of western medicine by providing money and material. Modernization of Kerala society provides an opportunity to the backward caste to come forward and many among them, especially people from the Ezhava community, contributed to the spread of western medicine. A selective acceptance of the cultural aspects of natives were the features of western medicine during its initial periods of expansion in Kerala.

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THE ALIPURAM CAMP JAIL : THE HELL OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY

U. Shumais

Prison was an punitive mechanism was colonial innovation in Madras Presidency. Bellary now a part in Karnataka state was one of the hottest towns in the Madras Presidency. Alipuram was 3 kilometre away from Bellary railway station. It is a Bilingual Area with Telugu and Kannada speaking people. As one of the hottest town it also witnessed repeated failure of monsoon in colonial period itself. Monsoon failure resulted in scarcity of water. The Alipuram Jail at Bellary was initially a war camp or camp Jail built during First World War (hereafter FWW) for confining Turkish Prisoners of War (PoW).¹

During first World War around 217746 Ottomans were captured as Entities in which 150000 were captured by Britain. Here Britain means Britain and it colonies including India. Britain had opened Camps for Turkish Prisoners of War at Egypt, India, Burma (Myanmar), Cyprus and Mesopotamia. Hundreds of Turkish prisoners who were captured from the Suez canal war zone by the British were confined in various camps in India. The Total number of prisoners confined in India and Burmese Camps were more than 10000. The ten camps opened for the Turkish prisoners.² Thus the Turkish prisoners were confined in prisons which were more than thousand miles away from their homeland.

The proposal for opening Alipuram camp jail for Turkish PoW was submitted in 1916 itself.³ The report submitted by international red

cross committee⁴ who visited Bellary Camp jail in 12th March 1917 mentioned there were 137 Turkish PoW at that time.⁵ The prisoners were needed to work as a part of Labour. The official records shows that the government had provided a lot of facilities to the PoW at Alipuram Jail. They were also allowed to perform cultural activities and learning. In 1920 May the total number of Turkish PoW in India were about 6728. ⁶ Those confined in India, Burma and Cyprus were transferred to Egypt in during 1920-21 period. Even some were not transferred and Muhammad Abdurrahman had mentioned about that issue.⁷

There were so many graves of Muslims prisoners including Turkish prisoners at Bellary nearby Alipuram Camp Jail. Even the Turkish prince imprisoned as prisoner of war was died from Alipuram. ⁸ Their graveyards were actually located ten thousand miles away from Turkey.⁹ The graveyard was spread around two miles and there were hundreds of prisoners grave. One of the debatable question still going on is how hundreds or more than thousand prisoners at Alipuram jail died. A lot of reasons were argued for that. Some argued that it was due to official torture in 1918. While some argues that it was due to epidemics especially plague in 1918. But the historical account clearly mentions that the Plague had struck in Bellary in 1934 and not in 1918. Then there arises a question who were buried in the hundreds of grave at that spot. The answer for that mystery question is that the

majority of graves in Turkish prisoner graveyard were actually Mappila prisoners who were confined in Alipuram from 1921 to 1931. The maximum prisoners confined in there were not more than five hundred. It's mainly because as in 1922 itself as per official reports more than 400 Mappila prisoners died at Alipuram Camp Jail. The unofficial sources may much higher.

Malabar Struggle of 1921-22 was one of the major armed resistances against the Colonial State. A lot of studies have come on the Malabar Struggle. The struggle was an outcome of a lot of grievances especially agrarian and the extreme oppression of colonial state. However no works were came on the issue of 'penal crisis' and prison life of more than ten thousand prisoners. The colonial government opened various types of jails in and outside Malabar for solving the penal crisis and even Andaman Colonisation Scheme was started to deport Mappila . At the time of Malabar Struggle there were nine central jails¹⁰ and more than three hundred sub jails at Madras Presidency. In additional four sub jails were opened in Malabar, the Huzur Sub Jail at Kozhikode, The Cantonment and Fort Sub Jail at Kannur and the Malapuram Sub Jail, additional temporary accommodation at five central jails were also established.¹¹

Besides these sub jails barbed wire cages were also used in rebel zone. These cages were widely used throughout the world during First worldWar. The cages were constructed enclosed to buildings. The jail was actually constructed by using iron fencing and sheds inside were used to confine prisoners. They were located at Kozhikode, Tirur, Malapuram, Angadipuram, Manjeri, Pandikkad, Nilambur and Arikode. The prisoners in the cages were victims of heavy monsoons in day and night. Besides that they were also affected with various epidemics. R H Hitchcock the District superintendent of Malabar justified this extreme cruelty stating that it was economical in escorts and saving long journeys.¹² These cages which resulted in death of many prisoners faced much criticism and even Madras government criticised it.

The Malabar Struggle resulted in overcrowding of prisons and the government ordered the I G of prison for solving the issue. The Malabar District Collector E F Thomas in his letter to I G of prisons mentioned about the penal

crisis. The collector urged that Malabar Struggle prisoners must treat as war prisoners not as ordinary criminals.¹³ It was considering Alipuram as a camp of war prisoners the DM requested IG to check the possibility of confining Struggle prisoners at there. The I G reported the Alipuram camp jail can be used for confine Mappila prisoners.

The jail was opened on 1st October 1921 with central jail status for confining Mappila prisoners.¹⁴ The official documents state the jail had the facility for accommodating 2500 prisoners in the beginning.¹⁵ The first batch of prisoners arrived in 17th October 1921. It took three days train journey from Malabar to reach Bellary. Initially prisoners were mainly sent in closed wagons and were not even allowed to stand properly as the wagon was extremely overfilled. Gandhi compared the wagon transport as the crucifixion of prisoners.¹⁶ This cruel practice continued until the 'Wagon Tragedy'¹⁷ of November 1921. ¹⁸ The FSG mentions that three batches of prisoners were sent to Bellary in closed wagons prior to Wagon tragedy.¹⁹ Prisoners were forcibly filled and they struggled hard to get air in the closed wagons. The closed door was mainly opened only at Podanur railway station after starting from Tirur. The prisoners through the journey were in extreme hunger and thirst.

The practice of using closed wagons ended after Wagon tragedy. C Rajagopalachari had reported it to Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi stated that after wagon incident prisoners were kept in properly ventilated carriages abandoning closed wagons and given water on the way and as a result of the sacrifice of seventy prisoners, the rest have got some relief.²⁰ As T S Tiruvenkatachami, a first grade pleader in Salem happened to travel a train carrying Malabar struggle prisoners stated that even after wagon Incident there was no feeding facility to prisoners who were in miserable condition.²¹

The Alipuram Camp Jail was soon come to know as the hell in the Madras presidency and prisoners were extremely tortured. In the beginning of December the total prisoners at Alipuram were three thousand.²² Prisoners while the Jail manual and prisoners memoirs states Alipuram jail was over crowded and more than four thousand prisoners of Malabar Struggle were confined at there in its initial years. A

Saidali stated that in 1923 there were around eight thousand prisoners at Alipuram jail.²³ In 1924 the total prisoners at Alipuram jail as per official records were 5169.²⁴ This record clearly shows the overcrowding in prison.

Architecture

The Alipuram Camp Jail was not like the other central jails in the presidency. The jail wall and buildings, cells, hospital, kitchen, workshop etc are different and in pathetic condition. Instead of stone wall they used wired fencing. Armed police was deployed as security outside the wired fencing. Initially during the martial law period military were used as guards and it was only later the jail authorities got the charge of guarding. Even in 1930s walls was not created for prison and Vishnu Baratheeyan reminds prisoners can see the persons walking outside the jail through the wired fencing.²⁵ There was no proper building nor blocks rather tarpaulin tents and thatched roofs. Both sides of sheds were covered. One block comprised by five or six sheds. Instead of confining prisoners at cells in night they were chained in open space. The workshop was not a building rather a plain ground.²⁶

The prisoners were greeted to jail by *nadayad*²⁷. Moidu Moulavi in his autobiography mentioned about *nadayadi* that in his batch around one hundred prisoners were attacked by wardens from gate to kitchen and a piece of flesh had torn apart and flew away from his thigh.²⁸ This clearly reveals the prime target in Alipuram jail was prisoner's body. The jail officials of Alipuram were mentioned as barbaric in character and treated prisoners like wild animals.²⁹ Abdurrahman in *Al Ameen* recalls his experience one hundred prisoners were beaten with batons by the wardens from jail gate to quarantine. Even the medical officer neither listened the complaints of prisoners nor examined them.³⁰ This torture remained for many years. It was counter attack from Mappila prisoners which ended the attacking behaviour of officials.³¹ Thus it's clear that prisoners in the beginning years were subjected to ill treatment from the authorities. Soon after admissions a big iron ring was put in prisoner's right leg for chaining in night. Initially prisoners were kept at Quarentine for 10 days.

EVERYDAY LIFE AND RESISTANCES.

The prisoner's first job in the early morning after removing the chains were clearing of urine pots and enquiring whether any prisoners passed away. The mappilla prisoners were forced to carry the urines for the years and even a lot of questions raised at Madras Legislative Council on that matter was ignored by officials. A long queue was there for urination. This shows there were no proper sanitary arrangements to thousands of prisoners. The queue before each toilet contains around one hundred prisoners with chains in their legs. There was no water at toilet for cleaning hence soil was used.³² The scarcity of water made daily bathing out of question in Alipuram Jail. The prisoners were permitted to bath only once in a month at open space with police presence The prisoner was allowed only three cups of water for bathing and if anything more was taken severe beating from warden would be the result.³³ Even there was no soap and enough water only three cups of water was sprayed into the body. This also resulted in spreading many skin diseases. The water scarcity also resulted in giving contaminated water for drinking and cooking.

The presence of chlorine and other chemicals in drinking water resulted in diseases and death of many prisoners. The authority was forced to supply pure water after the entire prisoners went on hunger strike.³⁴ This was temporary and soon the water scarcity and bad water supply were continued. The food at Alipuram was also worst. The prisoners got food three times in a day. Gruel in the morning, the midday meal at 11 A M and finally meals at evening.³⁵ The lack of lighting facility in prisons was the main reason for giving night food in evening itself and the prisoners were chained soon after that. Gruel was given in morning. The gruel contains stones worms, wools etc. After noon rice and curry was also miserable. The rice was cooked without cleaning and washing hence contains a lot of stones and worms³⁶

Labour

The prisoners at Alipuram Jail from the beginning were used to indoor as well as outdoor labour. Moidu Moulavi reminds the workshop was actually a plain ground were prisoners engaged in coir making in sunlight.³⁷ The main jobs include wool making, gardening

and stone breaking. The jail has also a workshop for coir making. Even though the outdoor labour was against Jail discipline the officials used prisoners for outside labour. A Saithali who was at Alipuram jail as a prisoner in 1923 mentions that two thousand prisoners were brought to outdoor work by chaining their legs to prevent escape.³⁸ In 1923 about 5935 prisoners from Alipuram jail was hired out to military department for grass farm cultivation.³⁹ The jail department got rupees 1112 from military department for hiring prisoners. This clearly shows two things the prison was highly overpopulated in 1923 as well as the prisoners were widely used for outside labour. The outside labour was against jail discipline. While this clearly shows the colonial authorities widely tortured Mappilla prisoners for extracting money. Moyarath Sankaran states Mappila prisoners were taken to Gundakal railway station for work.⁴⁰ This outdoor labour reveals the term discipline was far away in the case of treating mappilla prisoners. The Alipuram jail was used as a concentration camp by exploiting mappilla prisoners rather than treating them as per jail manual with hard labour and punishments.

Punishments

The jail officials targeted the prisoners body in the name of punishments as well as without any reasons. The Al Ameen reported that the wardens and jailors were beating Mappila prisoners like wild beasts and it was not surprising that the prisoners assaulted the officials in desperation.⁴¹ Simply the treatment given to the prisoners were similar to inhumane punishments prevailed in eighteenth century prisons in Britain. Even corporal punishment as an internal punishment was also awarded to Mappilla prisoners using stripes. In 1923 many prisoners at Alipuram jail were officially subjected to corporal punishment.⁴²

Night

The night at Alipuram was so horrible and cruel. The prisoners were chained in grounds rather than confining in cells at night. The chains in leg of the prisoner were tied with one big chain two prisoners were tied together. Prisoners were not given any sleeping materials sheets and blankets. The prisoners slept in ground and used soil for making pillow.⁴³ As the prisoners were sleeping in plain ground the changes in nature

like rain directly affected them. Mozhikunnath described that in night when lightning thunder and rain came all prisoners become afraid but nobody released them from chain.⁴⁴ The prisoners thus needed to survive the nights in that condition. In night prisoners were given pots for urination. Most of the prisoners cannot sleep in night due to the urine and vomiting of the chained co-prisoners who were affected by cholera and other diseases.⁴⁵

A lot of questions were raised by press and at Madras Legislative Council on the chaining of prisoners at night and the improper sanitary facilities mainly of night. The Quami from Madras reports even in 1925 April there were four thousand mappilla prisoners at Alipuram jail, the hottest town of presidency and requested new viceroy to release all Mappilla prisoners.⁴⁶ Newspapers severely criticised chaining of prisoners at night. Al amen criticised the cruel method of chaining prisoners like dogs in night was stated as 'Satisfactory' by A R Knapp and Sir C P Ramaswamy who visited the Alipuram camp jail in 1925.⁴⁷ Mathrubhumi by calling Alipuram jail as hell expresses its surprise that the government had money for chains to enchain several thousands of prisoners but no money for iron bars.⁴⁸ One of the non official member wrote about night chaining was 'for want of proper safeguard and in the absences of bar fencing prisoners were chained in night as 'A dire necessity, no doubt, but a barbarous relic.'⁴⁹ The inhuman treatment of prisoners and cry for solving it was not heard by government as the night chaining continued. As the law member claimed that Alipuram Jail was a clean prison just after P Keshavapillai who visited the jail and stated that night chaining as very cruel.⁵⁰ The various newspapers also requested government to sanction loans for renovating the jail by erecting new buildings for confining prisoners in night. The chained prisoners were forced to sleep on floor for years shows the uncivilised treatment by the colonial officials. The sick prisoners didn't received any medical care in night

The Alipuram Jail was famous for higher death rate in its initial years.⁵¹ The main reason for jail death in earlier period was mainly because of bad food and lack of medical attention. Most of the sick prisoners were not properly registered or treated. Even prisoners with incurable diseases are confined stating if

they were released the peace of the country would be disturbed.⁵² The high rate of mortality did not alarm the officials as the jail hospital was also in pathetic. As for name sake we can call it hospital as most of the prisoners admitted with dysentery died at their without proper treatment and caring.⁵³ It was in later period the officials decided to appoint experienced doctors to check the high mortality rate. A Saidali who was in Alipuram Jail in first half of 1923 in his autobiography mentioned about the doctor H C Berley a newly appointed doctor was a sincere person and he was succeeded in checking the spread of epidemics.⁵⁴ The total death in 1922 was 448 while in 1923 was 76 which shows the effort taken by Dr H C Berley for treating Mappila prisoners even taking his personal money. But this was temporary as the death rate and lack of medical care continued. The prisoners had to suffer this until their death or completion of their sentences. For escaping from these hardships many prisoners agreed Andaman Colonisation Scheme.

Resistances

The Mappila prisoners were not ready to give up their resistance in prison too. From 1921 onwards the jail witnessed continuous hunger strike by prisoners individually and separately for solving various grievances. In 1924 there was a continuous revolt or attacks in Alipuram Jail by Mappila prisoners against the torture and attack by Wardens. The reason was rather than following the jail rules properly there was rule by jail officials especially wardens with their own notorious rules, attacks corruption and so on. The prisoners mainly sketched the notorious wardens then attacked them the prisoners were punished severely for that but they didn't give up and continued attacking the wardens which forced so many wardens to quit the job.⁵⁵ Finally the jail officials as a result started following jail rules, treated prisoners humanely also forwarded their petitions to government. The movement was a success to an extent as the results later was mostly in favour of convicts.⁵⁶ Those who don't have voice were tortured by wardens even after that as the milk for sick prisoners were black marketed.⁵⁷ The prisoners were subjected to severe exploitation. The Al Ameen wrote an article in English as well as in Malayalam on the incident inviting attention of government and public on the ill treatment towards prisoners.⁵⁸

The resistance was also conducted against the nadayadi. It was in such counter attack Raghavan Menon the jail official was wounded on his face and hands.⁵⁹ Al Ameen stated that If the jail officials treated prisoners as mentioned in jail rules no troubles would have been created.⁶⁰

Even in 1930s there were more than one thousand Mappila prisoners were at Alipuram jail. Besides them the government also confined Satyagraha prisoners from Malabar, Tamilnadu, Andra and Karnataka at there. The prison life of Mappila prisoners at that time was mainly mentioned in autobiography of congress prisoners like Moyarath Sankaran, Vishnu Baratheeyan, K A Damodara Menon etc. Moyarath sankaran states that when they were brought to Alipuram there were 1200 mappilla prisoners and around 1500 satyagraha prisoners.⁶¹ The prison labour at Alipuram in 1930 was also coir making however Mappilla prisoners were also used to outdoor labour. The mappilla prisoners who worked in kitchen at a time sold around two hundred packets of lunch.⁶² This also raises another question to which they sold inside or outside jail. This was done illegally and the wardens claimed a portion of this money. The mappilla prisoners also run a tea club in prison and majority of Mappilla prisoners also had money to purchase tea, tobacco or beedi.⁶³ This indicates tea became a major consumption items to keralites at that time. The wardens also know it and if any warden feels dislike on a prisoner he will be charged and the prisoner need to pay four annas.⁶⁴ The prisoners were charged often however by the arrival of satyagraha prisoners it was decreased. This also shows the hell in 1920's was transformed to a moderate area or an adjustment between prisoners and officials in 1930.

The jail authorities mainly decided to crush the satyagraha prisoners as they were not a single group and the various issues created by them. The jail superintendent secretly call upon some senior Mappila prisoners and offered one hundred post of convict warden and convict supervisor to Mappila for six months. They were issued with convict warden uniform, cap and lathi or baton.⁶⁵ While Vishnu Baratheeyan also admits the secret meeting he states authorities offered 300 posts including convict warden and supervisor. Whatever is the number it was offered secretly and more than one hundred

were issued with dress and baton to take charge on Monday. The main task was to control the satyagrahi prisoners.

This secret was told to Malayali satyagraha prisoners from Kerala by Mappila prisoner. Both Mappila and satyagraha prisoners identified it as a part of divide and rule policy of colonial authorities. The Mappilas told to Moyarath the authorities strategy by offering convict warden post was a fight between Mappila prisoners and Satyagraha prisoners.⁶⁶ On the day allotted them to take charge as convict wardens they wear normal uniform and given back the convict warden uniform and lathy to authorities stating they were not willing to do this job.⁶⁷ Vishnu Baratheeyan considers both Mappilas and satyagraha prisoners as political prisoners both aiming the freedom of nation are the member of family of same blood.⁶⁸ This indicates their notion of freedom even after ten years of imprisonment.

In 1931 the total Malabar Struggle convicts at Alipuram jail was 1372. Al Ameen from Kozhikode strongly criticised the confinement and urged the government to release this Mappillas.⁶⁹ Even in 1932 there were around 1366 prisoners at Alipuram Camp jail. The government decided to close the notorious Alipuram Camp jail on 31st March 1932 and prisoners who would be left in the jail on that date were transferred to other Central jails in the Presidency.⁷⁰ This doesn't mean the hell was closed as it re opened during mass public protests.

That is it was opened during Second World War on 5th February 1941 for confining detainees and convicted prisoners belonging to Congress and Communist party.⁷¹ The Communists convicted for various offences faced extreme hardships at there. Congress volunteers in Malabar were imprisoned in connection with the *Individual Satyagraha* and the Quit India Movement and they were placed in the C class. The major change that took place was keeping these arrested in the Alipuram Jail. The main reason for shifting them to the Alipuram Jail was the hot atmosphere and cruel treatment of prison officials. V A Kesavan Nair, a C class political prisoner of the Alipuram Jail has written that the jail was used to confine political prisoners and there were around twenty five B class prisoners and five hundred C class prisoners.⁷² Rice was

given in a round shaped plate and the prisoners called it a time piece and the main curry was spinach at like that of the jail.⁷³ The C class food remained unchanged with foul smell, worm's stones and so on. Even the colour of rice was not white but it was in various colours during various days and the main colours were black, blue, red green and so on with foul smell and worst taste.⁷⁴ This food resulted dysentery to so many prisoners. At the same time the B class prisoners cooked their own food and had the provision of tea, coffee, sugar, butter, and so on.⁷⁵ While the gruel and rice given to C class prisoners was not enough to cure the hunger of them. Later when the jailor of Alipuram jail was transferred the new jailor allotted Better rice to C class political prisoners.

At that time there were around two hundred Communist political prisoners at Alipuram Jail. The jail officials were never ready to accept them as political prisoners. When the officials called them 'you are criminals' they strongly replied that we are political prisoners.⁷⁶ The political prisoners belonging to INC also faced extreme hardships at Alipuram.

The main reason for opting Alipuram was the climate, bad facilities, scarcity of water and its staff as it was known as the hell of Madras presidency among prisoners. The distance and lack of enough travel facilities to Bellary from Malabar decreased the visitors to these prisoners. K A Keraleeyan stated that the aged parents of political prisoners were notable to visit Alipuram Jail due to travelling issues.⁷⁷ Not only the travel difficulties but also the hot weather troubled the prisoners with various health issues. In 1945 the prisoners including those convicted in connection with the Morazha Chombal and Kizhariyur incidents also were at Alipuram. The Communists in 1945 decided to launch a movement against this far away confinements. K A Keraliyan urged for a peoples movement in September 1945 for the transfer of political prisoners from Alipuram Jail to various jails of Malabar or to Coimbatore Central Jail.⁷⁸ P Krishna Pilla the secretary of Communist Party of Kerala in November 1945 demanded the government to transfer K P R Gopalan and other political prisoners confined at Bellary, Alipuram and Rajamundry Jails to Kannur Central jail.⁷⁹ The government was not ready to transfer them from these jails.

The prisons in colonial India were far away from European prison of that period. These prisons were far away from Foucault's concept of panopticon and prison discipline. The Alipuram jail was an important institution which targeted the political prisoners who fought against the colonial oppression. The geographical location itself was a oppression as the prisoners faced extreme humidity, lack of water and various epidemics as a result of that. The Mappila prisoners were treated in extreme inhuman method or the jail officials followed a uncivilised approach towards them. The higher death rate in Alipuram was only due to worst food and water,

extreme torture and lack of medical care. The thousands of prisoners were even used for outside labour which shows these prisons was entirely different from ordinary prisons. The jail was closed in 1931 when the political atmosphere became quiet. The reopening of Alipuram in 1941 clearly reveals it as a political tool of oppression. This time the main victims were ordinary political prisoners belonging to Indian national congress and Communist party. The public protest for transferring these prisoners to Malabar reveals that the people were well aware that Alipuram was not a jail rather it was a hell.

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17. On 19th November 1921 two hundred prisoners arrived at Tirur Sub Jail from different parts of South Malabar. Reeve and Sergeant Andrews who were in charge of the prisoners' transport decided to transport one hundred prisoners to the Jail at Bellary. Even though two wagons were available. Thus, one hundred prisoners were forcefully put into Wagon LV 1711 by 7. 15 P M. The doors were closed and locked by the police. The prisoners were escorted by Sergeant Andrews and seven policemen. The prisoners due to overcrowding and other problems fell thirsty and shouted for water. One of the survived prisoner in his statement recalls it as when they shouted for water someone said them that they would get water at Podanur station and if they continued shouting they

- would be shot. When the door was opened at Podanur, the officials were frightened by the scene. Fifty six persons were found dead and all the prisoners were dragged into railway platform. Of the remaining forty four prisoners, six died from platform itself. Thirteen were taken to hospital and twenty five people were transferred to the Coimbatore Jail in a lorry. Later eight more prisoners died and the total casualty of the event became seventy.
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PULAPPEDI AND MANNAPPEDI – A SOCIAL CUSTOM OF VENAD: AN ANALYSIS

S. Simi

Introduction

In the medieval society of Kerala, particularly in Venad, there were many social segments or castes having diversities of traditions, practices, habits, food, titles, marriage laws, religious beliefs and social position. Venad was an ancient territorial principality that emerged after the decline of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram in the 12th century AD. The structure of Venad society was caste based and traditional in nature. The status of women in Venad was closely related to the social institutions. The social institutions which included social stigmas like *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi* gives a clear picture of the sufferings of women.

Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi

Pulappedi and *Mannappedi*, were evil customs related to the system of pollution or untouchability.¹ *Pulappedi* was also called *Pulappidi*, and they respectively mean 'fear from Pulayas' and 'capture by Pulayas'.² Pulayas were low caste agricultural labourers, while Mannans were the washermen who did service for the low caste and were therefore themselves considered among the polluting classes.³ *Pulappedi* was also known by the name of *Parappedi* with reference to the Parayas who exercise it.⁴

This peculiar custom existed in Venad till the end of the 17th century. Through this custom the higher caste woman became an outcaste. According to this custom or institution if a slave like Pulaya, Paraya or Mannan happened to see a high caste woman alone after dusk in certain months she would lose her caste and would have to go with him. It was enough if the Mannan or Pulaya threw a stone or a stick at her or called out that he had seen her.⁵ Such women

were never allowed to enter their houses and their only way of living was to go with the Mannan or Pulaya however old or sick he may be. The inhumanity of this social practice lay in the fact that the woman who was not at all guilty had to undergo excommunication.⁶ Through this custom Pulayas were permitted to take away any high caste woman found outside her abode.⁷ From this it can be understand that the lower castes like Pulayas had certain rights and enjoyments in society. There is no definite information available as to how this practice originated and how the polluting classes acquired this privilege.⁸

During the months of *Kumbha* and *Meena* (February and March), if a Pulayan meets a Nayar woman alone he may seize her, unless she is accompanied by a male child. This time of the year was called *Pula pedikalam*. Gundert says that this time of terror was in the month *Karkataka* (15th July to 15th August), during which high caste women may lose caste if a slave happens to throw a stone at them after sunset.⁹

Barbosa was the first person who recorded this social practice. Barbosa, writing about AD 1516, refers to this strange custom as practiced by the *Poleas* (Pulayars). If there should be no witnesses to this incident, the Nayar woman herself, publishes it immediately, crying out, and leaves her house without choosing to enter it again to damage her lineage. If her relatives know this, they will kill her as a remedy or sell her to strangers. So what she most thinks of doing is to run to the house of some low people to hide her.¹⁰

Certain features of this time honored custom were not worthy. The Mannan and

others resorted to this practice only during a certain period in the year. They practiced only against women going out alone after night fall. Women remaining at home were never troubled. They could travel anywhere during night time accompanied by a male child at least three years old.¹¹

It is believed that, the Nayars themselves created this custom to control their own women's freedom.¹² The women of higher caste had not a proper type of marriage or marriage relations. They faced scarcity of sexuality in their life because of not getting husbands or absence of husband due to military duties. So may be the higher caste men themselves had created the customs like *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi* to prevent their women to go out of their house after sunset and also for preventing their immoral relations with other men, and also to protect their chastity. But later, this custom became an anarchy faced by women of higher caste. And the greatest opponent of the abolition of this custom was higher caste men themselves. They needed this custom, mainly for developing caste division and untouchability among people. So the main aim behind this custom was to protect their caste rules and to prevent their women from immoral relations. Another notable fact is that the lowest ones in the caste hierarchy of that time were Pulaya and Paraya. They got the opportunity by this custom to secure women of the higher caste. This custom also highlights caste differences and lack of freedom of higher caste women in society.

If the woman subjected to *Mannappedi* was pregnant, she would not be accepted as wife by the Mannan till her delivery. She becomes his wife only if the child born is a girl. If it happened to be a boy she could go back to her house and her relatives would gladly receive her.¹³ Here reveals the discrimination based on gender is revealed. In those days higher caste women had to suffer much due to this evil practices. Women, who were afraid of losing their chastity and position in society, were ready even to sacrifice their lives.¹⁴ Those who became an outcaste as a result of the custom of *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi* became *Avarna* castes.

This evil custom was stopped by Vira Kerala Varma or Kottayam Kerala Varma in 871 ME (1696 AD) by a royal edict known as Tiruvithangodu record.¹⁵ This order was

engraved on stone. It is a royal edict prohibiting *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi* which appear to have been current at that time.¹⁶ King Vira Kerala Varma ordered that, any Pulaya who was caught molesting women according to this *Pulappedi* practice would be killed.¹⁷ It is said that, if *Pulappedi* or *Mannappedi* occurs, that woman needs only to take a bath in a pond and that would purify her. It also ordered that this edict to be in force till so long as grass, the earth, the stones and the Kaveri existed.¹⁸

The punishment for violation of the proclamation was extremely severe. If a Mannan practiced the above custom, all the members of his family, including the children in the wombs of women, were to be cut into pieces. It was also ordered that if a woman was polluted by *Pulappedi* the pollution should be considered as removed if the woman bathed in a tank and came out.¹⁹ Thus, the dreadful customs prevailed in Venad, due to which the women suffered a lot came to end.

Vira Kerala Varma, though not a ruler of Venad, states in his proclamation that, it was applicable to the whole of Venad.²⁰ He had no power to abolish them in the whole of Venad. But he used the power of Umayamma Rani and abolished this customs in Venad. But the Nayars, especially landlords were against this abolition and they complained about the matter to Umayamma Rani.²¹ It is said that they planned to kill Kerala Varma, and Umayamma Rani indirectly gave consent. So it can be said that Kerala Varma became martyr for abolishing *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi*.²² It can be understood that the ruler was against this caste based anarchies while it was supported and encouraged by feudal lords.

Conclusion

The women faced more restrictions than permissions under the social institutions. The social stigmas were originated as a result of the influence of religion, caste system and social situations. During an age when caste distinctions were very powerful in society, Pulayas, Parayas and Mannans who belonged to the lower castes, had secured an opportunity to make their own the women of higher castes by practices such as *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi*. It is not known how the lower castes especially the Pulaya, Paraya and Mannan had received these rights. The

society and social structure had allowed such practices due to superstition. Thus the lower castes have some rights, even to claim the women of the higher castes. *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi* were an opportunity allowed by the *Naduvazhis* to the suppressed lower castes once in a year during the month of *Karkitaka* to claim the women belonging to the higher castes. Whenever this custom had occurred the higher caste women had lost their caste. Here the importance was given to caste. If she lost her caste, then she can't enter even her own house. If she enters the house, then the whole family would lose their caste. This was one of the beliefs

and the tradition based on caste existed in Venad till the end of 17th century. Through this system the women were prohibited from moving freely out of their houses at night. The practice of *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi* also reduced the *Savarna* women to *Avarnas* or lower caste. They were tortured both physically and mentally. The society had given the lower caste the chance to secure higher caste women in the form of *Pulappedi* and *Mannappedi*. Perhaps it must have been an act of relief of their oppression. With the abolition of this practice the lower caste lost the opportunity to own higher caste women.

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EVOLUTION OF ŚAIVISM IN EARLY MEDIEVAL TAMILAKAM:AN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDY

P. Sree Jyothi

The history of Śaivism has been studied and interpreted by scholars in various dimensions. Śiva is an elusive God whose history cannot be properly fitted into the Aryan-Non-Aryan divide. In Tamilnadu, Śaivism attained a popular cult status during early medieval period. The Śaivāgamas and Tirumurai are testimony of the impact this sect had on the religious history of Tamilnadu. The study of these texts can lead to a nuanced understanding of the workings of

Śaivism in the history of the Tamil country and the epigraphic sources are another major source that is a huge help in the understanding of the spread of Śaivism.

The term 'Bhakti' has been described by various scholars as an ideology, a movement etc; it was an important part in the consolidation and reformation of the Purāṇic religious sects. According to Brockington, it was characterized

by a 'personal relationship between the deity and the devotee, and worship became a fervent emotional experience in response to divine grace'.¹ Among the Nayanmars who firmly established Śaiva Bhakti, the four most prominent were Campantar, Cuntarar, Appar and Manikkavacakar.²

According to Vijaya Ramaswamy, the period from the 7th to 12th century constitutes the hard core of the 'Bhakti movement' in South India and it created a sacred space for the socially, ritually and economically underprivileged and unprivileged sections of the society. The path of knowledge precluded the lower castes and women since they were forbidden to read the sacred texts. The paths of devotion preached by the Bhakti saints required from the devotees nothing else but love and surrender and therefore provided these oppressed categories with an ideal alternative. They mostly preached in the language of the common people- Tamil.³

Romila Thapar has also looked at the flexibility of Bhakti sects in overcoming the brahmanical orthodoxy and has opined that their status was often linked with royal or political patronage and it was also out of social requirement that they emerged. She points out that non-violence often propitiated as a feature of Hinduism is not true especially as seen from the case of Tamil Śaivite hymns where there is clear mention of persecution of sramanic sects as in the case of Appar and this rivalry was mostly for economic or political hegemony. She also points out that untouchability (for example in the case of Śaivite Nandanar) is also a form of religious persecution.⁴

Champakalakshmi looks at the influence of Purāṇic religion on Śaiva Bhakti tradition, the development of temple and intensely human Bhakti as an important part of religion starting from the period of Sangam texts like Paripāṭal and Thirumurukāṛṟupatai (in Pathupattu), which was developed more in the Bhakti texts later.⁵ In Bhakti hymns apart from intense devotion, there was a protest against Brahmin orthodoxy, and denunciation against Jains and Buddhists.⁶ Direct rejection of caste can be found only in the hymns of Śaivite saint, Appar. Bhakti led to the expansion of the role of temple in restructuring society and economy; and also facilitated the advance of branches of knowledge associated

with ritual display namely architecture, sculpture, painting, fine arts like dance etc-iconography-religious and political and art were used as effective ideological apparatus.⁷ The Bhakti saints through their hymns iconize many concepts of sculptures; the hymns popularized many forms of Śiva in local myths and Puranas and they were probably introduced into the temple iconography later. The Śaiva Bhakti tradition set out to achieve reclaiming of people from the heretical sects to Hindu orthodoxy as well as assimilation of esoteric sects like Kāpālikas, Kālāmukhas and Paśūpatas into a popular Hindu orthodox mode of Śaivism.⁸ The Bhakti hymnists also introduced the idea of a 'sacred geography' coinciding with the agrarian and political geography of the Chola period, with the temple as the institutional focus in all these centers associated with the Bhakti saints.⁹ Also, the idea of pilgrimage developed with the sacred cultic geography and the 'Atta-Virattana' of Śiva is an important example which included 8 important sites of Śaivism where he performed 8 heroic deeds such as(Tiru)-Kantiyur, Kovalur, Pariyalur, Kurukkai, Atikai, Valuvur, Katavur and Virkuti' where he takes the form of 'Kankālamūrti/Bhikṣatana, Andhakavadhamūrti, Dakṣārimūrti, Kāmārimūrti, Tripurāntakamūrti, Gaṅgāsurasamhāramūrti, Kālasamhāramūrti and Jalandharasurasamhāramūrti respectively.¹⁰

The textual tradition of the Śaivas while undergoing the process of redaction was influenced by philosophy, counter traditions as well as the socio-economic and political contexts and it came through a process of syncretism and synthesis. Only after the composition of Periyapurānam by Cekkilar in 12th century that the 63 saints of Śaiva sect came to be worshipped, as earlier only the composers of Tevāram hymns who were patronized by the ruling class. It was composed in a context when there was a crisis caused by sectarian rivalry between the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite Bhakti sects. Through the process of a Śaiva hagiographical tradition, all forms of Śaivism including Kāpālikas, Kālāmukhas and even the wandering Siddhas were incorporated so as to create a unified tradition.¹¹

From the analysis of the inscriptions of early medieval period from the Pallava period (about 6th-8th century C.E.) onwards there is the initiation to the general consolidation of the

Purāṇic sects that started from this period that also mark the beginning of Bhakti tradition. The construction of the rock-cut cave temples that start from the Pallava period from Mahendravarman 1's period as indicated in Mandagapattu inscription and also the numerous inscriptions in the Mamallapuram indicate the proliferation of the temple worship. The starting of Brahmadeya grants can be seen in this time period. The constructions of temple for multiple deities in the earlier period indicate that there was no consolidation of monotheistic Puranic worship in the period of Pallavas. The names of temples like Rajasimheśvara, Atiranachandresvara as seen in inscriptions indicate that the equalizing of royalty with divinity started from the Pallava period onwards which continued in the Chola period as Rājarājesvaram, Gangaikondacholesvaram etc. In rare cases like the Kudimiyamalai inscriptions¹² we also get indicators of the artistic developments under the royalty during the period, in which there is the notations of vocal music and is attributed to the times of Mahendravarman 1 and it invokes Śiva.

The main inscriptions of Mahendravarman 1 indicate about the contribution he did to the development of the rock-cut architecture in Tamilakam- Mandagapattu¹³ is the first major inscription of him which says it is built by Vichitrachitta (biruda of the king) dedicated to the Trimūrtis without using brick, metal or mortar, Trichinopoly inscription indicates his building of a rock cut cave temple there called 'Lalitankura Pallavesvara griham'¹⁴, the 'Dalavanur inscription'¹⁵ mentions about a rock cut cave temple on a hill and is called 'Satrumallesvaralaya', Satrumalla identified as one of the birudas of Mahendravarman 1. In his Tirukkalukunram and Vallam inscription there is description about how his vassals also engaged or took part in the constructions of some rock-cut temples- for instance, in Vallam¹⁶, the rock cut temple is said to have been built by Skandasenan, son of Vayantappiriasar, a vassal of Mahendravarman 1. Mahendravadi inscription speaks of the grant by 'Gunabhara' identified as Mahendravarman 1 for a Vishnu temple despite him being a Śaivite supposedly converted by Appar himself. 'Siyamangalam inscription'¹⁷ is another important inscription of Mahendravarman 1 as it's a rock cut Śiva temple called 'Avanibhajana Pallavesvaram' by him, and

it was in this temple that one of the earliest depictions of Śiva-Naṭarāja is carved though without 'Muyalagan'.

Narasimhavarman 1 started the next stage of Pallava temple construction by initiating the 'Monolithic rathas and mandapas' at Mamallapuram named after his biruda 'Mamalla' or the great wrestler. The construction of 'Adi-Varaha Perumal cave temple'¹⁸ and 'Dharmaraja ratha'¹⁹, also known as 'Atyantakama Pallavesvaragriham'-probably called so as it should have been finished by Paramesvaravarman 1 at Mamallapuram (now Mahabalipuram) is attributed to have begun by him.

"Narasimhavarman 2 Rajasimha" seems to be an avid constructor as he was the one who started the next stage-'Structural temples' in Pallava architecture. In his Panamalai inscription he proclaims himself as 'Śivachudamani' and 'Āgamanusari'²⁰ indicating the staunch Śaivite influence on Pallavas. The Atiranachandesvara cave temple inscription found near Saluvanakuppam, the Vayalur and Thirupporur pillar inscriptions indicate his construction of some temples near Mamallapuram He is part of the construction of Kailasanatha and Airavatesvar temple at Kanchi, Shore temple at Mamallapuram and also Buddhist Pagoda at Nagapattinam²¹.

Nandivarman 2 (Pallavamalla) has a lot of conquests to his credit apart from some temples and it is interesting that there are some inscriptions of him that indicate the grant of Brahmadeyas in a large number like the Kasakudi plate²², Udayendiram plate²³, Tandantottam (Śiva temple) plate²⁴, Pattattalmangalam plate²⁵ etc.

The later Pallava kings have scattered evidence about the construction of the temples, but the inscriptions seem to indicate that though Śaivism was gaining supremacy it did not achieve the prominent religious sect status like the later Chola period. Another important aspect is the gift of land and gold given to the temples for offerings to God, for perpetual lamps etc. by the common people. This indicates increased participation of people in the worship and maintenance of temples and also the later period there seems to be lesser construction of temples especially after Pallavamalla and there is more

inscriptions found about the land grants and donations given to the maintenance of temples already constructed. Also the inscriptions give the geographical extent of these empires-for instance the Pallavas inscriptions' are mainly centered on the Chingelpet, South and North Arcot districts, Trichinopoly up to the Pudukkottai District. And the Cholas are having the area around the Kaveri valley as their main domain. The Kanchipuram temple also called Rajasimhesvara/ Rajasimhapallavesvara temple is a major proof of Pallava's architectural prowess and the Mahabalipuram temples constitute the change from rock-cut temple to Structural temples.

From the Chola inscriptions we can see the gradual increase in the patronage of Śaivism from Aditya-Karikala's time which gets a boost from Sembiyan Mahadevi and gains a prominent political position from Rājarāja's time in the Tanjore temple. Anbil copperplates of Sundara Chola²⁶ (Parāntaka 2) is an important inscription that throw light not just on the Chola genealogy but also mention their military and cultural achievements. In this inscription there is clear mention of the gradual growth of Śaivism under the Cholas -Kochengannan, the ancient Chola started to construct Śiva temples under areas under him and later, Rajakesari Aditya Chola is mentioned to have constructed a series of temples for Śiva and his son Parāntaka 1 gilded with gold the Tillai Chidambaram temple and the worship of Śiva later continued by their successors.²⁷ It is interesting that in this inscription's eulogy part, there is mention about the 'cosmic dance of Śiva-of the dance that causes alarm of unexpected annihilation of the world.....'²⁸, indicating that this interpretation was popular under the Cholas later leading to the large scale portrayal of 'Natarājas'. The 'Uttaramallur/ Uttamerur' inscription issued in 15th year of reign of Parāntaka 1(-922 AD)²⁹ throws light into the local self-administration of the Cholas and has been used often as a reference point by historians and is in Tamil. There is also another inscription in Uttaramallur by Rājarāja Chola in his 9th regal year. It records about the decision of the 'Mahasabha' to regulating its constitutional arrangements.³⁰ Interestingly in this inscription, there is a separation made between the 'Brahmanas' and 'Śivabrahmanas' indicating a possible separation based on sects in Hinduism during the period.

The larger Leiden plates of Rājarāja 1 in Sanskrit (composed later) and Tamil are very important as it records the grant of the village Anaimangalam to the shrine of Buddha in Chulamanivarma-vihara situated at Nagapattinam city³¹. This inscription maybe a testimony of the tolerant attitude of Rājarāja 1 towards other sects though he himself declared that he is 'Śivapādaśekhara'. Tanjore inscriptions are mostly about the grants made to the great temple from the times of Rājarāja Chola 1 and his sister Kundavai as well as his various queens which are later continued by Rājendra Chola as well. The gifts include gold ornaments and vessels, fly whisks etc. It is interesting that the Lord is mentioned as "Dakṣiṇameruviṭaṅkar/ Āṭavallār/ Taṅjaiviṭaṅkar" in these inscriptions and the gifts are weighed by a stone measure called 'Āṭavallāṅ'.³² Many of the gifts made to the lord are booty captured from the conquered kingdoms-mainly Cheras and Pandyas and some of their details are also given. The gifts are not just for the lord 'Dakṣiṇameruviṭaṅkar' but also to his consort 'Umāparameśvarī'. Tiruvār copperplates of 'Anapāya' identified as Kulottunga 2 throws light into the presence of the images of the Tevāram trio in the temple in Tiruvār to whom the king has granted gifts in his 7th regal year.

The land grants to the temple increased in this period as we see from Tanjore and Manimangalam inscriptions etc. This stands in contrast to the Brahmadeyas which gained prominence in the Pallava period. So accordingly the name of the villages change from different ruling periods: for instance 'Rajasulamanichaturvedimangalam' in ViraRājendra's period change to 'Gramasikhmanichaturvedimangalam' in Rājarāja 3's period (Manimangalam inscription).³³ So, Śiva's 'Glory and war-like' aspect actually helped the dynasties to legitimize their indulging in war and glorification. It is differentiated from Vaiṣṇavas who had more of a passionate love as the main dimension unlike the 'Veera' aspect of Śaivism.³⁴

Through the epigraphical analysis and works about Bhakti tradition, we can observe that Śaivism gained a prominent place in South India especially Tamilakam as it could incorporate elements from almost all classes and assimilate local cults and practices which made it relatable

to not just the orthodoxy but also the commoners. The Bhakti literature as well as the temples which were built and patronized by the rulers made its diffusion easy into the masses. The assimilation of esoteric elements like Kāpālikas, Kālamukhas etc also made it stronger even among those tribes and Siddhas who indulged in tantric and non-orthodox practices. The difference in socio-economic structures influenced the consolidation-Pallavas' land grants started the making of temples, but later the temple itself gained stronghold over traditional land grants like brahmadeyas in the Chola period. In Chola period it gained more prestige as the state religion with marvelous temples and

iconography that showed the political and religious symbolism of Śaivism. Thus, in early medieval Tamilakam steadily Śaivism consolidated itself with the help of Bhakti and it could be observed with the help of inscriptions how the deity Siva surpassed other deities in temple construction from Pallava to Chola period. Śaivism gained importance in political and social domain in Tamilakam being promoted by the royalty itself and played an important role in consolidating power and legitimizing it to the masses though the temples which had socio-political functions apart from the religious role.

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THE ROLE OF ALMS -SEEKING -VAISHNAVA -COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL SOUTH INDIA-AN OVERVIEW OF 'SATTADA SRIVAISHNAVA' AND 'DASARI' TRADITIONS

S. Srinath

The classical works on Vaishnavism beginning with R G Bhandarkar¹, C RajagopalaChari's², S Krishnaswami Aiyangar³ delve in to mainstream components of

Vaishnava doctrine and the realm of Always contribution to Tamil canonical literature. Actually, the history of Vaishnavism in South India came in for attention as a subject of study

while yet the eminent Tamil scholar and philologist, Bishop Caldwell⁴, was actively working in the field of the history of the literature of Tamil. In the course of his investigations he arrived at, to us somewhat strange, conclusion that Vaishnavism was the foundation of Ramanuja which needs to be further investigated. All these studies look at the growth of Vaishnavism in South India but do not actually look at the various lesser communities which have embraced Vaishnavism.

Thurston⁵ contributed seven volumes on **Castes and Tribes of Southern India**, printed in 1909 as a result of larger project on Ethnographic Survey of India. In fact in these works we get to know about varied phases of south Indian Castes and tribal life, their traditions, manners and customs of people.

The greatest of Vaishnava Acharyas, Ramanuja attempted to unify the sect by reform of temple and ritual wherever possible. Though he respected the rule that none but the twice born may read the Veda, he was eager, like Alvars, to spread the doctrine of Bhakti among Sudras and even among the outcastes.⁶ Among such communities are two notable communities namely 'Sattada Srivaishnava' and 'Dasri' who are ordained with alms seeking on occasions and to proselytize the countryside with tenets of Vishnavism.

Many of the Vaishnava Alvars and the Saiva Nayanars (saints) flourished during the Seventh and eighth centuries A D in Tamil nadu*. The Alvars represented the emotional side of Vaishnavism, and they were followed by a line of *acharyas* who represented the intellectual side. Interestingly Alvars came from different castes including those considered "untouchable" and women too,

The Bhakti movement in South India was spearheaded by 63 Nayanars and 12 Alvars who were indifferent to the austerities practised by both Jainism and Buddhism but whereas taught private religious worship to almighty as a tool of deliverance. The movement was totally against the brahmanical superiority and the rigid caste systems of the Hindu society at that time. So to attract mass the spiritual texts was translated into local languages. Womens were given respect and elevated to the sainthood for eg: Andal (Alvar) and karaikkal Ammaiyar

(Nayanar). So the earlier left out proportion of the population got the chance to do things which were hitherto only restricted to higher castes. This spark of Bhakti movement also gave birth to new forms of devotion and new path of salvation for the masses to attain.

Background

The rise of temples in South India from the 7th c AD was largely due to the agrarian expansion where in large lands were brought into cultivation as part of the reclamation of lands under the agents of temples which functioned as a instrument of agrarian expansion by bringing new lands allotted to Brahmanas and temples. these lands were the kadu or forest became the Nadus by three interrelated process technological- the installation of irrigation systems and irrigation facilities for wet rice cultivation social- the peasantisation of castes into tribes religious- the absorption of the diverse tribal deities into Puranic religions these new lands saw the intrusion into the peasant regions and the rise in many new peasant communities and artisans. the rise of economic status was due to the craft specialization of the artisans on account of the surplus from the river valleys. It led to a new demand for higher social status as per their economic status and their need for nearness to the temple led to the social conflicts. All these were answered in medieval period by the bhakti movement as religion was by and large only way of legitimate form of protest.

It is in this context that this paper attempts to study the changing role of *Sattada Srivaishnavas*, who were temple servants and alms seeking occasionally for ritual purpose and *Dasari* community of mendicants and alms seeking in the name of Vishnu and spreading the tenets of Vaishnavism.

Ideology

Vaishnava Philosophy and Religion had their earliest expression in the twelve Vaishnava saints of South India (Tamilnadu), popularly known as Alvārs, who flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries A. D. Their hymns laid down the foundation of the later Visistādvaita⁷. They held that Vishnu or one of his Avatars (incarnations) confers upon devotees the grace that is necessary for total surrender (*prapatti*) to him. Nathamuni was a Vaishnava saint who was an expert On philosophical aspect

of vaishnavism cosideded as first Vaishnava acharyas. From 10 hymns Nathumuni recovered all the 4000 hymns and compiled them into four collections of about one thousand each stanzas each known as *Nalayira Prabandham*. Further introduced the regular singing of the hymns in Vaishnava temples of South India.⁸ They have contributed enormously to literature.

It is the beliefs and principles embodied in the poems of the *Naalayira Divya Prabandam* that provided a basis for the Sri Vaishnava belief system. Nathamuni was the founder of the sect, but it really got into prominence when Ramanujacharya became its leader.

The Alvars are grouped under three chronological heads as follows;

Early Alvars: Poykai, Putam and Pey- 5th-6th century

Middle Alvars: Nam, Maturakavi, Kulacekarar, Tiruppan, - 7th-8th century Tontaratipoti and Tirumalicali

Later Alvars: Periya, Antal and Tirumankai 8th-9th century - Poykai to Putam 650-700, Andal 9th century, including Tontaratipoti).

They criticised the supremacy of Brahmins and refused to accept the Vedas. A notable feature of this movement was the preaching of a loving bond for the fellow human which manifested in the following ways;

They believed in an egalitarian society and believed that everyone could attain salvation through devotion. They preached their philosophies in the local languages and disseminated them in the form of stories. Opposed to caste system: They criticized the caste system and attacked institutionalized religion.

By opposing the caste system and including women into the fray the Bhakti saints went against traditional religions. Furthermore, they created their own literature challenging the dominance of Brahmins over society and religion.

Accommodated Communities

1. They believed that inequality and exploitation in society existed due to caste system and patriarchal mindset. So, they incorporated all sections of society to break the caste barriers.

2. Women like Andal (Alvar) and Karaikal Ammaiyar (Nayanar) composed many songs in praise Gods. This Vaishnava ideology has all inclusive social base.

Instead of emphasizing upon the caste identities, the Alvars emphasized upon the Vaisnava community identity with Vishnu as the supreme god head. The idea of service to a Vishnu Bhakta became equivalent to serving god. All these ideas expressed in the hymns can be related to the low caste and socially marginal background of the Alvars. For instance, Nammalvar was a Vellala, Tirumangai Alvar was a non-Brahmana kalva chief and Andal was a woman. However, the protest against astrictive hierarchy was not only emphasized by the non-Brahman Alvars, but also by the Brahmana ones like Tontartipoti.⁹ For the first time, a regional language was placed at par with Sanskrit as a language of scriptures in place of inaccessible Vedas. The presence of the above ideas in almost all the hymns indicates that the Alvars were influencing each other and creating consciousness of a community

All these hymns along with their ideas became the basis of *Srivaishnava* ideology in the twelfth century A.D. These ideas assumed practical importance around the thirteenth century A.D. when the collection of oral hymns was transformed into the scriptural text, the *Nalayira Divya Prabandham*. It is also believed that the earlier Sanskrit hymns were incorporated in to this scriptural framework. The co-existence of both the Sanskrit Vedas and Dravida Veda became the central idea in the philosophy of *ubhayavedanta* (i.e., dual Vedas)

The low caste authorship of some of the hymns incorporated in the Dravida Veda created a problem of legitimacy to the subsequent theologians of the Srivaishnava community. The question arose as to whether the composition by low caste authors could be accorded the status of a Veda. Several commentaries discussed this issue and asserted that caste was ascriptive and a person had no control over it. What made him great was his devotion to god. It was stated that the caste of the Alvars should never be discussed, since they were the all new incarnation of **Vishnu** and it was only proper that they were excluded from this social norm¹⁰. There were two sects among Srivaishnavas.

Difference between Thenkalai and Vadakalai Sect:

After the time of Ramanujacharya that Sri Vaishnavas became a sizable enough portion of the Brahmin community that they started developing a distinct identity, which is e.g. how the Iyengars emerged from the Iyers.

Ramanuja placed pretty much equal emphasis on both Sanskrit scripture, like the Vedas, Upanishads, and Puranas, and the Tamil Naalayira Divya Prabhandam, because he took the notion that it was the Dravida Veda very seriously. But after his death, his followers started having disagreements. They all agreed on the Visistadvaita philosophy that characterizes the Sri Vaishnava belief system, but they had disputes that fundamentally revolved around how much authority we should give to the Naalayira Divya Prabhandam. Manavala Mamunigal and his successors believed that words of the Alvars are of paramount importance, and that they contain all the important messages of the Vedas and more, so they started called themselves Thenkalai (the Southern group), because their supreme scripture was the Naalayira Divya Prabhandam, which is from South India.

Vedanta Desikan and his successors still believed that Alvars' words were sacred, but they also thought that we shouldn't neglect the importance of Sanskrit scripture like the Vedas. Since they placed some emphasis on scripture that had come from North India, they became known as Vadakalai (the Northern group). Thenkalai Iyengars lay more emphasis on worship of Vishnu while Vadakalais assign an equally important place to Vishnu's consort Lakshmi.

Sattada Srivaishnavas

Origin

A Telugu Chola era caste originally from the Chola-ruled North (Chittoor, Kadapa, North Arcot districts of Tamil Nadu) and South Arcot regions and Southern districts of Circars (Nellore, Prakasam, Guntur, Krishna and parts of Godavari districts) of the Madras Presidency where the Chattada schools were established from the times of Sri Ramanuja. Migration of the Chattada caste members to the Hyderabad State happened since the time when Hyderabad State

was under the supervision of British resident (of Madras Presidency) at Secunderabad. Trimulgherry and Alwal in Secunderabad have significant population of Tamil-Telugu Satanis. Andhra Pradesh's Chittoor, Kadapa, Nellore, Guntur, Krishna districts and Telangana's Hyderabad, Rangareddy, Karimnagar, Warangal, Nalgonda and Khammam have significant populations. Tamil Nadu's North and South Arcot regions have significant number of them.

The Sattada Srivaishnavas are a distinctive, though little-known, community of Thenkalai Srivaishnavas, spread, throughout Tamilnadu Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, dedicated to temple service. The Sattadas have a long history, perhaps from the time of Ramanuja (11th c.), and guru-lineages and a literature dating from, at least, the fifteenth century. The evidence strongly suggests that they are descendents of both brahmins and non-Brahmins who followed the anti caste Alvar/Bhagavata Vaisnavism formalized by Lokacharya and Manavalamuni-they renouncing their sacred thread and top-knot and, thereby, the performance of Vedic rites, in favor of temple service and life-cycle rituals and pujas engaging songs of the Alvars in place of Vedic mantras. From the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries Sattadas enjoyed supervisory status in many of the most important Srivaishnava temples¹³

This community was prominent in Srirangam and Kanchipuram (15th and 16th centuries) under the leadership of Kanudaadi Ramanujadasar, who was a disciple of both Koil Annan at Srirangam and Azhagiyanamaavala Jeeyar at Kancheepuram Varadarajaswami temple. They were in charge of Ramanuja Kootams.

Professions

They are ascetics, purohits, medical practitioners, Sri Vaishnava preachers, Hindu dharma pracharaks, yagnakartas, temple builders, Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil scholars, statue installers, musicians, flower cultivators, garland makers, and Vishnu temple priests, assistants and administrators.

They are known by a variety of names including Sanatani, Sanatana, Sanatanas, Sattina, Satani, Sattada, Sattini, Satavahana Brahmins, Dasa Nambis, Nambis, Nambi Brahmins,

Bhagavata Nambi Brahmins, Pancharatras, Vaikhanasas, Yejurvedis, Krishna Yejurvedis, Nambudiri, Namboodiri Brahmins, Chattada, Vadama Brahmins, Bhagavata Brahmins, and Tengalai Sri Vaishnavas.

They are found in large numbers in Sri Villiputtur, Sri Perambadur, Sri Rangapatna, Tirupati, Melkote, Kanchi, Srirangam, Brahmadesham, Brahmadesam, Tiruvanapuram, Guruvayur, Ayodhya, Pandarapur, Dwaraka, Varanasi, Mathura, Bengaluru, Hyderabad, Chennai, Vishakapatnam, Bhubaneswar, Kolkata, Mumbai, New Delhi, Poona, Mysore, and are largely concentrated in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Kerala, Maharashtra, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Gujarat.

Titles

Their names have the honorary last names or suffix or prefix such as Arya, Ayya, lah, Iyer, Ayyangar, Ayyavar, Ayyavarlu, acharya, chari, acharyulu, acharyam, jeeyar, jeeyangar, swamy, swami, paravastu, parakala, kandadai, sharma, goswami, Nambudari, Alvar, Bhagavat, Bhagwat, and nambi. They especially revere the Sankha, the Chakra, the Naamam, Tulasi.

Alms seeking Satani should be clean shaven. On his face and on various portions of his person he is adorned with the trident-shaped mark of Vishnu. On his shoulder he carries a guitar-shaped instrument, having four wire strings. On this he strums as he goes along and with it also he accompanies his songs. He has a pumpkin-shaped vessel to receive his doles, which he transfers to a cloth when the vessel is full. That vessel is known as Akshayapatra (Sanskrit: अक्षयपात्र) meaning inexhaustible vessel, is an object from Hindu theology. It was a wonderful vessel given to Yudishtira by the Lord Surya which held a never-failing supply of food to the Pandavas every day.

This vessel is adorned with the religious marks of Vishnu. He begs from all conditions of people and from all castes except the Panchamas. When he arrives in front of a house where he expects alms, he shouts out "adoration to the most excellent Ramanuja" (Shri mate Ramanujaya namah)¹⁴, and then begins to sing one of his song which translation of a few

specimens. In the first of these, Vishnu is called the saviour of the elephant in allusion to a story in the eighth book of the "Bhagavatam." An elephant was bathing in a tank, when it was attacked by a crocodile which would have killed it had not Vishnu or Hari come to its relief.

In Dhanurmasa Diksha some among Sattada went out to seek alms and would seek only uncooked food items or commodities from around the rural areas. The alms brought were put in front of Jeyers and later used to partake food on the occasion of *kalyanam* of Godadadevi and Ranganadha. Gradually they gave up alms seeking and few of them still working as priests in the temples of Telugu and kannada regions and some maintaining flower gardens of the temple in Tamilnadu.

Dasari

Dasari community performs all kinds of religious rites for the outcastes. They perform at their marriages and funerals and all other such ceremonies. He is also *hakim* (doctor), astrologer, and soothsayer. They get paid for these services, but they also additionally lives by begging. From the fact that he begs from all castes, and so from those who do not need his official services, he must be classed as a mendicant.

All Dasaris are Vaishnavites, and admission to the community is obtained by being branded by some Vaishnavite guru. Thence- forward the novice becomes a Dasari, and lives by begging from door to door. The profession is almost hereditary in some families. The five insignia of a Dasari are the (1) conch shell, which he blows to announce his arrival ; (2) the gong which he strikes as he goes his rounds ; (3) the tall iron lamp (with a coconut to hold the oil for replenishing it) which he keeps lighted as he begs ; (4) the brass or copper vessel (sometimes with the namam painted on it) suspended from his shoulder, in which he places the alms received ; (5) and the small metal image of Hanuman, which he hangs round his neck. Of these, the iron lamp is at once the most conspicuous and the most indispensable. It is said to represent Venkatesa, and it must be burning, as an unlighted lamp is inauspicious. A long red-coloured 'tirunamam' indicates Vaishnava mark on his forehead. He carries in his hand a pair of wooden castanets (chidathalu); the songs are usually in praise of the Vaishnava

gods of the Telugu land (Yadagiri Narasimha, Bhadradi Rama, etc.). They are especially seen during the festive occasions of Sankranti and Dasara.

He is generally a jovial, merry fellow, of goodly condition as to his body. He looks on the bright side of things and he is a very popular visitor, for people enjoy listening to the merry songs. As he comes into a village, or near a house where he expects a dole, he will break into a song. The refrain is sung at the commencement of the song, and also at the end of each verse. On receiving his dole, the Dasari will pronounce a blessing upon the giver in some such words as the following:

"Wealth, gold, and other riches in abundance; abundance of children and grandchildren; long life, health, and prosperity be to thee. My blessing is Brahma's blessing; by the mercy of the all-bountiful may you have prosperity in abundance."

This piecemeal singing of Hari's myths in the third person, to punctuated shouts of ecstasy addressed to Hari like 'Harilo ranga Hari!' and 'Srimad Rama Ramana Govindo Hari!' encouraged the audience to repeat the chant as an echo or chorus. Much later it was given concert form at individual households on invitation for a payment. Such seated concerts became known as *Katha Kalakshepam throughout south India. In Andhra Pradesh, Harikatha is closely related to the Abhang tradition of Maharashtra owing¹⁶

Hari Dasu would, from his erect standing posture, deftly switch his posture and sit on his haunches, skillfully balancing the copper vessel on his head and receive the gift .thanking God for this munificence, 'Krishnaarpanam, Srimad Ramaaramana Govindo-hari'. (Lord, treat this as something that this household has offered to you, not just me.). The Dasari, on account of their skills were advising people of good or bad times for any particular event, such as a marriage or a journey, to take place. The large number of Dasarists, in later years, are demarcated either by the caste or the instrument associated with the kirtan: Golla Dasari, Mala Dasari, Baliye Dasari, etc. are examples of the first variety and Thambura Dasari, Ganta Dasari, Jeganta Dasari, Chapa Dasari, Kommu Dasari etc. are of the latter variety.

Some practices

When proceeding on a pilgrimage to the temple of Subramanya Swami at Palni, some devotees pierce their cheeks with a long silver skewer, which traverses the mouth cavity; pierce the tongue with a silver arrow, which is protruded vertically through the protruded organ; and place a silver shield (mouth-lock) in front of the mouth. Some Dasarists have permanent holes in their cheeks, into which they insert skewers when they go about the country in pursuit of their profession.

The Dasarists in the Vizagapatam district, the members calling themselves Sankhu (or conch-blowing) Dasarists, the menari- kam custom, according to which a man should marry his maternal uncle's daughter, is followed. The remarriage of widows is permitted, but divorce is forbidden. The dead are cremated, and the Chinna (small) and Pedda Rozu (big day) death ceremonies are observed.

The Vizagapatam Dasarists are the most popular among ballad-singers, and sing songs about heroes and heroines, of which the following are the most appreciated:

1. Bobbilipata, which describes the siege and conquest of Bobbili by Bussy in 1757.
2. Ammi Nayudupata, which describes the tyrannical behaviour of one Ammi Nayudu, a village headman in the Palkonda taluk, who was eventually murdered, to the great relief of the subjects.
3. Lakshmammapata, which relates the life and death of Lakshamma, a Velama woman, who went against the menarikam custom of the caste, and was put to death by her husband.
4. Yerakammerantala-pata, which recounts the story of one Yerakamma, who committed sati. Yerakamma is the local goddess at Srungavarapukota in the Vizagapatam district. The ballads narrates her say that she was the child of Dasari parents, and that her birth was foretold by a Yerukala woman (whence her name), who prophesied that she would have the gift of second sight. She eventually married, and one day she begged her husband not to go to his field, as she was sure he would be killed by a tiger if he did. Her husband went notwithstanding, and was slain as she had

foreseen. She committed sati on the spot where her shrine still stands, and at this there is a festival at Sivaratri.

Decline-The vertical expansion of the city has made collection of alms difficult for Dasari. Their tribe is dwindling with the falling patronage, however, due rapid urbanization. However, the new generation is reluctant to practice this tradition hence this culture is gradually disappearing. "As these groups can avail reservations, the younger generation is giving preference to education and is opting for jobs.

Current status: In the past fifty years, they have formed local, regional and national associations for the education and upliftment of their community. They have the right to recite Prabandhams along with Brahmins in the "Iyal Goshti". (Hymn-singing group) This was true in Srirangam upto 1942.

Conclusion-The Sattadas are not only a sizeable, distinctive contemporary community in modern South India-a non-brahmin Srivaisnavas, but a community with a lengthy history, a guru-lineage and a substantial literature-a heritage which, though now subdued, still plays a significant part in and had a major impact on the historical development of Srivaisnavism.

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BETEL CHEWING IN KERALA SOCIETY: EVIDENCES FROM LITERATURE

P. Sudheerkumar

We find people with different attitudes and aptitudes all over the world. Their mode of enjoyment and pleasure- seeking are divergent from smoking to eating opium. Cutting across geographical limits they take these vices part of their life. Betel chewing is one of such contentment people run after.

Human beings are really obsessed with some chewing habit. This can be seen from the ancient period itself. The ancient Greeks chewed mastiche, a chewing gum made from the resin of the mastic tree. The ancient Mayas chewed chicle, which is the sap from the sapodilla tree. North American Indians chewed the sap from

spruce trees and passed the habit on to the settlers. Early American settlers made a chewing gum from spruce sap and bees wax. Gum-chewing is being the most popular chewing habit. In Africa, people continue to chew khat, also known as mima, a stimulant leaf from a shrub-like tree. People chew khats imply for becoming fashionable or for seeking a way to cope with social breakdown. The Chinese used to crunch popped melon seeds, and other peoples have got their own favorites: pistachio, sunflower seeds, pumpkin seeds, etc.¹

One of the such ancient habits is betel chewing, which was a custom or habit people closely followed. They have been following this habit over 2000 years²

This habit covers a wide geographical range. Beginning with the eastern boundary of Afghanistan on the west and the Himalaya Mountains on the north, it rules all to the east and the south including the islands of the Pacific as far as Torres Straits (north of Australia) and as far east as Greenwich, including the scattered groups of the Northern Pacific. Within these limits, with but a few local exceptions, the natives of all races, colors and conditions, male and female, kings, princes, priests and paupers, daily and hourly, at work or at grave all are slaves to this habit.³

The glossy heart shaped leaf has aesthetic and ritual significance in various social and religious occasions in South and South east Asia. It is also auspicious to make offering if betel leaf and areca nut in the eve of many occasions such as pious ceremonies, festivals, worshipping, wedding ceremonies, etc.⁴

Most interestingly, the first records about betel chewing is traced from Malabar. There was a battle in 161 B.C. between the people of the Malabar region and those of another race, the Dutta-gamini, the Malabar warriors discovered on the lips of their enemies the blood red color given by betel chew-like thing and there spread the rumor that their foes were wounded. In the tenth century, Masudi, the Arabian writer, described betel chewing as a national habit in India. Later dates, numerous historians and travelers have described this habit in detail and have left us pictures which in all essentials represent the conditions now prevailing among

the masses of the inhabitants of the betel chewing world.⁵

For the preparation of the betel roll as chewed, three very different articles are necessary: the nut of the betel palm, Areca Catechu the leaf of the betel pepper, powdered lime, usually obtained from seashells. The pungent pepper leaf is daubed over with a little lime. In addition to these, most people use tobacco to add some intoxication to the chewing.

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when we have much fuller descriptions, the chewing of betel was established virtually everywhere in tropical Asia as the indispensable politeness to be offered a guest in court or village, as a central ritual symbol, as digestive, dentifrice, and mouth freshener, and as the relaxant that made life more bearable-especially when traveling, warring, or otherwise short of food. The earliest European visitors to Asia were much struck by this phenomenon. Antonio Pigafetta, whose voyage with the Magellan expedition took him to the Central Philippines, Brunei, the Moluccas, and the lesser Sundas in 1521 elaborated the experience⁶

First home of betel was difficult to determine, since it has for many centuries been cultivated in so many parts of the tropical world. It is still found growing wild in the Philippine Islands, and is probably to be regarded as a native of tropical Asia, India or eastward, or of some of the adjacent islands.

Rather being part of the chewing for pleasure, betel leaves had certain ritual presence in many parts of the world. In Far East, there are interesting events connected with betel leaves. At the marriage ceremony the betel ingredients are present as part of the bride-price. A Javanese bride and groom throw betel leaves at each other. At Malay and Sumatran weddings in the nineteenth century an ornate "betel tree" comprised of betel leaves was carried in procession. Acehnese men divorced their women, on the other hand, by giving them three pieces of areca.⁷ Also there were other uses as well. In India, on the Brahmaputra River, the natives measure distance by the number of betel rolls consumed in marching it. It is, of course, a time unit rather than one of distance. A similar custom is found among the coca chewers of Peru, in Latin America.

Betel-chewing in Kerala society

It has been proposed that betel vine entered in India during Gupta period and slowly merged to India's culture.⁸ Major betel growing areas in India are UP, Bihar, MP, Karnataka and Kerala⁹

In the Kollurmadm copper plate of Sri.Vallabhan Kotha of AD.1188, the *Karalars* were required to give the temple a lot of things during different auspicious days of the year. They include, paddy, oil, betel and areca nut. The quantity of each item has been specified for each occasion.¹⁰ Betel Chewing was wide spread in South India and South China when the first Europeans arrived in 15th century AD. In Sanskrit betel is better known as *Tambuli*, *Thambula valli*, *Thambulam*; In Hindi and Bengali, it is Pan; In Tamil, it is *vettilai*; in Telugu, it is *thamlapaka*.¹¹ Its name is *Naagbael* in Marathi, *Naagarbael* in Gujrati, *veel eyada yele* in Kannada¹²

Betel chewing became popular in the 16th century A.D. in India. Betel leaves were taken with arecanur, lime and koththa, cloves and cardamom, camphor and Kastleri.¹³ Betel chewing was once seen as part of status in society. Men enjoyed the chewing experience of betel, areca, lime and tobacco. Women also used it as a means to colour their lips red.¹⁴

While describing about the agricultural produces the Dutch traveler describes about the areca palm. He further says that that all over East India people used to chew betel leaves with areca. Betel leaves are like leaves of pepper. They also add lime with the two.¹⁵

Francis Buchanan who travelled extensively through Malabar writes about the cultivation of betel leaves thus:

At Velathur area people cultivate areca palm and jack tree in large scale. Surplus cultivation of betel is also there. In small and fragmented land they cultivate in limited numbers. They give no rent to the *janmis*.¹⁶

In Malabar, there was no large scale cultivation of betel. But, the betel vine is cultivated in small scale on the trees like mango trees and other trees. In Malabar Betel is not taxed. In the coastal lands, betel or the areca cultivation is very less.¹⁷ On the other hand, in Malabar Gazetteer C. A. Innes has aptly recorded that betel being the most important byproduct of

a Malabar garden. He also highlights the Nannambra betel the famous one in those days.¹⁸

In those days betel was an inevitable thing in marriage ceremonies. Wedding ceremonies were luxurious. All invitees are given with betel kept in a brass platter. Even the strangers were provided with this.¹⁹

Other celebrations also had the presence of betel. Women celebrated Thiruvathira festival (the festival of women in Kerala) with great enthusiasm during which they made their lips red with betel juice.²⁰ They chewed 108 betel leaves during the occasion with the god Siva in mind. This was an important part of the festival.²¹

There was a belief in Kerala that Betel Chewing was a habit that provided people with happiness one had to cultivate it²²

In the case of the elite, there were special subordinates to prepare betel. Puduval was the person who prepared betel to the king.²³ Similar to the Chozhamandala betel, there were Kozhikodan vettilla, Ambazhakadan vettilla, Kuzhinattiri vettilla, Kollam vettilla, Njali vettilla, Vella vettilla of Valluvanad, Kongini vettilla the people enjoyed all these for chewing.²⁴

The condition of the lower caste people was pathetic in Kerala even in the 19th century. For example, anybody could rear cow at home. But what is conspicuous was that there was no right to milk the cow for the *ezhavas* and others. If the cow gave birth, it had to be handed over to one of the upper caste men for the maximum cost of a good meal. If this was violated, the owner would be tied to a tree and beaten. The relatives of the culprit had to beg pardon by submitting betel and areca nut for saving the man. Even in the interpersonal relationship, there was strong presence of the betel leaves.²⁵

When the king goes out of the palace, many servants follow him. Litter carriers, jugglers fan the king, pitcher of water holders. Some carry vases into which the king spits betel juice.²⁶ when the king has ended his meal, the king returns to his dais, and is almost always chewing betel. On the other side stood another person, who held a gold cup with a wide rim, into which the king spat, and at the side of his chair was his

chief Brahmin, who gave him from time to time a green leaf closely folded with other things inside it, which the king ate and spat into the cup. That leaf is of the size of an orange leaf, and the king was always eating it, and after much mastication he spits it into the cup, and takes a fresh one, because he tastes the juice of the leaf and the mixture that goes it with of quick lime and other things, which they call areca, cut up small, it is the size of a chest nut, it makes the mouth and teeth very red because they use it all the day wherever they may be going, and it makes the breath very pleasant.²⁷

The lower caste people had particular names for the ordinary things. They were denied the names for different things used by the uppercaste people. The coconut for them was *Thenga chakiri*; *pazhuthila* for betel ; *onakkinte kola* for tobacco; *ithikkodi* for lime²⁸.

The medieval Kerala has many descriptions about the extensive use of betel in the day to day life of the people. In the *Manipravala Kavya*, Unnichiruthevi Charitam of 14th century AD, there is a wonderful narration about the hero's house Thottuvaypalli.

The betel vines grow lushly around the areca palm which stands as if to touch the high skies.²⁹

Unniachi Charitam, the *manipravala kavya* of the 14th century has ample reference about betel connected with the life of the elite. The land is laden with betel vines properly tied with the support trees and the leaves reflect light like a wonderful mirror and also they provide a great pleasure in chewing. Such is the garden around the hero's wonderful mansion³⁰

In Ananthapuravarnana, the market at the auspicious corner in front of the Sri Padmanabha Swami Temple had the following commodities for sale:

Nellintarichi thavantu

Chollichirilarazhakkayum

Thenga tha vettilakkentum

Mangathavenankayum.³¹

Here *vettila* (betel) or betel is an important thing for sale

In *Kandarmenon pattu*-the *Chaverpattu*-the hero alerts: you have to chop me to death in the straightway or else, you will not be rewarded. Thus saying, he puts in his mouth a roll of betel leaf and chewed it.³² Even when the *chaver* is all set to fight he finds the pleasure of betel.

In northern ballads better known as *vadakkan pattukal*, there are many instances of betel chewing. In the *Puthooram Kannappa chekavar pattu*, the warrior Kannappa Chekavar is greeted like this:

Where is the betel box? Give me mouth-full of betel

Hearing this, the lady nearby takes the betel box,

Prepares the *Kilivalan* betel leaf to chew

Also, she takes the milk-boiled areca nut

And adds the lime made from the finely-processed conch

-----Kannan completes his chewing

She moves the spittoon to his side

Both enjoy betel chewing.³³

In *Aromal Chekavar Pattu*, an advice is given to the daughter that an ascetic should not be given with betel, for it is used by the material people. Instead, he is treated with ganja, the powerful intoxicating agent.

One thing you remember, my dear daughter

Once the attire of *Sanyasi* is accepted

Betel shall not be chewed by him

Unniamma, hearing this, promptly prepared *ganja* to the guest.³⁴

The chieftain is made acquaintance in his bed in the morning with:

The *pooja* with ringing of bell has begun

The ruler has risen from his seat

Cleans up his face and mouth

Then chews up the betel and says good bye to all³⁵

In the song of *Attumanamel Unniarcha* betel chewing is described in another situation.

Unniarcha, the heroin, climbs up on the base of the banyan tree and sits over there

She opens her bag containing wonderful bangles,

And finishes her betel- chewing; thereafter she waits for her brother to come.³⁶

In the same song,

The trader namely Nagappan wearing the sandal with gold

Takes the precious silk and betel leaves in bundles along with tobacco leaves

He puts them in the silk cloth and then he closes his gold shop.³⁷

In another song namely *Othenanum Karimalakkanniyum*

My relative namely dear Othenan

I prepared betel for him once

I won't prepare betel for anyone else³⁸

Betel of certain places was well known. In the song, *Othenanum Mundayodan Kumbayum*

Mundayodan Kumba shall prepare betel from Tanur for me

Hence she shall sleep with me.³⁹

In the mythical story of *Parayi petta Panthirukulam*, Vararuchi, the learnt Brahmin visits the house of a Brahmin and put certain demands for him to stay there overnight. One of the demands was that he required to eat three persons after his dinner. This was actually a riddle through which he wanted to test the brilliance of the family which offered him a food and stay. The three persons he indicated were betel, areca and lime.⁴⁰

In another story *Parambathu kodan Bharaniyile Uppumanga*, Kottarathil sankunni describes the story of a trader who gives ten jars to a Brahmin to keep them until his returns. The Brahmin opened one of the jars and found gold in it. He took some of the gold pieces and becomes rich. When the trader comes back, the Brahmin tells the story to him and gives a share of his profit to the trader. The trader does not accept the offer. Finally on compulsion, the trader

gives the gold back free using a flower, water and areca as was the custom⁴¹

In the 19th century novel, Meenakshi, Kandappan, the character of the novel placed a pot on the oven for preparing tea and also kept the brass pot on the verandah for washing the feet of Kunhikrishna menon. Then he went to the upstairs of the house and prepared betel for him from the betel box.⁴²

In the celebrated novel, Indulekha by Chandu Menon belonging to the 19th century, there is a conversation between Indulekha's maid servant, Ammu with Suri Nambudirippad the proposed groom of Indulekha selected by the Karanavar, Panchumenon, which runs like this:

Suri Namabudiri: does Indulekha chew betel leaves? Ammu: Rarely⁴³

Suri Nambudiripad is a rich Zamindar belonging to an aristocratic Brahmin family. So, Panchumenon is much interested to marry Indulekha off to that family. He carries a betel box made of Silver everywhere and he shows the same to all he meets to show his richness. He is also proud of that.

When Surinambudiri was preparing for his bath, letter form Kesavan Nmbudiri arrived. Soon betel box holder Govindan was sent to call Cherusseri Nambudiri.⁴⁴

Another character of the novel, Kesavan Nambudiri has this conversation with his wife late night:

Kesavan Namudiri: Lakshmi, are you asleep? Why are you so sleepy, today?

Lakshmi Amma:Have you chewed betel? I have prepared it in a platter on the table Kesavan Namudiri: Oh, then I can have one.⁴⁵

It was a routine for the people to have a betel chewed before sleep. In *Dharmaraja*, the historical novel written by C.V.Raman Pillai, there is a description about the betel box:

When Chanthrakkaran starts from the house of Umminipillai at Thiruvananthapuram, one of the major items he carries is a betel box.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Kerala society from ancient times itself has been addicted to the habit of betel chewing. The exact date of beginning of this habit is unknown.

From cosmetic use to the ritualistic exercises people used betel either alone or with other things like areca, lime or tobacco. The medieval *kavyas* highlight the extensive use of betel by the elite class. During the auspicious ceremonies people belonging to the Hindu community provide importance to betel. The bride and groom during the wedding time give *dakshina* to the elder members of the family in betel leaf as a sign of reverence. Even today people follow this. Whenever there is an agreement reached between the families of the bride and groom, an amount of money is given to the bride's family at the time of fixing of the marriage. This is called *Murukkan Panam* or *vettilla panam* or money for betel. Until recently, in Kerala, people used to keep in their houses betel boxes to store betel and other articles for chewing safe.

The guest was entertained at home with some drink and then they were given with the betel. This was the most entertaining gesture from the host. Now it is gone.

Whenever a boy or girl liked each other, there appeared the betel to cement that

relationship. Many instances are seen in the northern ballads.

Vettilla is also used in many medicinal compositions in Ayurveda. In addition to that, many rituals must have the presence of betel.

Thamboolaprasnam or betel leaf prediction is practiced to understand the unknown, says the supporters of this as people believe that the betel leaf has the presence of many deities in it. There were many places famous for betel. Tanur is one such place described in the *Vadakkan Pattukal* and Nannambra has been mentioned by C. A. Innes for its fame. Further, there are places known for the sale of betel or pan. At Tirur in Malappuram district, there is pan bazaar indicating the brisk trade of betel. Until recently, people used to export betel in large scale to North India and other betel using neighbouring countries like Pakistan from here. But the glory of trade of betel has faded now with the strict control on it by the govt. policies and the increased awareness among the people.

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ROLE OF THE MISSIONARIES IN THE EDUCATION OF SOUTH INDIA

S.S. Sundaram & S. Sheeba

As India came more in contact with European countries, her way of life including her system of education was bound to be influenced. Europeans came to settle in the country in centers (Known as factories), from which their trade was organised. The need then arose for schools, as the children of these settlers had to be educated, most of these children were owing to inter marriage, Anglo Indians. later on it was felt necessary to establish schools for the children of their Indian employees.

The real pioneers of western Education in South India were Christian missionaries. The Portuguese came to India not merely for trade but also as missionaries to spread Christianity among the people, with whom they traded. They started schools in Goa and Calicut, with the primary intention of educating their new converts. In these schools, reading and writing in Portuguese, as well as in the local language and the principles of catholic religion were taught.²

In the 16th century the Jesuits, led by St. Francis Xavier, the Superior of the Jesuit Mission in India, were very active setting up schools in the whole of India including South India, for the propagation of their faith. In vijayanagar empire certain type of Schools were set up by them, where Vernacular was taught by the Christian missionaries, and the new converts to their faith.³

In 1659 the court of Directors explicitly stated it was their earnest desire by all possible means to spread Christianity among the people of India and allowed the missionaries to embark on their ships.⁴ The first efforts of the company

to diffuse education were prompted by religious motive, viz. the evangelization of Indians, and the removal of apprehended among the inhabitants of the places where they had settled.⁵

In 1706 the protestant Danes arrived at Tranquebar on the South east coast, led by German missionaries Ziegenbalg and Plutschau.⁶ When the European landed in India, especially lay in understanding the language of the people. Since the chief aim of the missionaries was to spread the Gospel, the local tongue had to be learnt?.

The object of the missionaries being conversion the missions had to conduct schools for the Converted population. The early converts to Christianity came from the lowest rungs of Hindu Society. In order to enable them to read the Bible, they were to be first taught to read and write, So the missionaries established schools for the purpose. For the same reason they were compelled to introduce the printing press, to print, to print the Bible in Indian Languages. In short the missionaries realized that the schools were both the cause and effect of Proselytisation?

I

South India owe much of its educational progress to the effects of the missionary Societies. The honour of being the first protestant missionaries to work in the territories of the East India Company goes to the Danish Mission. Plutschau and Ziegenbalg started their activities in 1706. A Printing Press in Tamil was established in 1713. An institution for training

teachers was established in Tranquebar in 1716, and in 1717 two charity schools were opened in Madras one for the Portuguese and the other for the Tamil children.⁹ These Missionaries started 17 schools for "Heathen and Mohammedan" children, and four missionary schools for Christians. But, as in the former Schools they were unable to teach their religion due to opposition from the parents and non-christian teachers, they lost interest in those schools and concentrated on the missionary schools and on direct missionary work.¹⁰

The Printing press was another boon given by the Danish missionaries to the Tamils. The First printing press however was set up at Ambalacat near Cochin by a Jesuit missionary in 1577. Before the advent of the printing press in India all writing was done chiefly on 'Olai' – the leaves of a palm tree- with the aid of a sharp pointed iron stylus. This was a difficult and an expensive process. The missionaries began to print books. They produced a Tamil dictionary and a Tamil and Telugu Bilde. Besides these, the missionaries, indirectly effected the natives. They summoned the aid of the native teachers to teach in the schools founded by them, in which they also taught. Under their able guidance the native teachers learnt the Systematic methods of teaching, and western methods of education were slowly imbibed.¹¹

The first protestant English mission came to Madras in 1727 and soon adopted the work of the Danes Schultz and Schwartz were encouraged by the Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge to set up schools. They started schools at Madras, Tanjore, Cuddalore, Palamcottah and Trichinopoly.¹²

Schwartz is looked upon as the pioneer or Education in the province of Madras. With the assistance of John Sullivan the Resident of Tanjore he started three schools at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivaganga in 1785 with the object of teaching English to Indian children. These were the earliest schools for teaching the English language to Indians. The Court of Directors were enthusiastic about these schools and Sanctioned a grants-in-aid of 250 pagodas per annum to each of them.¹³ The first books to have been by Jesuits in 1577 and 1598 at Ambalakata. The first protestant missionaries to print books were the Danes at Tranquebar. In 1761 a translation of the Bible and of text books

into Tamil and Telugu were made, by a second English mission at Vepery near madras.¹⁴

The good work done by the Danish missionaries was much appreciated by S.P.C.K. of London which came forward to give substantial assistance. So that the Danish missionaries could enlarge their sphere of activities by setting up more schools in other places.¹⁵ In 1790 the society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge opened a School for natives which after passing through different changes, flourished in 1882 as at peters college at Tanjore.¹⁶

II

In the beginning the East India company seems to have been sympathetic to the missionary enterprise. They were primarily a trading concern not much interested in the education of the people. As N.N Law observes, "In the 17th Century we find the Directors taking the initiative in educational work, but the arrival of missionaries in the beginning of the 18th century we find a change gradually setting in. They shifted their educational duties to the shoulders of the new comers.¹⁷ But the attitude of the company began changing as soon as they began to grow into a political power. As the company's empire began to grow, it was determined to maintain religious neutrality.¹⁸

In 1804 the London Missionary Society opened Schools in South India. The church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan mission had settlements at Tranque bar and Colombo. Charles Grant a missionary himself and Robert wilberforce had proposed to introduce a clause in the renewed charter of 1793, laying the responsibility of educating the Indian on the company but had failed. The company's Directors did not accept the educational responsibility until the charter was renewed in 1813. Then they were forced to accept the responsibility of education and to admit the missionaries to its dominions.¹⁹

The charter Act of 1813 opened India to the Missionary societies with the passage of that Act the missionaries began to land in India in large numbers and to set up schools, thereby laying the foundation of modern Educational System. Education was never the primary aim of the missionaries, they aimed at conversion and were forced to take up educational work in order

to meet the needs of the converted population, more so to train Indian assistants for their proselytizing activities. They worked among the lowest rungs of society who could not understand any other language other than their own, so they were obliged to study the native language, prepare dictionaries, translate the bible into native languages. Most of the earlier mission schools gave instruction through the native languages.²⁰

Two English schools were opened under the able superintendence of the chaplain at palam cottah, James Hough. One school at Palamcottah and other at Tirunelveli opened in the year 1818. The school was popular among the natives, but the Governor refused the pecuniary aid of 25 pagodas, requested by the chaplain at Palamcottah college Board recommended Hough's school.²¹ The Director thought Hough's school worthy of the aid" with the strong evidence before us of the utility of these schools, of their acceptability to the natives and of their able and Judicious Superintendences by the chaplain at Palamcottah, we cannot but regret that you were not induced to afford them your Countenance and support the desire to be informed of the grounds on which you came to this determination."²²

In the period prior to 1833, the missionaries mainly concentrated on establishing elementary schools, teaching through the medium of modern Indian languages. Between 1833 to 1853 the missionaries shifted emphasis to secondary schools and colleges, teaching through the medium of English.²³

The missionaries of the American Board opened, a number of primary-schools in the Madura district in 1834 and maintained for many years subsequent to 1835, a school at Madura town itself, in which English was taught.²⁴ Missionary operations were not conformed to elementary education alone. In 1837 Rev John Anderson, the earliest missionary of the church of scot-land, started in Madras what was known as the General Assembly's school. The school proud to be a great success. Encourage by its success, Anderson opened branch schools at Kanchipuram in 1839 and at Nellore and Chinglepet in 1840 at Triplicane in 1841. John

Anderson can be regarded as the pioneer of higher education.²⁵

Missionary Societies played a large role in the elementary instruction. The society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, supported nearly 186 schools in 1854. Most of these schools were in the Districts of Tirunelvely, Madura, Trichirapoly and Tanjore. In these schools there were over 5000 scholars including 1400 girls. The society spent nearly Rs.40,000/- for its educational activities in 1852 and Rs.30,000 in 1853.²⁶ The SPG had a Vernacular girls school at Tanjore. The society also trained teachers at Sawyepuram and Vedipuram.²⁷

The activities of the church Missionary society was very extensive, especially in the Tirunelvely district. The church Missionary society had two schools at Masulipatam, one for the boys and one for the girls. They also had one boys school at Ellore, and English schools at Palamcottah and at Streevellipootoor. They maintained 317 elementary Vernacular schools in which 7802 pupils were educated. They had also a Vernacular training school at Palamcottah set up in 1856.²⁸

The London Missionary Society had set upon English School at Chicacole, another at chatterpore in the same district was supported mainly by the rent of a house given for the purpose by Mr. Onslaw, the Collector. The same mission had an English School as well, besides a girls school in Vizagapatnam. This Society was very active in the districts of Cuddaph, Kurnool and Bellary where it had established, Few elementary English schools as well as a number of Vernacular schools.²⁹ The American missionary society was at work at Guntur and at Goorzul, in the Palnad.³⁰

The Free church mission was active in Nellore district. English schools were started by the Free church Mission in the Chinglepet district. The Chinglepet and Canjeevaram schools were at work around 1854-55. In the Free church Mission schools in Black Town the number of students amounted to 627 of whom 242 were girls.³¹ The Wesleyan Mission, at work in the Tanjore District had elementary English schools at Mannargudy and Nagapatnam. The German Missionaries were at work in Malabar and at Tellicherry they had an Anglo Vernacular

School. The Roman Catholic Mission had an Elementary English School for the children of the Roman Catholic community in Canara. In Madras itself four Missions were engaged in educational work, the Wesleyan Mission, the London Mission, the Free Church and the Church of Scotland. In the Church of Scotland Mission Schools 533 pupils were under instruction of whom 358 were girls.³²

Thus by the year 1854-55 the whole province was covered by a net-work of Mission schools. By 1854 about 30,000 boys were being educated in the schools conducted by Missionary societies, and at least 3000 were obtaining the elements of liberal education in English.³³ "The educational efforts of the Christian Missionaries have been more successful among the Tamil population than in any other part of India."³⁴

III

Female Education in Madras Presidency gained momentum chiefly owing to missionary efforts. It made progress under missionary management, independent of the state before the Despatch of 1854. Boarding schools were maintained from an early period by the church of England societies in Tirunelveli but they were almost exclusively attended by daughters of converts to Christianity. The first direct effort at educating Hindu girls of higher caste was made at Madras in 1841 by the missionaries of the Scottish Church.³⁵

By the time education department started functioning, under the dispatch of 1854, the missionary societies were already at work in 16 secondary schools in the aided list and 27 schools remained unconnected with the education department. In the primary missionary schools which received no aid there were nearly 33000 children.³⁶

The woods dispatch of 1854 propose the system of grants-in-aid subject to government supervision, and the policy of entrusting gradually the management of even government institutions, especially those of higher order "may be safely closed or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of aided by the state." The missionaries, who were the most important non-government agency of education in the country, expected that these measures would enable them to control Indian education entirely. But the government of India continued their policy of religious neutrality.³⁷

The decision of the Indian Education Commission 1882, made the missionaries, take stock of their whole position and outline a new educational policy to guide their educational enterprise in future. This was done in the next 20 years and by 1902 the missionaries adopted a policy of restricting their educational activities to the maintenance of a few educational institutions in as high a state of efficiency as possible and abandoned the dreams of commanding the whole educational field in India.

The contributions of the missionaries to education in Madras Presidency was substantial. The missionaries introduced a new system of education in this presidency. Their system was different from those in existence in the country in several respects, they imparted religious instructions according to the tenets of Christianity. They introduced a new type of organization hither to unknown in the Presidency and in this country. "It is true to say that the real foundation of Modern Indian Education were laid not by the British administrative authorities, but by the missionaries and the officials of the East India Company in their Private capacities".³⁸

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COSTAL COSMOPOLITANISM ON MALABAR AND THE ROLE OF KEYIS

K. Anilkumar

The name of the town became renowned abroad due to the presence of a merchant family. The Keyi Mappila Muslim merchants of Thalassery on the Malabar coast were one of the few early modern Indian merchant groups who succeeded in carving out a powerful political and social configuration of their own on the western coast of the Indian Ocean during the British period. Today, several branches of Keyi families remain a cultural unit in the Islamic community of Kerala. This article attempts to locate the group in the larger theoretical context of Indian Ocean

cosmopolitanism and argues that the Keyis developed a distinct and significant type of coastal cosmopolitanism in an Indian Ocean setting. Chovakkaran Moosa, an influential merchant from a Keyi family during the colonial period, serves as a representative figure. Though their trade and financial relationships with British and local elites, and the characteristic architecture of their warehouses, residences and mosques, the Keyis successfully integrated the practices of global cosmopolitanism space into local vernacular secluded commercial space.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF MAPPILA WOMEN OF MALABAR

I. Arshad

Muslims are most important minority community in India. Indian Muslims are one of the most backward community and most of them are still living in a miserable condition. Socially, economically, politically and educationally they are very backward than other communities.

Indian Muslims are not a homogeneous community. Muslims of different areas have different culture and practices. The situation of Muslim women is worse. They are forced to live under the age old customs imposed by orthodox section of society. They had a much inferior

socio-economic and educational status. In Kerala the situations of Muslims are far better while comparing the other states of the country. Kerala Muslims have high literacy rate, high per capita income and a good social status than other states. Muslim women of Kerala are enjoying a good living condition. Kerala Muslims have been

a role model of Indian Muslims in social life, economic field, political field and educational field. This paper looks how Mappila women of Malabar transformed from their backwardness and acquired relatively high position.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH INDIA IN REFERENCE TO SYRIA CHURCH

Ashwini Barla & Dr.B. Pramila

In this study we will see about the arrival of Christianity in India to the enterprise of Merchant and missionaries of the East Syrian or Persian Church. Such a position is held by all those who deny the apostolate of St.Thomas and St.Bartholomew in any part of India and attribute absolutely no value to the Acts of Judas Thomas or to the references on other works of early centuries to India. The earliest record about the

apostolate of St.Thomas is the apocryphal: Acts of Judas Thomas, written in Syriac in the Edessan circle about the turn of the third century A.D. there are a few records, both in the West and the East, which refer to the existence of Christians in India in the ancient and medieval times, but they are few and far between and lack details.

ENVIRONMENTAL ALERTNESS IN THE ADOPTED VILLAGES OF A MEGA DEPARTMENT OF ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE (AUTONOMOUS), TIRUCHIRAPPLI

M. Britto Stalin

In the present higher education scenario, the involvement of students in community development programme along with their regular studies is made compulsory for all the students irrespective of courses. Though all the educational institutions including professional institutions provides Extension Programmes as Part IV, along with their curriculum viz., NSS, NCC, Nature Club, JRC and Women's Club. Whereas St Joseph's College (Autonomous), Tiruchirappalli is unique in introducing an innovative Extension Programme through SHEPHERD in the year 1985-86. SHEPHERD

is the expanded ellipsis of 'Science and Humanities for People's Development'. This paper is attempted to analyze the environmental contributions among various contributions of the college through students – Researcher applied doctrinal and analysis method for writing this paper – this paper written mostly based on the primary sources which is available in the Extension department and college library – Researcher also used SPSS package for the analysis of Questionnaires which distributed to the beneficiaries of the villages and students.

RETTAIMALAI SRINIVASAN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO ERADICATE OF UNTOUCHABILITY

L. Elakkiya & Rajaram

During the 19th Century was the age of social reform because of the Indian society faced many more problems such as women issues, caste issues, etc., In 20th century, the Indian leaders, social reformers and political groups started their

services for the social development. This article discussed caste issues particularly dalit society or untouchables. The untouchables affected by the upper caste peoples in the Indian society from immemorial time. Their civil rights deprived

by the upper caste peoples. During the 20th century, some of the leaders started reforms, movements for the uplift of the dalits and also to

eradicate of the untouchability. This paper analyzed the role of Rettamalai Srinivasan to eradicate of the untouchability.

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF *KODINHI*: AN APPRAISAL

N. Farhath

Kodinhi is famous for its own peculiarities and special features in socio-cultural concerns. It is natural delightful place between Tirurangadi, (the origin place of Malabar rebellion) and Tanur, (the important place of Kunchikadar in Kilafath movement). In the cultural aspects, it is a place of different communities residing here like Muslims, Hindus and Christians and they made it is a place of religious harmony. Kodinhi is also a place of different monuments like *Sathyapalli*, *Kakuzhi*. In the historical concern, it was the main center of Malabar Rebellion and

also many people's contributions on Malabar rebellion from here. In the economical perspective, Kodinhi is an agrarian society and also major income from the agricultural fields. The British services mainly for agricultural purpose improved and developed the agrarian society. Kodinhi's agrarian economy totally changed with the beginning of gulf migration. Besides, one of the main feature of Kodinhi is its twin birth; sometimes it may lead to multiple birth, it make world attention to Kodinhi.

"IN THE ANNALS OF MEDICAL AND HEALTH SERVICES HISTORY OF HYDERABAD PERTAINING TO ASAF JAH I RULE" - A CASE STUDY OF SIR RONALD ROSS

N.R. Girdhar. & C. Chandraiah

In the Annals of Medical & Health Services History of Hyderabad pertaining to the Asaf Jahi Rule, when Allopathy Medical Science made a subtle intrusion in the year 1846 A.D', several towering personalities both British and natives, trained in it by its application and by their endeavours have handed over the benefits of that science to the public and have also drawn the attention of the Medical World to Hyderabad city. One such Indian born British personality Sir Ronald Ross, who joined I.M.S and who was posted to Secunderabad Cantonment in Hyderabad city by his endeavours discovered the Malarial Cause, and stood out as one of the greatest benefactor to humanity. His discovery of the Malarial Cause on 20th & 21st August of 1897A.D, his practical demonstrations and lectures in Hyderabad Medical School and Afzal Gunj Hospital got him worldwide recognition and put Hyderabad city on the Medical Map of the World. His findings and prescribed preventive measures about Malaria is still valued and acted upon by the Medical fraternity around the world. His connection with Hyderabad city is a memorable one. This paper is an attempt to

trace the journey of Sir Ronald Ross and his quest to discover the malarial cause, its cure and the Hyderabad connection to it. Malaria is still one of the most important and deadly of all the tropical diseases. It was estimated by WHO in 2018 that approximately 228 million malarial cases were prevalent around the world. 20th August-1897A.D was a milestone in the tropical medical history and the medical & Health Services history of the city of Hyderabad. On the 20th day 1897 A.D. Dr. Ronald Ross, succeeded in detecting the development of the malarial germ in the digestive tract of the mosquito. In 1880 A.D. Dr. Laveran, had laid the foundation stone of malarial research, when he discovered the causative germ, while Golgi, was able to prove that this microbe, was a parasite of the erythrocytes, and investigated its development in the human body. Mason had postulated his theory of the Malarial mosquito and Ross completed the Malarial Mosquito research cycle by conforming Mason's theory². And thus he became a great benefactor to the mankind whose memory is unforgettable and always afresh to the present day.

JANMI-KUDIYAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL CONFLICT IN COLONIAL MALABAR

K. Hathika

With the formal establishment of East India Company rule over Malabar in 1792, the region witnessed fundamental changes in the forms of state power. The British introduced land settlement throughout the province along with new judicial and revenue systems that led to the process of commercialization of agriculture and the transformation of the political economy as a whole. The land relations of Malabar prior to the advent of the British is considered as a distinctive one, which was inextricably linked with age-old customs and manners. It was popularly known as *Janmi-Kudiyam Sampradayam* or *Janmi-Kudiyam Maryada*. Under British rule, the Malabar land system has been consisted of three components – the *Janmi* the *Kanakkaran* and

verumpattakaran. This new land revenue system and method of ownership of land have resulted in distrust among the people particularly the Mappilas, who were considered as the major section of society as *Kudiyans* or tenants. The present paper investigates the complex relation of Malabar land holdings and the existence of disputes between landlords and tenants, particularly the Mappilas. Many times the land dispute over the construction of mosque and burial sites for Mappilas were created violent revolts. The paper also seeks closely to identify the genesis and spread of Mappila revolts throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century Malabar.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM UNDER NIZAMS OF HYDERABAD: 1854- 1948

Khursheed Ahmad Bhat

The research paper is an attempt to find out the new important aspects of education system under Nizams or Asaf Jahis of Hyderabad State. The Nizams education system was very much influenced by the indigenous endeavours and foreign developments. It worked slowly in the first century of its rule, displayed the symbols of reorganisation under Nasir-ud-Daula, gradually attained pace under Salar Jung I (1853-83), started to develop under Mahbub Ali Khan and reached to its climax under the last Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan. The political disturbances in south India and the emerging developments in British India, like, passing of Woods Dispatch (1854), establishment of three presidency

universities, introduction of English as medium of instruction in British Indian universities and the democratic concept of education for all given by Jon Dewey acted as external challenges to the education system of Hyderabad. On the other hand, the indigenous administrative needs, endeavours to develop the literacy rate of the state and to form Hyderabad a repository of knowledge of the best of the Occident and the Orient acted as the responses to the above mentioned challenges. Therefore, the research paper will try to highlight the different aspects of the challenges and the responses in the education system under Nizams of Hyderabad.

BEYOND A STORYTELLER: REFLECTIONS ON THE WORKS OF LALITHAMBIKA ANTHARJANAM IN REVEALING THE STATUS OF NAMBOOTHIRI WOMEN IN KERALA

Margaret Mary

The objective of this paper is to explore and analyse the works written by Lalithambika Antharjanam in the light of a feministic attitude and how far it paved a way for social reformation in Namboothiri community of Kerala. Her stories are full of the reformative

reminiscences related to the social renaissance. Antharjanam's voice was the first voice of a woman heard in Malayalam stories that highlighted the Reformation of Namboothiri Women in Kerala. No women Malayalam writer prior to her seems to have engaged in depicting

the miserable conditions lived on either by the writer herself or the marginalisation and issues showered on to women by the society in general. She purposefully employed her skill in storytelling to attack the false prejudices and superstitions prevalent in the Namboothiri community of which she too was a member.

Lalithambika Antharjanam, who made use of her pen as an instrument against the social inequality that the Namboothiri women of her times lived with. She was a Malayalam writer who daringly opposed social injustice in her works to see the dawn of reformation in society slowly and gradually.

CONFRONTING MODERNITY: MAKTHI THANGAL'S REFORMS AND THE MAKING OF A NEW MUSLIM IDENTITY IN KERALA

K. Muhammed Asif

This paper is an attempt to analyse the reform initiatives of Sayyid Sanauulla Makthi Thangal, one of the pioneer reformers in the Muslim community of Kerala. His attempt was to navigate the Muslim community into modernity alongside resolving their economic and social backwardness and he emphasised the need of attaining secular education for the same along with spiritual one. The paper argues that through his reform initiatives in education and strong advocacy of studying in Malayalam language he ensured a space for the native Muslim community in Kerala in the new modern

Malayali self. At the same he brought new ideas for Madrassa education and systematized it along modern lines. His strategy was to expose the community to Malayalam and English education along with religious training in an attempt to make use of the opportunities opened by colonial modernity and a making of a 'loyal' Muslim community. The paper ends by arguing that this kind of a cultivated loyalty and a space within the modern Malayali self were central in promoting political consciousness as well as 'nationalist' feelings among the Muslims of Kerala.

MEMORIES AND NATIONALISM: REMEMBRANCES FROM HYDERABAD

C.J. Niranjana

The paper is an attempt to read memories of people living in Hyderabad with regard to its integration to the Indian Union in 1948. It intends to locate the memories of people on the erstwhile rule of Nizam, national movement in the state and the role of Indian army in Hyderabad's integration, from the perspective of seven individuals from different communities in the city of Hyderabad. The attempt is to unravel how people are differently national by looking at their heterogeneous national consciousness

organised around the events of 1948 leading to the integration. The risk in creating black and white categories of being a nationalist and an anti-national is exposed, as there are possibilities of the same memory being iconic of multiple feelings which might even be contrary. The memories are collected from people who lived the period of integration and those who inherited the memories of those days from their family. This is supplemented with the available secondary works.

IMPACT OF INTERVENTION OF OUTSIDERS ON MUTHUVAN (MALAMUTHAN) COMMUNITY OF CHATHALLUR HILLS IN NILAMBUR AREA

T. Sivadasan

In this paper I have paid an attempt to study the local history of Muthuvan community in Chathallur Hills and the impact of the outsiders on this community. They are Tribals and settled

in hills and forests. They are shy to mingle with the outsiders. The local People especially higher castes Hindus, Christians and Mappilas purchased their lands with cheap rate and

exploited them. They addicted to toddy, arrack and other drinks. They spoke their traditional language called *muthanchollu* in their huts. With the impact of outsiders they started to use Malayalam and the new generation is very fluent in Malayalam. Their slang is mixing of Tamil and Malayalam language, the aged people are like to use their slang in their huts. They have primitive feature of tribes. They lived in hilly areas. They led an isolated life. So they had a separate

customs, practices and language. They believed that status of their tribe is high while comparing the other tribals. Though they had high status in society during the earlier period most of them still led a life of misery and poverty. Some of them lived in small huts, shack and hovels. They led a secluded life and still under the supervision of Mooppan. The new generation is deviated from their traditional beliefs and customs.

INDIVIDUALISTIC ETHICS OF FORAGERS OF TAMIL NADU

P. Sumabala & D. Jeyachandraleka

The social organisation of South Indian hunter-gatherers such as the Kadar, Paliyan, Malaipantaram and Jenu Kurumbaas been characterised as the lowest level of social integration, permeated by an individual autonomy culture. Among the foragers of Tamil Nadu, the Paliyans in particular express what has been described as an individualistic ethic or culture. An extreme example of individual autonomy in the tribal mode is the Paliyans, food gatherers in the hills of western Tamil Nadu. Social cooperation among them is limited to nuclear families and even the families are not very cohesive. They live in small settlements, but there is little cooperation among the families of a settlement. Marriage is an arrangement among equal families; marriages commonly flounder, because of suspected infringements of personal independence. There are very few tribal groups as starkly individualistic and atomistic as are these Paliyans. This paper attempts to comprehend the individualistic characteristics of Paliyan tribes of Tamil Nadu.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - ECONOMIC HISTORY SECTION
AGRARIAN ECONOMY OF SOUTHEAST INDIA (1700-1900 AD.)

Dr. R. Abbas

I am extremely obliged to thank the President, General Secretary, the office bearers and the members of the Executive Committee of South Indian History Congress for nominating me to preside over the Economic History section of the 40th Annual session of the South Indian History Congress being held at our university. I feel indebted to the organization that my services are recognized and my association with this academic body since 1999 is truly honoured. I feel privileged to present to you some of my views on the concerned topic: "Agrarian economy of Southeast India (1700-1900AD)".

The region of 'south-east' India, on which this paper concentrates, can most easily be conceived as consisting of the territories governed by the Presidency of Madras from c.1801 – with the exclusion of the two western districts of Malabar and South Kanara. It stretches down the south-eastern littoral from Vizagapatnam in the North to Kanyakumari in the South and reaches as far inland as Bellary, Coimbatore and the environs of Bangalore. In economic terms, this conception is somewhat arbitrary and has mainly been chosen because the data from the colonial era is most facilely organised in this way. In fact, there were always important flows of goods and people linking this region to economies further to the west (in the territories of the princely states of Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore) and also to the North, especially Bengal. Nonetheless, the region also has a certain degree of historical integrity. Its local cultures escaped Mughal overlordship until very late and preserved patterns of 'little kingship' and temple based religion, which were distinctive in relation to the rest of India. The region's definition also properly highlights the significance of the sea, which provided conduits for bulk as well as luxury commerce and which, in many ways, dominated economic aspirations. Further, and over many centuries, the region saw intensive forms of interaction between its Telugu speaking North and Tamil speaking South with the former constituting source territories for the

migration of peoples, goods and ideas towards the latter. In 1957, when proposals emerged to split the Telugu country (Andhra) from the Tamil in order to form linguistically based regional states, the extent of their effective engagement became clear in the bitter struggle for possession of Madras city whose population was almost equally divided between 'native' Tamil and Telugu speakers. Tamil Nadu won the city but Andhra Pradesh maintained control of some of its most vital water resources which has been the cause of scarcely less bitter controversy ever since.

From certain angles, the story of the south-eastern agrarian economy between 1700 and 1900 might be summarized as quantitative expansion but qualitative stagnation or even decline. While it is difficult to provide meaningful aggregate statistics because of local variations, differential soil-fertility and the significance in the region of double- and triple-cropping the same land, the balance of the secondary literature is in agreement that cultivation expanded at least in line with population growth until 1900 and may even have moved ahead of it in the first half of the century.¹ However, there were few signs of farming adopting any startlingly new technologies and some indications that per acre/per crop yields might have declined.² Cultivation was expanding beyond its traditional foci of concentration in the better watered river valleys. Also, it was plainly being less supported by inputs derived from adjacent forest wastes and from animals, both of which were under pressure from the expansion of human population. While the nature of the data prevents it from being anything more than an impression, perhaps the greatest difference between farming at the turn of the 18th and of the 20th centuries may have been the relative lack of animal power by the latter date. Cattle used to abound, when not pulling ploughs then in trains carrying the bulk commodities (cotton, salt, iron) whose trade articulated the various specialist sub-zones of the region. The cotton carrying trade from the

Deccan to the central Coromandel coast alone was estimated to use 40,000 bullocks a year in the 1790s; 80,000 bullocks plied the cloth and tobacco trade across the southern Ghats to Kerala in the 1770s; 128,000 bullock loads of salt passed through the Tiruchirappalli customs as late as 1812. Equally, farming methods in the 18th and early 19th centuries anticipated the large-scale availability of animal inputs. Techniques for planting sugarcane (seen in the Baramahal in the 1790s) involved penning a thousand sheep or goats on a field for three days before beginning ploughing; and for planting turmeric in the Andhra coastal districts at about the same time, they involved doing this no fewer than seven times. But, by 1900, although the total number of animals may have increased, their ratio to the human population had fallen sharply and may have begun doing so even before 1850.³ There was barely half a sheep or goat per head of the population left in the Baramahal; and even less in the Andhra coastal districts, which had been converted to intensive paddy cropping.

But if there was very little technological change, there was much infrastructural change with positive consequences for farming and also some significant inputs derived from western science and the new global economy of the 19th century. An important feature of the pre-modern south-eastern economy, which, as Ravi Ahuja has argued, has rarely been given the attention it deserves, was the chronic instability of water supply. This derived not only (as now) from the variability of the monsoon, but also from difficulties in controlling the flows of the massive riverine systems which drained eastwards. Ahuja has shown that famine conditions hit the south-east regularly through the 18th century: in 1718-19, 1728-36, 1747, 1769, 1781-83, 1789, 1792 and 1798.⁴ Moreover, particular local economies could experience extraordinary variability in annual out-turns: a village level survey in the coastal Andhra districts for the 1790s showing differences in crop out-turn of over 70% from the same fields across a five year period. Agrarian society coped with these difficulties in various ways, most notably by remaining highly mobile.

Between 1810 and 1814, for example, when his district was beset by recurrent droughts, the Collector of Ramnad estimated that half the population (of about 600,000 people) had de-camped to the neighbouring Kaveri delta as a migrant labour force transplanting and harvesting its paddy crops. But the effect was certainly to depress overall regional levels of production. Little changed in the early part of the 19th century where, for example, the northern districts experienced bad famines in 1829 and 1833. But, gradually, more stable agricultural conditions came to be created, especially in the river valleys, and water supplies were significantly increased. From the 1840s, this reflected investments in new irrigation works whose value not even parsimonious colonial development policies could deny. The most successful such scheme was constructed on the Krishna-Godavari complex, where large tracts of land were converted from broadcast to flush-irrigated paddy production. But there were important developments, too, in the Kaveri and Tambraparni valleys. Overall, flush-irrigated acreage (with its potential for double- and even triple-cropping and much higher productivity) rose from 2.6 to 4.5 million acres between the 1850s and 1890s. But, even before this, there were significant gains made simply from the ending of the interminable warfare, which marked the region throughout the 18th century. Political instability around the headwaters of the Kaveri system, for example, had made it extremely difficult for any authority to sustain the *anicut* at the point near Tiruchirappalli where the Kaveri proper and the Coleroon bifurcate. The result was a situation on the lower Kaveri where, for decades, it was impossible for the eastern and western taluks of the delta to be cultivated simultaneously: since, if sufficient water reached the former, the latter were inundated; and, if the latter were cultivable, the former were dried out. By the 1810s, the unification of political authority under the EEIC had an immediately beneficial effect in the restoration of the *anicut* even before Victorian science attempted to come to grips with southern hydrology.

Improved conditions of political security also may have played a role in what was to become, perhaps, the most important aspect of

agrarian transformation the expansion of deep-well cultivation in the interior districts. The capital behind this was almost entirely private (and Indian) and the expansion started as early as the 1820s although only became truly significant from the 1850s when changes in the revenue system ceased to penalise returns to investment.⁵ Deep-well irrigation secured cultivation in the 'dry' upland tracts against the vagaries of the monsoon, but it also did considerably more. It opened new possibilities for the utilization of the market and of 'science'. From the 1810s, the EEIC government initiated a vigorous programme of metalled road building (where virtually none had existed before). Originally undertaken more for purposes of military security than trade, this programme nonetheless opened wider opportunities for commerce (which south-eastern society, in any event, had never been known to decline before). The roads made it possible to transport larger quantities of bulk commodities and helped to focus new sources of demand on the interior's most prized possession, raw cotton. Well-irrigation and 'science' then further intervened to transform the nature of this crop. 'Watered' cottons grow far longer staples than 'un-watered' and colonial agronomic experimentation also began to make available new varieties, such as 'Cambodias' and 'Louisianas'. Across the later 19th century, the southern interior (especially Coimbatore, Madurai and Tinnevely districts) experienced a significant cotton boom, which even survived the problems of the inter-war years to generate the bases of a modern textile industry.⁶

In addition to cotton, a second crop sustaining agricultural expansion in the interior was groundnut, which was virtually unknown before 1850 but came to be exported in huge quantities by the time of the First World War.⁷ Its particular significance was that it grew on light, sandy soils which previously had a low productivity and also that it replenished the nitrogen content of the soil. Southern agriculture had always been open to innovation rapidly taking on board the new crops brought from the Americas (potato, tobacco, chilli, tomato) as if they were its own. It absorbed the novelties of

the colonial era with scarcely less enthusiasm and, in some regards, scarcely less profit.

The issue of what happened to 'per capita income levels' in India across the colonial period is one which has detained economic historians for many decades and, given the complexities involved, seems (at least to me) as inconclusive now as at the beginning of debate. I will address it more fully later. But if the value of agricultural production is made the principal criterion and also if what may have happened in earlier decades is left out of account there is a plausibility, at least in the south-east, to Alan Heston's estimate that per capita income levels rose by about 40% between 1860 and 1914. Economically, this was certainly the best era for the 'colonial' economy in spite of the 'Great Famines' which haunted the 1870s and 1890s.⁸

Those famines have drawn a keen historical interest of late and, as both human tragedies and examples of bureaucratic insensitivity, no doubt properly so. But so far as the south-east is concerned, it would be a mistake to make them characteristic of the colonial epoch. They took place on its western edges (in the Deccan districts) and had little impact elsewhere. Those districts had experienced the 'new forces' of the colonial market place and science in peculiarly unbalanced ways: where, for example, they were drawn into displacing grain with cotton cultivation without benefit of deep-well irrigation, which increased their vulnerability to the climate. Also, they were predominantly millet eating where regional trade in the bulky commodity was poorly developed.⁹ But the appalling human consequences of the Deccan famines ought not to blind us to the fact that, elsewhere in the south-east, famine was much less of a regular threat by the end of the 19th century than it had ever been before.

Indeed, it may very well have been the long-term reduction in the regular threat, which caught out the colonial bureaucracy when the late 19th century famines did strike. The degree of its un-preparedness for, and incomprehension at, what was happening is at least as striking as any feature of racial indifference to the loss of Indian life. But the Deccan famines also draw

attention to one feature of structural change, which was more general and which, if it had not been supported by new investments and in-puts, could have had even more disastrous consequences. As noted earlier, pre-colonial southern society's standard response to impending adversity was to move. But, by the later 19th century, it was becoming increasingly difficult to find places to move to at least within the south-east itself. The Deccan famine victims died more or less where they stood in ways which it is hard to imagine would have been the case a hundred years earlier. Peripatetic mobility declined and 'sedentarisation' became the key theme of the colonial epoch: promoted at first by the administrative mechanisms of revenue 'settlement', but determined later by pressure on the land:man ratio. Sedentarisation transformed the character of southern society in ways no doubt subtle but ultimately extremely profound. Admittedly, and as Dharma Kumar has seen, up to 1900 pressure from the land:man ratio did not become critical new acreage under the plough and new population still more or less grew in tandem.¹⁰ But some problems in finding new land for flush irrigation in the river valleys were already starting to be experienced and, from the 1920s, would serve to fix a firm lid on the progress of 'colonial' development. Indeed, this lid was coming to be fixed in other areas too. As noted earlier, most of colonial development investment was directed towards large flush-irrigation projects in the river valleys, which served (and, in many ways could only serve) paddy cultivation.

The expansion of the interior via well irrigation, although it drew on resources of security, science and the market associated with colonialism, was entirely dependent on Indian entrepreneurial capital. But, even by the closing decades of the 19th century, it was starting to become clear that the colonial state's concentration on paddy production may have been a serious economic mistake. The opening up of the Irrawady delta in Burma (albeit with South Indian capital and expertise) started to produce a neighbouring source of paddy, which was cheaper and of higher quality than especially the 'old' southern deltas could provide. 'Burma rice' soon began to take over traditional

export markets in Ceylon and even to invade markets in South India itself. From the 1910s, it was joined by the vast quantities of rice emerging from the agricultural transformations of Thailand and Vietnam, which came to dominate world markets from the 1920s. Colonial development in south-east India, while helping to stabilise food supplies, ultimately went up a blind alley so far as generating new sources of capital accumulation were concerned. Rather, it was the well-irrigated interior, which ironically had benefited least from colonial investment policies, which became the principal locus of longer term prosperity and, eventually (although not until the 1920s) the site of the region's industrial re-birth.¹¹

Moreover, longer-term agricultural prosperity, even in the interior, was not a phenomenon experienced by all. There has been a lively debate in South Indian history over changes in patterns of land distribution and labour and, certainly, over pessimistic views (including some of my own) concerning tendencies towards the narrower concentration of landed assets and the increasing pauperisation of labour are difficult now to sustain. Almost all statistical tests reveal a remarkable continuity in the structure of landholding across the 19th century in spite of hugely increased acreage with a proliferation of small-holdings always buttressing the larger estates of the rich and powerful.¹² Also, there is little indication of an overall increase in the landless proportion of the population (which, it should be said, depending on district consisted of between 15 and 25% of the rural population even at the beginning of the colonial era).

Nonetheless, the ownership of land does not tell everything. There are also the questions of what can be done with it and what happens to the surplus derived from it. Here, as Christopher Baker has argued, there can be little doubt that most of the significant changes (at least from the second half of the nineteenth century) favoured producers with more substantial assets. In the interior, it took capital to finance the digging of wells and the cultivation of garden crops and long-staple cottons. In the river valleys, productivity depended heavily on proximity to water supply -- which tended to give pride of

place to the 'older' *mirasidars*. While opportunities continued to exist for small farmers to gain access to land and to produce under what Baker has termed 'minimalist' farming strategies, most of the benefits of the new markets and crops went to those with greater capital. Indeed, these agrarian capitalists also drew benefits from the fields of their smaller neighbours who looked to them for credit, for ploughs and cattle and for part-time employment. The great majority of small farmers did not have sufficient land to supply their own household subsistence but needed extra work, which could often only be found in the fields of their wealthier neighbours.¹³

Keeping a local supply of labour to hand by offering it small holdings had been a standard agronomic strategy of larger *mirasidars* in the pre-modern era when labour was scarce. It long continued into the 19th century although with a subtly different logic: whereas the conditions offered earlier to *pykari* (itinerant) cultivators had often been better than those of *mirasidars* themselves (especially with regard to revenue payment), later on they became noticeably more onerous and involved increasing features of debt-bondage. For landless labourers, too, there are few signs that economic conditions improved and some that they may have deteriorated. As for everybody in the agrarian economy, greater stability and the shrinking spectre of famine represented an inestimable

bonus. However, as Ahuja has seen, wage rates across the 18th century had tended rise. But they fell during the first half of the nineteenth century as the population began to increase more rapidly. Given that food costs also tended to fall in the later period (especially after the 1830s), the result may not have been very drastic. But, during the later nineteenth century when food prices started to rise again a noticeable feature in many parts of the agrarian economy was a shift from kind to cash wage rates, which was clearly of disadvantage to their recipients. Also, there is absolutely no evidence that the 40% rise in national per capita income level, surmised by Heston for the years 1860-1914, was passed on in real agricultural wage rates. Labour's share in the total social product was undoubtedly inclined to fall.

The agrarian society of south-eastern India, then, was highly stratified long before the coming of the colonial era and little that happened thereafter made it any less so. With the exception of the Deccan districts, the ultimate price of economic failure (death by starvation) became a less constant threat. But opportunities to make significant gains and accumulating wealth provided by the new economic order were narrowly constructed and of major benefit to only small groups. Access to capital was always the key and, with the colonial state withdrawing itself from the 'indigenous' credit system, that access became, if anything, narrower.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POPPY: TRAJECTORIES OF OPIUM TRADE IN MALABAR

Arun Thomas

History of Opium in India is enmeshed in the history of colonialism and vice versa. The fundamental aim of this paper is to demonstrate the transition happened in the materiality of Opium from an innocuous commercial article during Dutch time to a controlled intoxicant during the British colonialism. The concept of political economy is used here to denote the economic context out of which a change significantly brought about in the economic relations of Opium with the political and legal regimes. By problematizing the process of institutionalization of opium economy and the changes impacted on the possession, sale and consumption in Malabar spanning from the uniqueness of Dutch opium trade in Malabar to the 19th century British Malabar, this article deals with the trajectories of opium administration by the both colonial powers in establishing a state monopoly in Malabar.

The very idea of this article derives from the statement of historian Jordan Goodman who believes that "Psychoactive substances are a rich analytical category for the study of historical, cultural and economic processes of a society".¹ Having taken this idea as the premise of this study, the author attempts to seek whether British governance brought about any changes in the opium administration from that of the Dutch in Malabar. The article begins to trace the role of Dutch East India Company in the opium trade and next two sections account the British attempts to monopolize the opium economy by channelizing/ controlling the opium market in the Malabar district. It aims to conclude by postulating centrality of opium efficacy in Malabar economy by considering the profit both colonial powers extracted from trading opium into Malabar.

Tracing Opium: In Pre-British Malabar Economy

Malabar has a significant position when the history of Opium in India discussed. Barbosa in his work titled "*Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*" described extensive consumption of opium in the Malabar Coast.² He stated his surprise seeing the extent of opium

consumption though it was not produced in Malabar. Discussion on opium in Malabar would become incomplete if the Dutch intervention and participation in opium trade are forsaken. Hans Dirks and Binu John have touched upon the efficacy of opium in the pre-British Malabar economy. Dirks demonstrated how the Dutch travelers have looked at the opium consumption in Malabar primarily quoting Wouter Schouten who described opium consumption in Malabar from the context of conflict between the Dutch and Portuguese. According to him, though the Dutch became victories in the conflict between the two powers in the 1660s, the Portuguese were assisted by local *nairos* whose unflinching, fearless character was the result of the opium addiction and I quote:

"They (*Nairos*) do not surrender easily, but remain at their place strong as a post, while attacking notwithstanding fire, swords or bullets: by using opium they are fully out of their senses. And further on: 'The enemy, frantic by the opium, stands like a wall and shoots, hacks and cuts with big knives everything and everybody within its reach'³

Dirks immensely quoted Schouten to show how the Malabar and opium addiction have been imaged by Dutch travellers. Schouten claimed that kings in Malabar including Zamorin were addicted to opium. Such descriptions of opium addiction might tend to have a fallacy or fantasy of an 'ethnographer'. Whatever may be the extent of the addiction, the prime concern of this section is to figure the inseparable commercial connection between pepper and opium in the trade. I hereby quote an extract from Dirks's book to cognize the importance of opium in the political economy of Malabar prior to the British conquest.

"As elsewhere the VOC tried to pay for this Malabar export as much as possible without money; it was extremely economical with gold and silver money and species. Opium was the main import product and the main means to exchange with pepper".⁴

Since the Dutch had the priorities to amass pepper from the Malabar, the Company influenced the local rajas for the monopoly of both pepper export against opium (Amphion) import. Dirks observed that the VOC had to deal with Ali Rajas, the Muslim merchant ruler of Cannanur to stem the local traders who actively involved in the opium trade connecting Surat and Cannore.⁵ Binu John has briefly described the involvement of Ali Rajas in the opium trade. Using extensive VOC records, he alluded as to how the opium usage in the Malabar has been perceived in the Dutch Company. He picked up unique sources that testified the extent of consumption which prevailed in Malabar. The Dutch company managed to sign a treaty in 1664 with Ali Rajas through which the company asserted the monopoly over the opium trade. Binu John pointed out that despite the treaty was called, the ground reality was extremely disfavored them and the agreements remained in the official paper. They could not withstand the challenges posed by the local Muslim traders as well as Tamil Pattar Brahmins who imported a large quantity of opium from Bengal to the Southern part of India.⁶

Table 3.1. Bengal Opium Exported to the Malabar Coast, 1657-1718 (Selected years; in Dutch pounds).

Year	Quantity	Year	Quantity	Year	Quantity
1657	6238	1669	11844	1683	8421
1659	-----	1671	N.A	1688	3280
1661	6800	1673	22713	1690	17835
1663	16048	1675	8555	1692	50025
1665	N.A	1677	N.A	1705	2900
1667	11560	1681	22910	1710	2610

Source: Dirks, *History of the opium problem*, p. 170.

Interestingly, the history of pepper trade is also the history of opium import as far as Malabar is concerned in the seventieth and eighteenth centuries. The above table corroborates our very

premise that opium consumption had a significant impact on the Malabar economy. Though it was a lucrative business for the VOC, as mentioned above, it had to face stiff competition from both local and foreign (English) merchants. "Although the Company tried to dislodge its market competitors by fixing a low exchange ratio against pepper (1 lb. opium for 40 khandil pepper), this did not produce any remarkable result".⁷ As a result, the VOC was not interested to hold a monopoly right over the opium import to Malabar even though they tried to have the monopoly in the second half of the 17th century.

The description of Pre-British opium trade and its efficacy in the Malabar trade connections is meant to place a background for the subsequent British approach towards opium policies and official responses to monopolize it.

Politics of British Opium Economy: An overview.

British East India Company came to the scene of opium trade only in the beginning of the eighteenth century, mainly trading with South East Asian markets. In the initial decades of eighteenth century, the British private traders who were supported by the company servants actively 'smuggled' Bengal opium which is a umbrella term that includes all the opium produced in the eastern part of India and was taken to Calcutta where the auction took place. Thus Calcutta emerged as the major 'capital' of the imperial opium trade.

The interesting turn in the nineteenth century opium policy happened when the Company knew that Malwa opium was 'smuggled' through the west coast region of India into China. Though the Calcutta authorities wanted the Bombay officials to take immediate actions to stem the trade, they were unsuccessful as the Malwa opium was produced in the areas ruled by the princely states. Amar Farooqui has investigated this 'Malwa' problem in detail, and according to him when the Company failed to extirpate the opium production in the Malwa region, they brought about a practical solution by which they attempted to gain the trade monopoly by purchasing the opium from the farmers and auctioned in Bombay subsequently exporting to China.⁸ It is interesting to know how the Company used its various technologies of

power to monopolize the western and central Indian opium production.

As far as Malabar is concerned, the political economy of opium has been drastically transformed after the British involvement in the opium trade. They painstakingly stopped all the local 'smugglers' who were trading opium in the Malabar region. It is interesting to note that the British had to undertake timely legal interventions and frame administrative mechanisms to bring about a monopoly over the Opium economy in the Malabar. Malabar was regarded as smuggling prone area and uncontrolled opium smuggling were happened to be carried out through Malabar ports. This was a serious concern for them and to control the uncontrolled contrabanding activities, they appointed a special covenanted civil servant who was designated as 'collector of sea customs in Malabar and Canara' to look after such illegal movements of Opium in the both Malabar and Canara Coastal rim. They were entrusted along with a civil servant as his deputy to collect the customs duties.⁹ Through various regulations and Acts in the first half of the nineteenth century, British managed to monopolize the opium economy in the Madras presidency and subsequently in the Malabar district too.

Opium Market in British Malabar: Auction, License, Retail, Restriction and Complexity

As Opium was not cultivated in Malabar, it was traded to Malabar from the Malwa region. As the cultivation of Poppy was strictly prohibited in Madras Presidency, the opium consumed in the presidency was imported from the Indore under the licenses provided by the board of revenue and passes from an opium officer at Indore. Retail selling of opium is monitored by the government after the strict Opium Act of 1876 which is regarded as the cornerstone of the opium administration in the 19th century British India and was an attempt to monopolize the inland production and trade of opium. The Rate of licenses, number and places of shops, were decided by the Government and strict guidelines were placed to generate maximum revenue out of opium sale. As Malwa opium was produced in the Natives states where British government had no control over the production as well as the movement of opium, the only way for the government to monitor was when the opium was traded to British territory which demanded

a pass, sanctioned by the colonial government. The pass duty on Malwa opium destined for consumption in British territory was an excise receipt which incurred Rs.10 rupees per one seer of opium, thus Rs.700 per chest.¹⁰

Malwa opium was sent in boxes containing half a chest (35 seers) and Rs.10 rupees was amounted as revenue duty.¹¹ Prior to the Opium Act 1878, Abkari and Excise administration over the opium was lenient as there was no centralized legal system to control and monopolize to do so. After the Opium Act of 1876 and the significant Madras Abkari act of 1886, the official records are so succinct in documenting the efficacy of the intoxicating drugs in the Malabar economy.

As per the guidelines, each licensed opium shops were to be owned by a single owner and collective ownership was nor encouraged by the government. But Collector had the discretion to allow joint ownership for the shops that were opened in the towns. The money to purchase a shop should be paid in one lump sum before the permission is issued except in cases in which the amount is large, in those situations reasonable instalments were permitted at the discretion of the collector.¹² The farmer who was permitted to run the shops were to pay monthly One rupee per shop for the license. He was expected to follow strict guidelines through which the monopoly over the economic activities of opium was maintained.¹³

Interestingly opium administration had a centralized nature due to its primacy in the revenue structure in the British administration. Opium vending licenses were placed in the auction and highest bidder was allowed to run the opium shop. The date and place of auction and the officials conducting the auctions were published prior. Upset prices of the exclusive privileges for selling opium and poppy heads and of manufacturing and selling of intoxicating drugs in Malabar are given below.

Table 3.2. Upset Prices of the Exclusive Privileges for Selling Opium

Taluk	Rs	Taluk	Rs
Chirakkal	3,700	Walluvand	40
Kottayam	1,610	Palghat	605

Kurumbranadu	380	Ponani	250
Wynad	200	Cochin	1,000
Eranad	505	Calicut	740

Source: The Malabar Gazette, (2nd February, 1884, Calicut), Vol.XXVI, No 11. p.372.RAC

Malabar Gazette that used to be published in the Saturdays from Calicut catalogued the location and number of opium shops opened in the district. It is interesting to know the procedure to be followed after the winning of the auction. The successful bidder was to submit security in cash and a Government promissory note endorsed to the collector along with his first deposit which is equal to one-fourth of the rent. And if he failed to pay the initial rent which is the one fourth of total sum, the deposits already made would be forfeited and privilege would be re-auctioned once more. It is interesting to observe that subjecting to all the legal provisions of the opium Act of 1878, the purchaser of the privilege to engage in opium selling had to give a surety in a stamp paper asking him to abide by the conditions. On 30th March 1884 was decided as the deadline for this stamp paper declaration, without which all deposit he has made decided to be forfeited.¹⁴ The increase in the number of licensed opium shops in Malabar indicates the motif of the government to amass maximum revenue from the drugs sale. This argument can be substantiated by the increase in licensed shops in each Taluks year by year. For example, in Ponnai taluk there was a sudden increase in the number of opium shops between 1884 and 1886.

Madras Abkari revenue reports are the best aid to know the development of the opium market in Malabar. By 1888 the opium import to non-producing areas like Malabar has been controlled by the Madras Revenue board. Number of opium shops and the quantity to be imported for retail sale needed permission granted by the Board of revenue on the recommendation of collectors. The process of opium that reached Malabar from Indore is as follows:

“A duplicate copy of the license is sent to the deputy opium agent at Indore who passes the opium on payment of the pass duty (700 per chest of 140 ¼ lb)...The deputy opium agent reports the dispatch of opium to the board, which

advises the collectors concerned; the consignments are checked by some responsible revenue officer on arrival in the district, and are then passed on for sale to farmers and licensed vendors”.¹⁵

Opium vend rentals a brought huge profit for the company. Along with the pass duty, opium vend rentals contributed significantly to the excise revenue of the Madras Presidency.

Table 3.3. Statement of Opium vend rentals from Malabar

Year	Rentals (Rupees)
1888-89	7,937
1889-90	11,416
1890-91	15,181
1891-92	17,965
1892-93	21,540
1893-94	15,340
1894-95	15,155
1895-96	13,497
1896-97	15,832
1897-98	15,930
1898-99	15,760
1899-1900	13,031

Source: Madras Abkari revenue administration Reports from 1890-1900, (Compiled by the author)

As the above-mentioned table indicates the rent from the opium shops looked fluctuating. The prime reasons for the fluctuation were related to the changing number of opium shops opened to function. One of the reasons for the decrease in the number of opium sale was attributed to natural calamities and epidemic diseases both of which reduced the purchasing power of the consumer. The increase of rentals in Malabar is ascribed to the fact that that the opium renter of Native Cochin used to accumulate the opium regardless of the cost in order to avoid the risk of smuggling from British into Native Cochin.¹⁶ In the latter case, though the sale of opium in the Malabar district statistically increased interestingly the bulk of the

consumption took place in foreign territory. Thus the quantity of opium sold in Malabar district was not necessarily consumed in Malabar. Opium bought from the official shops 'smuggled' foreign territories like Mahe and Native Cochin.

Table 3.4. Opium Statement from Malabar on the quantity consumed and pass duty derived.¹⁷

Year	Consumption (lb)	Pass duty. Rs. 5 per pound
1889-90	635	3175
1891-92	2117	10,585
1892-93	2,001	10,005
1893-94	2,001	----
1894-95	2,189	----
1895-96	998	----
1896-97	2,602	----
1897-98	-----	----
1897-98	2,087	----
1898-99	801	----

Source: Madras Abkari revenue administration Reports from 1890-1900, Compiled by the author.

Malabar had never been lagging behind in the consumption of Opium as compared to other districts of the Presidency. In terms of quantity of opium consumed Malabar used to come next to agency tracts.¹⁸ In many of the years particularly in the last decades of the 19th century, the number of opium shops are higher in Malabar comparing with other districts of the presidency except Madras town.

Table 3.5 Number of shops open for the sale of opium in Malabar.

Year	No. of shops	Year	No. of shops
1890-91	27	1895-96	22
1891-92	28	1896-97	21
1892-93	26	1897-98	20
1893-94	28	1898-99	29
1894-95	25	1899-1900	38

Source: Madras Abkari revenue administration reports from 1889-1900 (Compiled by the author)

The retail price of opium has differed from district to district. The lowest price usually prevailed in the Northern districts like Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kristna.

Table 3.6 Average opium selling price of opium in Malabar.

Year	R s	Ann a	Pais a	Year	R s	Ann a	Pais a
1888-89		9	8	1894-95		9	
1889-90		11	4	1895-96	1		
1891-92		10	2	1896-97			
1892-93		10	2	1898-99	1		
1893-94		9	4	1899-1900	1	6	

Source: From Madras Abkari revenue administration reports from 1889-1900 (Compiled by the author)

Though opium smuggling so prevalent in Malabar, British official records seldom presented the details of smuggling cases. One would hardly see the details of smuggling groups who tried to 'subvert' the colonial drugs policies and nor did see the methods used them. The major sources on opium smuggling available in the Abkari reports and district gazetteers are of tabular representation that contained the number of cases filed under the Opium Act of 1878. It needs intricate research to problematize the nature of smuggling prevailed in Calicut region. Like Amar farrooqi analyzed the role local capitalists in the opium smuggling that enabled them to accumulate capital as well as pose a 'conscious political defiance' against British monopoly, and like Markovits who disputed Farooqui's argument by postulating the idea that opium smuggling was not a subversion but an opportunism from the part of local merchants, the author failed to integrate the problem of this 'clandestine' drug movement into the political economy of opium smuggling in the 19th century Malabar as the dearth of sources.¹⁹

Conclusion

The economic efficacy of opium in the political economy of Malabar has been an indispensable node that demands much deeper investigation. During the Dutch period opium was a major commodity that traded to Malabar in exchange of pepper. In other words it was opium that enabled Dutch company to purchase pepper in large quality without paying in cash. Though they were not successful in maintain their opium monopoly due to the indigenous

opium smuggling groups, opium trade with Malabar strengthened their large imperialist agendas. It was during the British period opium became a complete market oriented commodity that fetched good amount of revenue for the British. The British framed policies and regulations to channelize the consumption in Malabar. This highly controlled movement of opium in Malabar by the Abkari department supported the imperial agenda of extracting revenue.

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16. *Madras Abkari Revenue Report*, 1889-1890, p. 69.
17. Table is compiled by the author. From 1893 onwards the Madras Abkari report did not state the district wise opium pass duty.
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TRADE AND MARITIME ACTIVITIES OF MUSLIMS IN EAST COAST FROM 17TH – 19TH CENTURIES

J. Arun

The aim of this Paper is to describe the Trade and Maritime Activities of Muslims in East Coast from 17th – 19th century. Kayalpatnam (Aka Kayalpatnam, Tamil) is a town situated 30 kilometers away from Thoothukudi on Thoothukudi, Tiruchendur Highway in the Thoothukudi district of Tamil Nadu, India. It was famous port during the times of the Pandyan kingdom, and also a chief port of Malabar. Kayal is inhabited mostly by Muslims and Nadar,

Devar, Harijian Adi Dravidian and Christian communities living in peace. It is believed that the original inhabitants were from Egypt. The first Arab Muslim settlers who were from Medina land at Kayalpattinam during period of first Caliph Abubukker when the Pandya Kingdom was ruled by Kadungon.

Kilakkarai, Devipattanam, Tondi and Nagapattanam also became busy ports, and important Muslim centres of trade. The fifteenth

century Chinese sea farers comment on the commercial link of Nagapattanam with Sumatra, Java and Burmese coasts. In the sixteenth century Adirampattanam, Kilakkarai Nagapattanam, PortoNovo and Pulicat were among the region's most active textile export centres: Muslim sea going men from Pulicat and Nagapattanam carried Coromandel piece goods to Mocha, Malacca and Burma. Even in the late nineteenth century, these Muslim ports still had links with great international exchange centres of Indonesian archipelago and Malay Peninsula.

The Sethupathis of Ramanathapuram extended their support to the Muslim traders. The Sethupathi incorporated this Muslim community leader, Periathambi - Seethakkathi, in the state policies and designated him "Vijaya Raghunatha Periathambi", Vijaya Raghunatha, being the name of Sethupathi. According to Dutch records, he is said to have controlled everything in Kilakkarai region and was the second most powerful man in the Ramnad State after the Sethupathi, Thomas Van Rhees, Governor of Ceylon (1692-7) points out in his memoir that the market price of textiles was raised or lowered according to the pleasure of Periathambi who had the entire management of the business in the Coromandel and as well as Ceylonese coasts. The Sethupathi in collaboration with Periathambi sent his ships to Persian gulf and Bengal. The trade of Seethakkathi is extolled by poets in Islamic Tamil literatures. He is called as "Vallal" (great Philonthoropist) in these literary works. He is said to be the founder builder of the great Jumma Masjid in Kilakkarai, one of the Dravidian architectural marvel. By 1698 the Dutch realised that they could not carry their trade without the help of Periathambi Marakkayar and concluded a friendship treaty with him. Then the Marakkayar became the intermediary to the Dutch. He also permitted the Dutch to build a factory at Kilakkarai.

From 1750 - the political uncertainties in Coromandel hinterland brought down the native maritime trade to decline. The Marathas of Thanjavur also encouraged to some extent the native traders. Sarabendrarajapattanam (Saluvanayakkanpattanam) was an important port in Thanjavur coast during nineteenth century.

Marakkayar, Madan Sahib Nagudha, Syed Mohamed Nagudha, Sulaiman Malim, Fakir

Mohamed Nagudha and Siddhi Mohamed, Ibrahim Nagudha of Nagore; Mohamed Sahib Marakkayar, Habib Mohamed, Abdul Gani and Syed Ahamed Marakkayar of Nagapattanam; Mohamed Ali Marakkayar, Shaik Mohamed Nagudha and Vappa Chinna vava Marakkayar of Thirumalairajanpattanam, Mohideen Kundoo and Mohamed Thambi Marakkayar of Karaikkal. All the above merchants requested the company authorises to release their merchandise and the ships which were sent to Penang and Malacca. East India Company authorities conceded their demands.

A list of new vessels registered by the Muslims in the year 1808 in Nagore and Nagapattanam shows that it was only seven in number. All of them were engaged in overseas trade. This register contains the names of the ships (Kadar Bux, Mohideen Bux, Mohamed Bux, etc.) type of the vessel and tonnage, the names of the owners, commodities freighted name of Nagudha, country to which the vessels plied and the licence and pass particulars. The owner of the ship and the licensee for taking out voyage differ in most of the vessels. Since the pass for the voyage was in the name of the Nagudhas, the owner may or may not sail in the ship.

The Muslim merchants of Cuddalore and PortoNovo traded with Penang, Kedah and Ache. When their vessels on voyage were in trouble, they used to approach the East India Company authorities for protection. The Muslim merchants of Coromandel coast were at the favour of the East India Company authorities during this period.

Pamban Canal itself was a private property for some: time which was granted by the ruler of Ramanathapuram, to a Marakkayar family at Pamban. Retention of their hereditary rights to collect fees, a fixed salary to those who actually piloted the vessels across the Pamban Canal was ordered by the Collector. The descendants of the family of Aboobakkar Marakkayar are appointed as pilots at Pamban port-for piloting vessels across the Pamban-even to this day.

The Sethupathi exported the chank to Bengal in his own vessels and in the vessels of the Marakkayars of the region. It brought good revenue to the Sethupathi's treasury. The Sethupathi Raja sent in 1794 alone about 11,20,000 chank to Bengal from Devipattanam

port in the ship of a Marakkayar of Kilakkarai. Meera Naina Marakkayar of Ramanathapuram acted as the agent of the Sethupathi in Calcutta.

In Thanjavur coast the fishermen of Nagapattanam, Tranquebar, Thirumullaivasal and Adirampattanam collected the shells. Here the chanks were collected with net and not by diving. The chank fishery of Thanjavur coast was enjoyed by the Thanjavur Maratha rulers. The Modi records of the in the south Arcot coast the chank shells were collected by renters and also by individual fishermen. The collection of the shells was done with net as in the case of Thanjavur. Chank shells were smuggled from South Arcot coast to Pondicherry where it fetched a higher price.

The Muslims of Coromandel were the wholesale merchants in chank in Calcutta. Kilakkarai was an important centre of chank export to Bengal.

At Kilakkarai a certain contribution of the catch was also generally allowed to be set aside by the divers for the benefit of their mosque. The Sethupathi had given him the privilege to trade in his ports on payment of a reduced duty i.e., instead of the usual duty. When the concession was curtailed later by the English authorities, (the Collector of Madurai) in 1802, the Board of Revenue, intervened and afforded adequate remedy to him.

The Muslim merchants in Nagapattanam and Nagore also built ships of considerable burthen up to 500 tons, in the port itself, not only for their use but also for the merchants of western coast. The Muslims of Nagore, Nagapattanam and PortoNovo were the worst affected during this period because of the hostile operation by the Europeans.

According to a statistics in the second half of the nineteenth century, the bigger individual Muslim merchants of Nagapattanam and Nagore operated with a limited capital of Rs.35,000 to 50,000 whereas the English private merchants had liquid capital several times higher than this.

This naturally led the Muslim traders to smuggling and clandestine trade activities. The Muslim community is often found named as leading participants in smuggling activities in 17th-18th centuries. Periathambi Marakkayar was

the chief among them and he was the architect to foil the Dutch monopoly.

The Dutch monopoly in pearl and chank fisheries was also against the traders and labour class among the Muslims who were engaged in these activities. Paravas were preferred to the Muslim divers. The Muslim traders who were engaged in pearl trade had to be at the mercy of the Dutch. The Muslims in chank trade were driven to smuggling and illicit export to other regions. But the Muslims adjusted themselves to the situation and tried to cooperate with the Dutch. The Muslim traders helped the Marava forces during Dutch campaign against the Portuguese in 1657-58. During the Portuguese-Dutch war in 1652, a Muslim contingent from Thirunelveli helped the Dutch.

Though the Dutch attitude gradually became more tolerant of Islam and less rigorous although the anti Islamic laws continued to remain on the Batavia Statute Book. Learned religious preachers were allowed to migrate between Ceylon and Coromandel. The Dutch even tried to formulate a code for Muslims. The Muslim traders were treated with consideration. Muslims were employed for shipping activities in Malabar. Among the Tamilians workers in the V.O.C. there might have been Muslims also in considerable numbers.

With the disappearance of the Dutch the Muslims had to face the strong European power, the English.

The French settlements were; a heaven to the Muslim traders. Though much of export trade was done by the European trading companies and merchants, the native Muslims were also encouraged by the French. They undertook joint ventures with Muslims. During the time of wars and political confusion, the French came to the rescue of the Muslim traders by allowing them to trade under their colours. They also offered them technical expertise in navigation. The PortoNovo Marakkayars benefited much by French help. Thus the ship of a PortoNovo Marakkayar, Mohamed Shah during its voyage to Manila was manned by a French Captain. Many ships of the Marakkayars engaged in coastal trade such as that of

Mohamed Ali Beg employed French captains in their ships. The French also employed Muslim navigators in their ships for

Kedah, Tennaserim etc. Since the customs duties were half to that of Madras, the Marakayar ship owners and traders of PortoNovo, Nagore, Nagapattanam, and Tranquebar utilised the French ports for their trading activities. Thus the French settlements were favourable to the Muslim merchants and their trading activities, which was a blessing in disguise.

Bearing all the difficulties, the Muslim vessels operated from PortoNovo, Cuddalore, and Nagapattanam to Burma, Ache and Malacca. From the Madura coast trade with Ceylon was brisk. The Nawab of Arcot wanted to develop the ports at Kovalam, Santhome and Alambaram relying on the Muslim shipping. But it was not attended to.

The English thought that influential Muslim merchants created problems for the Company's relationship with the Nawab. There were occasional disputes, with the Muslims in the collection of customs. The Muslim ship owners and traders moved to the places favourable to them. The attempt of the English in the second half of the eighteenth century to attract Muslim traders to PortoNovo failed. The growth of Pondicherry port under the French was an attraction to the Muslim traders of PortoNovo. The customs duty at Pondicherry was only half to that of Cuddalore. When the native traders

represented for the reduction in the customs rate the Directors rejected it. Rice and grain trade from Coromandel to Ceylon continued to be an important activity of Coromandel Muslims. In the long run it was also affected by the rise in tariffs.

Further the English were favourable to Hindu Chettiar merchants. They were nominated as their chief agents and principal traders at Madras. It is also a fact that Chettiar merchants were in sound financial position than the Muslim traders. The English felt that the Hindus were a dosile group and very dependent on English power and hence they were in good books.

The English considered some of the Muslim merchants as their enemies due to their common religion with the Mughal rulers. Mujib opins that the British had been the cause of the economic ruin of the Indian Muslims, and the British administration had taken fierce revenge on the Muslims for their participation in the upheaval of 1857-58. The maritime trade of the Muslims of Coromandel suffered further after the mutiny. Though the religious animosity of the English towards Muslims may not be comparable to that of the Portuguese and the Dutch; but still the English discriminated, them because of their political and economic compulsions.

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ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THIRUMANIKUZHI

S. Balamurugan & K.M. Subramaniam

Introduction

Thirumanikuzhi is the suburban Art of Cuddalore town. It serves as the headquarters of Cuddalore district, Tamilnadu. It lies at a distance of 22 kms south-west of Pondicherry and 205 kms south of Chennai. It is well connected by roads and railways with places like Chidambaram, Pondicherry and Chennai. This place lies exactly at the intersection of 78.15 longitudes and 11.15latitude. The river Gadilam flow 1 kms south of the town and the Bay of Bengal forms its eastern boundary. The small port of Devanampattinam is adjacent to the town. The fertile paddy fields in and around Thirumanikuzhi and Cuddalore are cultivated with perennial supply of water from the Gadilam river. Small hills are found here and there, Agriculture, Industries Trade and the Kapparmalai near Thirumanikuzhi is the highest one economic condition life of this place.

Economic Condition

In the sixth century A.D. the Bhakti movement that ushered rifled to a great religious awakening. The Saiva saints, the Nayanmars, and the Vaishnava faints, the Alvars, propagated intense religious bhakti and the temple culture Coming under their influence, thinking's of the medieval period built a number of edifices and housed their gods there¹. As a result, many temples, big or small, have sprung up in several parts of the country. When a wide spectrum of temples sprang up and their activities increased, it resulted in the steady rise in the temple establishment. For the maintenance of these temples, much finance was required. The needed income was mobilized by various ways and means.

As the temple is a common institution of both the rulers and-the-ruled, all the people, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, involved themselves in the activities of these temples. They donated either land or money or animals and supplied the required commodities according to their ability these temples were maintained by royal patronage and public benefactions. Pious people made lavish endowments both in kind and cash either to attain spiritual merit, to atone for their sins, or to

get success in a war or as a part of their fulfilment of certain vows large donations were made perhaps to popularise the fame of an individual or the power of the ruler². The sources of income of a Hindu temple included among-ether things, villages, lands, tax-exemptions and reductions by the authorities, gifts in the form of livestock, cash, old and different articles, rents, fines and other miscellaneous sources. Besides, donations to gods indicate their devotion and dedication to their gods and their loyalty to their kings³. A study of the hitherto available inscriptions of this temple reveals how the Vamanapureswarar temple mobilized resources for its maintenance.

By the ninth century the temple had ceased to be a small structure of brick and mortar attended by the villagers for worship. Instead it had become "a city of miniature in the medieval period"⁴. It was enormously wealthy and served as the source of income to the town where it was situated, for the many pilgrims who visited it spent considerable money on their boarding, lodging and purchases. In the temple employed a large number of priests, musicians, attendants, dancing girls, scribes, A accountants and many craftsmen and labourers maintained schools and ran refugee centres for sick men and animals. It dispensed charity to beggars and provided relief to the poorer citizens in times of distress and famine all this required huge resources which were provided through pious gifts made generously by generations of kings, officials, merchants, various communities and individuals. Gradually but steadily wealth flowed into the coffers of the temples, and came to possess fabulous amount of immovable and movable properties such as land, houses, gold, cash, cattle and food.

Endowments were made by every class of people. Donors can be divided into three groups: members of the royal family, officials, and private donors such as merchants, artisans, etc.

Like their predecessors, The Pallavas, the Cholas and Pandyas were great patrons of Temples⁵. Each king had his favourite tutelary deity (kulandyakam) and the temples in which these deities were housed received special benefactions. On special occasions, the kings

performed special rituals like hemagarbha and tulabhara, in which gold or precious stones weighed against the body of the king were given away to the temples for their improvement or extension.

Villages

The property of the temples can be divided into two categories:

(a) Immovable property, comprising the village land, houses and similar things, and

(b) movable property comprising the livestock, offerings of gold, silver and other precious metals, grain and offerings of various kinds of foodstuffs, services and material for the worship, etc.,

Gift Of villages formed the basis of income to a Hindu temple. We come to know from several records that in spine places whole villages were donated to the temples - a practice followed throughout in the early medieval period. From the accounts of Huien-Tsang and other sources we know that the monastery of Nalanda enjoyed the revenue of two hundred villages; probably an equal number might have been attached to the centre of education at Vallabhi⁶. The famous Somanatha temple in Gujarat had 10,000 cultivated villages to finance its activities,⁷ and these were donated by various princes of India.⁸ Likewise in Tamilnadu. too, kings, other and local bodies made grants of villages for specific and general purposes, which added to the wealth of the temple treasuries.

Gift of Villages forms an Important, source revenue to the temples. Several inscriptions refer to the donations of various villages for different purposes. These villages thus gifted were known as devadana villages. The income from the villages helped substantially in the" conduct of worship, celebrations, festivals, renovation works and other related matters

Tax-exemption was also given to some villages already endowed to the upkeep of temples. A record⁹ Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya, issued in his 19th regnal year, registers the gift of village namely Kulattur alias Solinganallur as tax-free to the temple of Sri Vamanapureswarar for conducting the service called Rajanarayanan sandhi and for offerings and worship in this temple. Maravarman Vikrama Pandya III

endowed a Urattur village as tax-free to meet the expenses of festivals, repairing work and sandhi instituted by the king himself.¹⁰ Similarly, an inscription of Konerinmeikondan records a gift of a village Kattilvendanpattu by the king for conducting sandhi puja and for festivals and repairs to the temple.¹¹

To meet the expenses of festivals, worship and offerings of curd rice, the tax-free villages Suraipattu and Sirramur were given during the period of Achyuta devaraya.

Thus, gift of villages as permanent endowments yielded much income to the temples. The various services mentioned in the endowments were thus performed from the revenue of these villages.

Cultivation of temple Lands

The temple administered the donated lands in three main ways, either it directly cultivated the lands with the help of manager and agents, or it assigned lands to its employees in return for services or it let out the lands to tenants on lease. The management of its own land by the temple was called *tiruvadaivattas*¹² or *thirunamattukani* a term, which was also used for secular landowners. The land situated within the temple premises or within a manageable; distance from it was kept under the direct control of the temple. The smaller temple, which could, not employ officials to look after the land given in lease, cultivated it directly¹³. If the tenants did not accept the terms of lease offered by the temple, it, cultivated its land directly was done by the temple authorities (*devakanmiga*).

Lease system

The lease system was adopted by those landowners who belonged to the non-agricultural classes, or by the institutions which had necessarily to depend on the tenants. Certain circumstances made it necessary for the temple to lease its lands. First, the priests, the Brahmanans.¹⁴ could not cultivate the land themselves. Secondly, the lands and villages granted to the temples were scattered over a vast stretch of land. Sometimes they donated the lands even outside the country, in

Srilanka. Naturally these lands had to be cultivated through tenants. Moreover, the practice of lease saved the temples from the

Botheration of employing a large retinue of farm laborers, from purchasing and maintaining cattle and farming equipment, and from maintaining a close supervision round the year. Therefore, the lease system adopted by the temples in modern terminology, is absentee landlordism of the temples.

Remission of taxes

Numerous examples of the exemption and remission of central and local taxes on temple lands show that it was quite a regular feature. Sometimes this was done by the king or the *sabha* suo moto¹⁵ or on the basis of representations made to the king by the authorities of the temple¹⁶. In other cases, it was done by private persons who almost bought exemption by depositing a lump sum amount of money in the treasury in lieu of the taxes on the land for all times¹⁷. This could not often secure total remission¹⁸. Often the king did it out of his own will. Some remissions but at least part remission or revisions were due to Rajaraja exigencies of circumstances.

Certain instances of remission were factious. Though the peasants were exempted from payment of taxes to the state or local bodies, these taxes had to be paid to the temple.¹⁹ Instances, also occur where the temple lands were first assessed but later made tax-free.²⁰ The temple enjoyed an extraordinary position among the land lords. It did not have to pay any taxes to the state for most of its holdings; on the other hand it collected from the people the taxes transferred to it by the state.

It would be wrong to think that all temple lands were free from taxes. Remission suggest that the temple also had to pay taxes, and to clear off the revenue dues, the temple had to occasionally sell its lands.²¹ But there is no doubt that remission was granted very liberally, and most temple lands were conveyed by it.

Tax-exemption and Reduction

Tax exemption and reduction are the two means which enabled the temple to enhance the economic resources. Certain instances of remission were fictitious. Though the peasants were exempted from payment of taxes to the state or local bodies, these taxes had to be paid to the temple. Instances also occur where the temple lands were first assessed but later made

tax-free. The temple enjoyed an extraordinary position among the landlords. It did not have to pay any taxes to the state for most of its holdings; on the other hand, it collected from the people the taxes transferred to it by the state.

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In addition to the above, tax-exemption and reduction made to the temple lands added to the wealth of the temples. It appears that they were the two effective means employed by the rulers to promote the economic resources of the temples. Many of the records state the conscious attempts of the rulers and their officials either to exempt or reduce the taxes on temple lands. By this process, much of the temple lands enjoyed tax concessions. However, all *devadana* lands were not free from taxation, though tax-free gift land was a common feature.²² At times the government remitted the tax payable to the palace to help in the repair of village tank. By 1471 the village of Thirumanikuzhi had become de-populated, the local lake had become silted and; the local temple and its walls had gone to ruins. Hence, the local officer remitted taxes hitherto paid to the palace.²³ An undated inscription of Thirumanikuzhi informs the reduction of taxes on weavers of Thirumanikuzhi.²⁴

A record of vijayanagar period reveals the remission of certain taxes in return for a consolidated amount on weavers.²⁵

The inscriptions²⁶ of Thirumanikuzhi state that the temple lands and villages were made completely tax-free.

When a *devadana* land or village was made tax-free by the king, the state had to forgo or relinquish its income. If the same is done by a private individual, the donor had to pay all its taxes to the state on behalf of the temple. Therefore, the donee was freed from paying taxes.²⁷

The sellers agreed to pay all the taxes levied on those lands on behalf of the temple. Thus, the temple was freed from paying taxes.

Instead, this tax amount thus saved could be utilised for defraying the expenses of the temple.

Sale and purchase of lands by the temples

The temple was a great buyer of land. It generally purchased land when it needed them for construction or other necessary work and when it did not get them in gifts. Many a time the temple used to purchase lands from people to enable them to pay their debts or fines or rental dues.

The lands of those who could not pay the fines to the state or who died before its payment were also purchased by the temple. It seems that the temple was a ready buyer, and in emergency people always looked up to it for the purchase of their lands by the temple.²⁸ This naturally enabled the temple to dictate its own terms. At times the temple accepted lands in mortgage as a security for the loans given to the village assemblies or individuals.²⁹

The temple sold its lands. In one case it sold a portion of its land to clear off the state dues. Though the instances of sale are few, they clearly indicate that the temple lands were not held in sanctity and could be sold if necessary. As the village assemblies and state officials had a hand in the management of the temple affairs, they were generally consulted by the temple officials in effecting sale transactions.

Donations enabled the temples to secure the best possible services free of cost. Though the servants were under full operational control of the temple managements, the temples did not have to bother about their remuneration. Two categories of services were offered to the temples. They utilized the services of those who were fully attached to them. They also employed those who were exempted from central and local taxes on condition that they would render certain services to the temples.

Gift of Money

Numerous gifts of money were made by all ranks of society. Even persons of humble means made gift. Money was given to the temple for lamps³⁶ land purchase, supply of flower ghee or for feeding learned Brahmanas.³⁰ But the most common object was the maintenance of sacred and perpetual lamps in the temples. The rates for this varied from time to time, but in general at

least ten to fifteen *kalanju* in gold were required to put up a perpetual lamp. This money was invested with the village assemblies in order to secure regular flow of interest.³¹ At times money was received even for half a lamp.³² The circulation of this money ensured a constant flow of income to the temple during the time of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I made the temple function like a moneylender. Money gifts were popular especially from about A. D. 1000. We have got reasons to believe that only a fraction of these gifts could be recorded in the inscriptions. The money gifts offered by thousands of pilgrims as in the present practice do not find mention anywhere.

Temples received large sums of cash by way of donations and endowments. As it was given in the prevailing currency of the period, it augmented the flow of money into the temple treasury.¹ Inscriptions refer to the gift of cash by the rulers and the ruled for various purposes like food offerings,³³ to conduct sandhis,³⁴ festival³⁵ provide rice, ghee and curd,³⁶ to feed various people and for various other purpose. A record³⁷ Rajaraja from the Thirumanikuzhi temple, refers to the gift of 4ft *kasu* for three twilight lamps to the deity. A record of Kopperunjinga mentions a gift of 24 *kasu* by one Periyar of Karuppur for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple at Thirumanikuzhi.

The above instances reveal that most of the needs and necessities can be borne out from the cash donations. The donor is not allowed to deviate from the purpose of the gift. Therefore, gift in cash was a vital aspect of temple economy which strengthened temple activities.

Cash awards to the temples were deposited in the temple treasury or entrusted with the village assemblies³⁸ or even with certain officials of the temples like the Sivabrahmanas.³⁹ But the persons in charge of the cash awards were not allowed to spend or invest the amount as they liked. Specific instructions were given to them to invest it either in tax-free land or lend out for interest.

It is evident from a Sucindaram Inscription⁴⁰ of Virapandya which registers a grant of 30 *ilakkasu* to maintain a perpetual lamp nearby the presiding deity. Here the donor of this award was informed to invest the amount on

land. The income arising thereupon must be used to supply the necessary ghee and wick.

Gold

The devotion of the people often found expression in making gift of gold to the deities or rich ornaments and various articles necessary for the daily worship. Ornaments such as crown, bracelet, ear-ring, gold flower, garland, umbrella, and articles such as gold vessel, lamp stand, silver, fly whisk, spoon, pots of gold, silver bronze were given to the deities. Some inscriptions give minute descriptions of the ornaments donated to the temple.⁴¹

All this gold and silver were kept amassed and hoarded as a sort of reserve fund in the temple treasury known as *sri bhandaram*.⁴² They were sometimes used in helping the needy in times of scarcity.⁴³ Few inscriptions refer to the use of gold and silver vessels for the renovation or extension on the temples.⁴⁴ But such closes were rare. Generally these ornaments remained as forms of wealth. The more ornaments a temple had, the greater glory it possessed and was visited by a larger number of pilgrims, especially on the days of special worship or ceremonies when all the ornaments used to bedeck the idol put up on display. This further added to the temple income by attracting offerings.

Gift of gold was another way of enhancing temple economy. For gold, as a movable property of much value, was more reliable also. The ever-increasing price of gold and its standard value boosted the financial viability.

While the revenue from the temple land was not dependable due to flood and drought, the income from gold was dependable. Therefore, gold reserve of a temple enhanced its economy prestige and popularity. Several records furnish donation of gold for various purposes. For instance, the inscriptions⁴⁵ of Thirumanikuzhi temple record the gift of gold to burn perpetual lamps.

Thus, much of the gold that was deposited in the temple was for the purpose of lamp service. Further, gold was gifted for the conduct of various festivals and to carry out repairs of the temple.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Cholas, Pandyas, Pallavas and Vijayanagara invaded the Nadunadu for their economic motives. During their period only a section of people were civilized while the rest felt content to continue their age old social customs and practices. The numerous inscriptions and other sources of medieval period describe the way in which economic and government were organized. The entry of the new castes created a economic great stir and led to the process of stratification and to the birth of a great caste rigour. But it may be pointed out that the caste differences were purely occupational in origin. The people were steadily becoming civilizes. The women in the society were treated honorably. The Brahmins enjoyed some privileges and favors unlike the other social groups Agriculture, Industries Trade they provided information about economic people. Economic Condition in Development Thirumanikuzhi life of place.

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IMPACT OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC DEPRESSION ON THE TELANGANA AGRARIAN SYSTEM IN NIZAM'S STATE OF HYDERABAD (1928-1948)

Bandi Srinivas

The world economic crisis 1929 affected the Indian agriculture classes seriously. They lost to heavily due to the catastrophic fall of prices of agricultural commodities that during period from 1929 to 1936. The total indebtedness rose to the staggering figure of about Rs.1800 crores. The main cause of this phenomenal increase has been that since 1929 the incomes of the agriculturists have been produced by more than half the burden of tenantion on the peasantry has remained the same. The declining prices of the commodities no peasant can gain anything from the agriculture except Deshmukhs and rich landlords.

The emergence of rich peasants and middle peasants in these prices and trends not possible in a nyagrarian society, quite a number of peasants resigned to their lands due to tax and indebtedness burden. The impact of the great depression on India in the 1930's since the level of agricultural prices depend ed to a large extent on the availability of credit for stock fil l in g and forward trading of the credit crisis reminded the support of the agricultural price level and the prices which had continued to the high ever since first world war come suddenly down to the pre-war level. Although India was no l on ger a

major wheat i m porter or exporter, but produced almost exclusive!) or a stable home market, which was expanding with the growth of population. The Indian wheat price immediately followed world market price.¹

The C & I dept file 169/40 report wen t on to say how the cultivators were being doubly affected by the depression. While their assets in l and depreciated as values fell, their money debts were in effect almost doubled because of the fall in the prices that they got for their crops. An additional problem was that the slump occurred just at the time that one of the land revenue payments was due. That meant that they were selling in a particularly disadvantageous situation and had to take what they co ul d get.²

Except during the famine period towards the end of the second decade of the present century the prices in the dominions did not exhibit any abnormal trend so far. The onset of the great depression in 1929 and its continuance for a six year period ending in 1 934 brought unprecedented in the economic fortunes of the cultivating masses in particular and others in general. The prices of all agricultural products went crashing down from year to year throughout the period at an amazingly faster

pace. The decline ranged from 68.47% in respect of groundnut, 50% in respect of rice to 20.48% in the case of cotton. The fall in the prices of coconut, the keen competitor of groundnut in the post war European market the imposition of controls on ground nut imports by Germany and France and strong competition from South African ground nut which had all the advantages of the better organizations, productions and marketing had cumulatively led to huge loss of overseas markets for Hyderabad ground nut or against tremendous increase in production during this period.³

The main cause of the fall in exports was the disasters slump in the prices of agricultural raw materials and the fall in the external demand for our chief export crops. The main cause of the fall in imports was the decline in the purchasing power of our consumers. It was but natural the exports should have fallen more than imports. The prices of agricultural produce and raw materials went down much more than the prices of manufacturers and finished goods. As our exports mainly consists of agricultural produce and raw materials while our imports consists of manufacturers trade was seriously affected.⁴

Food crops have a direct relation with the site of the population and figure very little in its export trade, so in this case the price factor had little to affect their cultivation. Moreover less capital and expense is required for the cultivation of food crops like jowar than for many non-food crops. That is the reason why in an era of following prices, the poor cultivators continue to grow food crops which cost them less rather than go in for costlier non-food crops.

The crisis of economic depression was serious not only from a human and economic but also from a political point of view. The position was bad enough before, but it had been accentuated by the present agricultural depression, which makes it quite impossible for any cultivator 'who is at all "dipped" ever to extricate himself.⁵

The total net area under cultivation in Telangana was 1,01,17,876 acres in 1912; 1,07,46,631 acres in 1921; 1,06,81,649 acres in 1931; 1,04,69,793 acres in 1935; 99,55,979 acres in 1939 and 91,60,383 acres in 1945. This reveals that the area sown or under

cultivation had registered a declining trend since 1931. This decline may be primarily due to the concentration of lands in a few hands.⁶ Fallow land was so high as 35.7% of occupied area in 1949-50 but it appears to have slightly decreased in 1950-51.⁷ According to government the fallow lands in Telangana were 41 one Lakh thirty seven thousand acres.⁸ Whatever changes took place in Telangana Agrarian economy confined to this net cultivation area only whether it is commercialization of agriculture or other things.

The introduction of ryotwari system in the Hyderabad state paved the way for the commercialization of segments of the agrarian economy. The growth initially of cotton in maratwada and later of oil seeds in Telangana and the social processes generated by them were primarily the results of the initiative taken by the state during this period.⁹ The first impetus towards this tendency of commercialization was noticed when money economy was introduced into the village in the shape of assessments but the effect of this could not go far until communications were improved, then slowly rents in kind went out of fashion and cash rentals were introduced. The effect of this continued with the assessments was to compel the cultivation to sell a part of this produce immediately after harvest and as generally, the interest of the money lender became due also at about the same time the part of the produce that he disposed of at this time was a large part of his total crop.¹⁰ One of the consequences of the introduction of the system of the new land relations and revenue payment in the form of fixed money payment was that the old objective of village agriculture namely production for village use was replaced by that for market. The production and produce were non-determined the new objective that of sale and hence changed their character.¹¹ The market economy penetrated into the rural India. The villagers changed to the production centers of cash crops and food grains. The striking feature of this market economy was the conversion of rural areas as the potential markets for the British industrial goods.¹² A very large portion of the total crop now came into market instead of being retained at home, nationally the movement was not marked in crops in which these was either a large internal or external trade but even when has in the case of the millet crop, the internal

trade was not important, a large proportion still come into the market as a result of certain circumstances. These circumstances were the payment of government assessments and the interest of the moneylender. To pay this two dues the cultivators had to rush to the markets just after harvest and to sell a large part of their produce at whatever price it fetched. Most of the poor cultivators had to buy back after about 6 months part of the crop they had sold away at harvest time. The price at harvest time may low but in 6 months time they had risen to height which were absolutely reunions to the cultivators.¹³

What was happening on the agrarian scene in Telangana from the last quarter of the nineteenth century till 1930 or so could be summed up thus the system of subsistence agriculture had undergone a gradual transformation giving way to the new market or cash economy without any corresponding change in the social arrangements of land. The modes of production and exchange remained as strong feudal and emerged as the major source of discontent among the poor peasant in Telangana. During the depression except landlords all other peasants were badly affected owing to the fall in the wholesale prices. Although prices recovered slightly between 1936 and 1940, they were not even half as high as the price levels of 1922. Throughout the 1930's the cash incomes of all those cultivators who produced for the market fall considerably. The price trends strengthened the position of money lenders and traders who tightened their grip on small pattadars and tenants.¹⁴ A committee appointed in 1939 for in vesting the status and conditions of tenants in the state recommended a minimum security but without any results till 1945, fearing accrual of tenant's occupancy rights on their lands, landlords had resorted to large scale evictions of tenants. A tenancy act passed in 1945 remained practically a defunct piece of legislation which only further aggravated agrarian discontent.¹⁵ The commercialization of agriculture within a feudal setup therefore reinforced the landlord moneylender's strangle hold over the rural Telangana and did not slacken in anyway intensified the feudal exploitation and oppression instead of diminishing them to any extent. It was not that commercialization did not benefit at all

certain categories of the peasantry other than the landlords.¹⁶

The development of irrigation facilities and cultivation of commercial crops had been taking place since the late nineteenth century. The main commercial crops of Telangana groundnuts, tobacco and castor seeds were grown in Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar, Karimnagar and Warangal districts. Both the total acreage and produce of commercial crops increased steadily and after 1925 commercial farming assumed an increasingly greater importance in the regional economy. The development in commercial farming was not matched by any corresponding growth of towns, of industrial enterprise and markets not even of transport and communication facilities. Consequently cultivators had to depend almost entirely on urban money lenders, towards merchants and businessmen. Money lenders, traders, merchants and businessmen who controlled the few and highly centralized markets in Telangana for the sole of their produce. Local retailers, agents and village sahkars helped urban commercial groups thus in securing to produce from the cultivators and thus managed to have a share in the profits of the marketing enterprise.¹⁷

In the recent past Telangana paid little attention to ground nut. As late as 1925-26 the total area under groundnut was not more than 3,000 acres. Subsequently it rapidly extended. Thus in 1938-39 the area in Telangana districts was 6, 27,583 acres. In each and every district of the state there is a trend towards an increase in average every year.¹⁸ The penetration of the market economy on a wider scale can be considered the most significant change in the agrarian economy during period.¹⁹

At first the commercialization of agriculture started in Marathwada region of Hyderabad Dominions which gave encouragement for the development of trade and commerce. But in telangana it started lately consequently it backward in industrialization also. Because in the early industries of the dominions 65 were established in Telangana region out of total 188 industries and factories.²⁰

Hundreds of thousands of acres of land were left fallow, or were used as pasture for cattle, until a number of new crops were introduced. Castor had already been cultivated on a limited

scale Nalgonda district and then expanded greatly. It was followed by til and most important of all groundnuts. Two things made them very important. Firstly they could thrive on the poor soil of Telangana with minimum attention. Secondly they were oil seeds not only in demand locally but even more so from the industrial metropolitan countries. In some instances these countries actively sponsored the cultivation of groundnut in their colonies, the French in Senegal later on the British in Tanzania. Responding to demand from metropolitan capital, cultivation of these crops in Hyderabad ahead. By 1940 the castor acreage of Hyderabad was 54.3% of the total Indian area. The comparable figures for groundnut and sesame were 15.8% and 13.5% respectively.²¹ There was a higher price for exported crops in 1937 for castor it was 5 rupees 6 paise amount, as against a local price of 4 rupees 10 paise. Comparative prices also partially explain the rapid adoption of groundnut in 1936. For example the average market price per unit of ground nut was approximately twice that of Jawar while castor was only about 25% greater.²² The rapid expansion of the cultivation of commercial oil seeds did more than make Telangana and the 'hole of the state that much more sensitive to shifts in the 'world economy. It also changed the balance of forces inside Telangana itself²³

The traditional commercial crop had been tobacco and chillies grown on areas of black soil. In Telangana these soils were not usually cultivated by the local people as they did not usually possess large enough drought cattle to work for the land. Peasants from the Krishna and Guntur districts of the coastal Andhra area, then part of Madras Presidency in British India were encouraged by the Hyderabad government to come and cultivate these lands. The Charminar cigarette factory in Hyderabad used local tobacco and loaned fertilizer to peasants growing tobacco on a guaranteed return.²⁴ Peasants that come from Coastal and Rayalaseema districts or Madras Presidency to populate the waste and cultivated lands in Warangal district and other border areas of the state rendered original and significant contribution to the introduction of commercial crops in the region, where as the Rayalaseema peasants introduced the cultivation of the most important cash crops of Telangana in the shape of ground nut those from Krishna and Guntur

districts were responsible for the starting of the cultivation on tobacco, chillies and the all important sugarcane. Though non-food crops had formed roughly one third the net sown area, yet they brought revolutionary transformation in the agricultural economy of the area. for the exportable surplus was yielded by them.²⁵

It was the spreading of commercial agriculture especially the cultivation of oil seeds for catering principally to the needs of the industrial west and exporting the bulk to Britain and United States. Aided by the states providing for the infrastructural facilities and supported by the export demand for the produce, the cash crops incorporated the rural economy of the Telangana into the world market. The profitable price of the oilseeds encouraged almost everybody to take to their cultivation and it brought certain uneven changes in the overall cropping pattern, acreage and output. Recent studies however have failed to establish clearly any direct relationship between movements of prices and the growth rates in acreage and output either across crops or across different periods. While in the worst days of falling prices, at the time of the great depression, the acreage and output seemed even to have increased, the price recovery in the post.²⁶ Depression period, or its sky rocketing during the inflationary war years, did not contrarily show their significant growth. The peasants tried to make good and drastic gain in their income by producing a larger quantity than before but the advantages of the price recovery had not accrued to them, mainly on account of a built in pressure to sell the produce soon after its harvesting at a low price. The pressure accentuates, ironically, with the expansion of the market economy under which the landlords, the traditional grabbers of lands on any pretext grabbed more and more lands. For agriculturists, agriculture is the only profession. Hence they have to do the agriculture irrespective of the market prices. When the rural India dragged into the national international markets in variably its impact fell on the rural agriculture. The fall in prices affected practically everyone, especially those peasants who did cultivation in own land. Even though they would be producing primarily to meet their own consumption needs because the land revenue demand was in cash they had to market a proportion of their crop.²⁷ Groundnut, the one major crop not on the table fared worst of all.

In this period its price fell by 68.5% being affected by additional measures such as import controls in Germany and heavy import duties imposed on groundnut by France for imports from anywhere except French colonies. The Hyderabad government in May 1931 removed the export duty on vegetable oils which gave such an impetus to the oil-seed crushing industry that the export of oil increased by 300%.²⁸ But this proved temporary and the re-imposition of a duty of 0.5 Re/- per palia of 120 seers from April, 1935 led to decrease in export of oil since then.²⁹ Both imports and exports fell considerably to the effect that the total trade of the state suffered a net decrease of 34% compared to the previous year.³⁰ The commencement of the First World War caused much distortion in the trade of the state.³¹

Agro climatic conditions and crop variations partly explain the unevenness. But even the same crop with similar agroclimatic conditions did not seem to have generated similar social effects. Groundnut a crop that otherwise serves as an illustration of the process of commercialization, for instance, did not generate the same effects in Raichur, Karnatic which topped in its cultivation and in Telangana districts where jagirdars, deshmukhs and other landlords were dominant. Similarly with in Telangana in the region north of river Godavari in Adilabad where there were no jagirdars, the conditions were different despite the introduction of cotton. Thus there was unevenness in the penetration of the commodity economy both in extent and quality.³² The notorious deshmukhs of Telangana belonged to the category of big landlords who exercised a good bit of red sovereignty subordinating every person and every process to the supreme purpose of his maximum net income.³³

Thus bondage, customary services, tenancy, indebtedness and land alienation were all intensified by the growth of commoditization. But the genesis lies in the commercialization itself but in the social organization where traditional landowning classes to the end were defended by the state.³⁴ Land alienation increased considerably between 1910 and 1940 particularly during the depression, when many lands previously owned by tribal peasants passed in to the hands of non cultivating urban

interests, mostly Brahmins, marwadis, komtis and Muslims. Economic surveys carried out in 1928-30 showed that in Warangal district alone 9 percent of the total land and 25 percent of the irrigated land had changed hands. Most of the land thus transferred went either to big landlords and Deshmukhs or to soucars, traders and non cultivating pattadars who dominated the economic life of the district. As a result of growing land alienation many actual occupants or cultivators were being reduced to tenants-at-will, share croppers or landless labourers. Therefore the proportion of non-cultivating occupants and cultivators of land unowned began to decline. Owner cultivators and agricultural labour person steadily increased in number in Hyderabad state as a whole.³⁵ Absentee landlords were much there through their number was declining after 1930. Nor did it signify a fundamental change in the modes and relations of production. In fact where rich pattadars held holdings too large to manage they tended to keep a certain amount of irrigated land to be cultivated with the help of hired labour and turned over most of their dry lands either to bhagela serfs or to tenant cultivators or high produce rents.³⁶

The growth of market economy was one of the factors that led to an increase in the area under cultivation but the increase led to an increase in demand for cultivators and labourers. As a consequence tenancy increased.³⁷ In the surveyed villages of 1929-30 was about 76% and by the time of second inquiry in 1949-51 it had become 78% even more the proportion of landless tenants increased sharply from about 32% to 47% during the same period. The extension of the cultivation of commercial crops made it possible for the deshmukhs and jagirdars to be more than landowners who supplemented their income through rent-receiving, revenue collection and money lending. Now participation in the world market meant that they could use the vast areas of un-irrigated land to grow groundnut which yielded them a substantial surplus. This relative productivity of groundnut also induced almost every other kind of cultivator to move into its cultivation either for increasing personal consumption, or the payment of debts or revenue.³⁸

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INTERNET INITIATIVE IN RURAL TAMIL NADU: A STUDY ON SUSTAINABLE ACCESS IN RURAL INDIA (SARI)

Beulah Rachel Rajarathnamani

Introduction

Information and Communication technologies (ICTs) have become vital to the development of rural India. In India, the rural areas mostly lag behind the urban areas in education, health and infrastructure. This leads to inequality of services and opportunities for the rural population that halts them from contributing to the development of the country.

This rural isolation can negatively affect growth and sustainable development of the country. ICTs offer several strategies to achieve sustainable rural development. ICTs have been instrumental in empowering rural India with technologies, which help to reach the goals for sustainable development.

With ICTs, people in rural areas can connect easily with the local, regional and

national economies. They can access various job opportunities which would otherwise be beyond their reach. ICTs can help to create awareness among the rural public regarding new technologies in agriculture and in other sectors. The various ICTs can help to spread education among the rural masses and help them to connect easily with their urban peers¹. Thus, ICTs can help to bring the rural population to the forefront. Among the initiatives in ICTs in developing countries, telecenters occupy a prominent place. These centers provide shared public access to information and communication technologies and services through computers and internet. Such projects have been launched in rural areas with the aim of providing these services to the rural population. Telecenters or kiosks have generally been defined as places or centers that provide shared public access to information and communications technologies for meeting the educational, social, personal, economic, and entertainment needs of the community².

Sustainable Access in Rural India (SARI)

The highly acclaimed Sustainable Access in Rural India (SARI) project, emerged as a pioneering initiative in providing information and communication services to the rural communities through internet kiosks in Tamil Nadu in Nov. 2001. The project was implemented in Madurai district of Tamil Nadu. The SARI project uses the word kiosks for the places where the computers and internet facilities are available. The kiosks were located in villages of Melur Taluk in Madurai district. Melur was predominantly an agricultural *taluk* of Madurai district. The project had stated its mission as: To improve the quality of life among the rural poor by creating new opportunities in education, health, economic development and community through computers and internet³.

The SARI project is a collaborative research venture that included several organizations: the Indian Institute of Technology (I.I.T.), Madras; Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard Law School; Georgia Institute of Technology; I-Gyan Foundation; and n-Logue Communications Pvt. Ltd. It used a Wireless-in-Local Loop (WLL) technology to provide internet connectivity to rural villages. Internet connectivity was offered to the local community through kiosks, which were run as self-sustained

businesses with cost recovery through service charges. A majority of the kiosks were locally owned and operated by self-employed entrepreneurs, while some were operated by self-help groups from a local non-governmental organization. Technical support for all the kiosks was provided by n-Logue Communications and Dhan was the local implementation agency⁴.

Services

SARI was started to aid the economic and social development of rural communities by fulfilling their information and communication needs. The project set up village information kiosks with computers and internet connectivity to offer various services to the local community. Collaborative efforts with agricultural colleges, enabled the provision of health services and advice on agricultural issues, while government offices in Melur helped with the provision of e-governance. E-mail, voice mail, video conferencing, booking of tickets, online education programs, job searches and placing of classified advertisements were the other services offered. While the provision of the various services at the kiosks was to overcome the limitations of distance from government offices, it was also an attempt to create a market for these services to ensure that the project was a financially sustainable, even profitable, endeavor⁵.

The kiosks or telecentres provided services that included internet content in the local language Tamil in these areas. The services were based on a self-sustaining commercial model with the charges ranging from Rs. 10 for sending an email to Rs. 100 for one hour of basic computer education everyday for one month. To deliver these services, the project had developed partnerships with several public and private agencies. These include tie-ups with the state government to provide e-government services, with the Tamil Nadu Agricultural and Veterinary University for providing agricultural and veterinary services, and with partnership with the Aravind Eye Hospital, which was a private eye hospital in Madurai, for providing eye check-ups⁶.

The services mentioned on the SARI e-governance website⁷ at the start of the project included: 1.Provision of information regarding government schemes, including: eligibility

criteria and procedures for applying to Old Age Pension (OAP) schemes, women's welfare schemes, loans from the District Industries Centre, and admission to courses in government colleges, as well as; application forms for schemes. (These could be downloaded, filled in, and printed for submission. Some applications could also be e-mailed to the appropriate officer.) 2. Facility to apply for government certificates by e-mail. This involved the following government offices and certificates: The *taluk* office for birth, death, income, community, nativity, and legal heirship certificates, as well as: the sub-registrar's office for guideline valuation of property, encumbrance certificates, and certified copies. 3. Facility to e-mail petitions and complaints to the chief minister, collector, and block development officer.

The major e-government services that the kiosks have offered include applying for birth, death, community, and income certificates, old age pensions, and sending general grievance petitions to government officials. They have specifically targeted at applications for birth and death certificates, as these were the services approved by the state government to be offered through kiosks.⁸

Kiosk Operators (KOs)

The kiosks were run by kiosk operators (KOs). The role of the KOs is to interact with the village residents. The kiosks also had "IT groups" and "kiosk advisory committees" (KACs). IT groups consisted of five young people from a village who came from low-income families, had studied up to class 10, and were looking for work. Free hardware and software training was provided to this group, teaching group members to assemble computers, and in a few cases, to take over the operations of a kiosk. The KACs comprised village *panchayat* leaders, village-level bureaucrats, and representatives from village associations. The goal of KACs was to establish the kiosk as a community asset, rather than as a solely commercial enterprise. KOs had to organize a KAC meeting every month with this objective in mind. KOs interacted with government employees mainly to obtain documents such as birth or death certificates, and ration card applications. Besides government officials, KOs also interacted with agricultural or veterinary scientists and lawyers when they organized consultations through

teleconferencing at kiosks. They interacted with doctors and nurses as they organized patient appointments using e-mail, and also later, when they followed up to ascertain whether kiosk users kept these appointments. At times, KOs would accompany a group of patients to the hospital for treatment in case the patients were unable to travel by themselves or had no one else to accompany them to the hospital⁹.

Women KOs

The SARI project provided women KOs a space to engage in activities that went beyond their traditional roles in their community. When the project started to recruit women KOs many families were not enthusiastic about this idea, because it would involve women travelling out of the villages where they lived, for a short-term KO training, to begin with, and later, every day for work. As a result, not even half the operators were women at the start of the project. However, with time, more women joined as operators. There were many reasons why more women joined as operators with time. Dhan, the local implementation agency personnel made an aggressive effort to recruit more women by talking to their families. The presence of a few women operators also convinced other women and their families that being a KO was safe. In fact, women KOs acted as role models for other women. Additionally, the long drought in the Madurai belt during the period between 2001 and 2004 meant that women did not have much work in their fields and had time on their hands. For all these reasons, by 2004, the majority of Dhan-SARI KOs were women¹⁰.

Being a KO significantly changed a woman's status in her village community. Women operators gradually began to be seen as role models in their villages. This changed the way an individual was viewed by her community, and this led to a significant shift for women KOs. There was an economic dimension to this change. Women operators had an income. Women KOs have been able to use the economic and social resources available to them in their everyday lives. They interacted with government officials for e-governance services and marketed their services to customers that in turn increased their social status. In particular, they were proud to be role models for young girls and women in their villages. Being a KO became a more acceptable option for a woman than it

was at the inception of the project. Frequent meetings also gave the KOs an opportunity to meet people and express their opinions among people outside the family, which many women found as a new and rewarding experience¹¹. Thus, being a KO brought about significant changes in the lives of women both in their families and communities.

SARI enabled the village community to receive services in their own village. The hardships of long travel due to the distance between the village and the government offices or computer-training centres was no more an issue. The provision of these services at village level not only reduced the cost for the rural people, but also made it more convenient. Kiosks provided access to these services especially to the girls and women closer to their homes. It also improved the delivery of government services. These services were provided at an affordable cost. Basic computer education, international telephone call, e-government services were available at a lesser price in the kiosks. Online information about higher educational opportunities were available to the local youth. Through the basic computer education provided by the kiosks to the local youth, there were opening up of new employment opportunities to them¹².

Conclusion

Sustainable Access to Rural India (SARI) led to meaningful social, governance, and economic changes in the rural communities. It lowered the cost of some services and facilitated easy access to online information about educational and employment opportunities to the local youth. They had also provided direct self-employment opportunity to at least one local youth (kiosk operator) who was mostly a woman. Through low cost computer education, they had led to enhancement of skills of the local youth that had opened up new educational and employment opportunities for them. The goal of access to information brought about economic prosperity for kiosk users in the village community. The experience gained from SARI helped the different stakeholders to better understand problems and find solutions in upcoming ventures of similar kinds. Therefore, SARI was one of the forerunner that provided information and communication services to the rural communities through internet centers in rural Tamil Nadu. It opened up windows for many such initiatives in the future in rural Tamil Nadu that benefited the rural community as a whole.

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MAPPING THE ROOTS OF UNORGANISED SECTOR- PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN AND WORK IN EARLY SOUTH INDIA

V. Chitra

Men and women are engaged in work. Majority of women in Every Country and in all ages have been usually been workers. The difference lays in the kinds of work they do, where, how, under what terms – all these are determined by women's position in society. Their participation as workers has always been necessary for social and economic development. In all societies, they were involved in household activities such as Child rearing, Cooking, Cleaning, fetching water and fuel, care of the elderly and sick. Women have worked outside the home as well. Women's work within the household was seen as their 'duty' rather than as work, while their work outside the house hold was sporadic, ill paid and not part of the formal sector or unorganized of 'wage-earning' labour. Enforced invisibility within the patriarchal spaces can only be contested through a study of women unrecorded presence in the household economy as well as in the broader domain of production. By 'work' we imply broadly 'Economic activity' then women have always worked.

This study is an effort to understand 'being' and 'doing' of women to map the interweaving of women and work over a historical span of time in Early south India. To gain knowledge of the present, one has to look at the past. It is broad mapping of what has been perceived as women's work from early Christian era correspondingly roughly to the period of Sangam literature in South India. By and large, the Early Sangam Literature provided a through light on the economy and participation of woman in it and description of the countryside and rural economy.

The phenomenon of various forms of unorganised sector has a long history of its existence. It is common concept which has got its origin in social structure of ancient civilization. The civilization has its birth on the banks of river valleys and there first to develop a degree of economic stratification based on land ownership. Early Tamilaham was divided on different regions on the basis of terrain and ecology. The social order of the people was based either on the region in which they lived or on the occupation which they had adopted. Sangam

society was stratified in terms of occupational difference but there were no caste hierarchies.

The primary economic domains within which this study is located constitutes the primary sectors of Economy such as Women and Farm work, Woman in dairy farming and woman in crafts especially the textile sectors. All these activities they could be seen as women's work fell under the two seminal categories as 'Domestic work' and non-domestic 'paid' work. However, with the growth of townships, women's share in the economy went down since women were peripheral in the context of both commerce and crafts.

The study will concentrate only on the core area of work and will study the role of women in production and overall economy. All these activities, while they could be seen as women's work within the household included such activities such as spinning apart from cooking, child rearing and home economics.

Women and Farm work

In Early south India, during the Sangam age, Agriculture was the main occupation of the Tamils. Agriculturists had maintained a respectable status among the people. Agriculture alone can save the mankind from the pangs of hunger and hence almost all the people have to depend both directly and indirectly on agriculturist. Generally, the agriculturists alone can be generous as they have a good stock of grains always with them. In the beginning the people cultivated some varieties of paddy and other grains such as millets. The yield of grains helped the people to be self-sufficient in food, the vital need; and the surplus grains helped them to get sufficient money for their necessary expenses and also improved their economic condition the country. Women seem to have been co-sharers with men both in domestic and public sphere. Gradually, the methods of cultivation had improved and it had become well development.

Women workers are found in agricultural sector. They are predominant in this sector because they only work that they are can find is 'informal' in nature. Women are engaged in

farming sector. More than 60 percent of the agricultural operations were in hands of women. They women played a predominate role in Hoe cultivation. Women also participated equally with men in the work of irrigation and harvesting. The sangam texts provide us with several instances of women's participation in the rural economy, like Agriculture. Weeding and Planting, Guarding of the crops, husking and winnowing and pounding were women's tasks. Women also participated equally with men in the work of irrigation and harvesting. The farmer was called as 'Uzhavan' literally means 'one who ploughs' and 'Uzhatti' feminine form of ulavan. The Natrinai poem describes the 'Uzhavan' and 'Uzhatti', the farming couple, leaving for the fields at dawn, after a simple meal of rice gruel with fish. However the term 'uzhatti' was not applied exclusively to the farming wife but also to a working woman as an agricultural labourer.¹

Women seem to have been seminal to agrarian economy as well whether the system was one of the shifting cultivation involving of hoe or one of settled plough cultivation. Weeding of plants and cleaning the fields and seed planting, guarding of crops, husking and winnowing of paddy were all economic activities done entirely by women. Besides these task performed exclusively by women, they were co-shares with men in the tasks of both irrigation and harvesting. The evidence of sangam literature regarding these specific agricultural functions of women is borne out by the game of folk songs, linked to each of these activities.

The technological transition from hoe agriculture to plough agriculture has been recorded as an important marker in changing gender balance within the agricultural domain in the context of traditional economies². The hilly and coastal regions of Tamilaham do not subscribe to the transition pattern outlined in these historical blocks. This indicate a gradual transition from a society where a women were co- shares with men in most farming activities to a patriarchal society in which women were beginning to be marginalized. The predominance of plough agriculture or settled cultivation and gradual displacement of shifting cultivation based on the hoe in which women were active participants, resulted in gradual emergence of a patriarchal caste based society. The increasingly significant concepts of purity

and pollution meant that women should not be allowed to hand the 'sacred' plough. Women therefore came to be called 'Kalam thoda magalir' literally 'Women who do not touch the plough'³ There is also no evidence in any sangam text that women handled the plough. Probably it was too heavy and not because of any ritual taboo.

Tamil folk songs of women, provide a major source of provide a major source of alternative history in reconstructing the lives of women in Economy and Tamil society. Interestingly woman's farming songs are also found in Sangam literature itself. The folk song genre in women's work situations constitutes an important sources for mapping the women's farm related work. The Malaipadukadam and kurunthogai refer to the women pounding the grain rhythmically to the accomplishment of a song. This genre is called *vallai pattu*.⁴ These folk songs specifically reflect the predicament of low caste or destitute women who had to labour for their survival. The 'Natra padal'[seed planting song] and 'Etra padal'[water lifting songs] are still to be heard in tamilnadu in reconstructing the history of women and work. These songs can become a major source of alternate history because most agricultural songs relate to women from the lower strata of society. In terms of the class structure identifiable in the majority of these work songs as clearly ' lower class' and this genre becomes crucial to the study of women's labour history. These women lacked access to the means of creating, disseminating or preserving their own history. The construction of woman as mother, wife and housewife was the trick by which 50 percent of human labour was defined as a free resources.it was female labour. In contrast, the work songs literally 'tozhil paadal' which would include voice of both lower caste and destitute upper caste women which are a part of Tamil folk tradition, provide us with a grassroots perception of women's place in historical societies and perceived by women themselves⁵

Over a period of 400 years, from the late sangam age to the beginnings of state formation under Pallava and Chola rulers, the peninsular regions witnessed major developments such as royal donations of brahmadaya lands to non-cultivating Brahmins and lands to military chief under chola dynasty. The movement of Tamil

society from a loosely stratified clan and kinship labour based production system to a much more economically stratified and socially and ritually hierarchical society, dominated by brahmanical ideology and brahmadeya land systems, resulted in a new production system. This shift had a major impact on the position of women and social perceptions of their labour. From being co-shares in farm work women came to be perceived as domestic subordinated. The new cultural marker in society celebrated the 'subordinated labour' of the woman as evidence of her virtuous commitment to her hearth, husband and children while rendering invisible her work – participation in the home. Increasingly, the upper caste women came to be confined to their domestic chores and extolled in their re-productive functions as producers of males.

The differential impact of these changes on lower caste women, the 'Kadaiyar' like 'Pallar' is striking. While undervaluing their labour, it brought them into the public domain as 'waged workers'. It seems likely that some of women's farm related activities such as irrigating the fields, harvesting crops and the pounding of grain to the rhythmic music of the vallai pattu may have changed from unwaged to waged labour in the case of lower caste women from the medieval period onwards. While pounding of grain may have constituted a part of the domestic duties of women whether upper or lower caste it is likely to become a paid profession for low caste sometime in the medieval period.

Women and Work in the Non-Farm Agricultural sector

Cattle rearing and Dairy farming

The Mullai- tinai or eco zone represented the pastoral region with deep forestation. The economy of the region was predominately based on cattle rearing and dairy farming. Women played a crucial role in the pastoral economy. Cattle are closely connected with agriculture. Bulls and buffaloes are much needed for agriculture. Cattle rearing were considered as an essential occupation. Besides this, the milk and milk-products are used as food. So cattle rearing are very essential to any country. In those days there were separate classes of people called as 'ayar', 'itaiyar'. The main occupation was dairy farming and other allied works which provided

their livelihood. The predominance of women's in the production and sale of dairy products goes back a long way in tamil culture. The shepherdess in the Tamil country is known by names such as '*Aaichchi*', '*Kovichchi*', '*Idachchi*' etc. Besides, dairy farming, various kinds of pulses and staple foods like rye were grown in the Mullai tract. In Sangam period, poetry of the Mullai[pastoral] tinai, consists of extensive imageries pertaining to women churning buttermilk, milking cows, and selling curds and butter. Starting her day at dawn, she churns the curds to take out butter. Then, she sells the buttermilk from door to door in the Kurniji and Marudam regions, and with the money she gets, she buys food grains and other necessities. Women were therefore key participants in the rural barter economy. The process of setting curds by curdling the milk is used as a simile in the Purananuru where it says like the curd being squirted into a pot of milk from the fingers of tired shepardess.⁶ In the perumpanattrupadai it is said that the 'aaichchi' is not satisfied with the gold she saves up from her dairy sales but uses the 'capital' to buy a goat, milch buffalo, a good cow, and a black buffalo in order to expand her business. The term 'mudal' which literally translates as 'capital' and it indicate that some women went beyond simple barter and actually set up business.⁷ In the religious literature of the early medieval period, the image of shepherdess figures very strongly. In the tiruppavai of the woman saint Andal 7th century the picture of the dusky shepherdess, with her heavy chains and clinking bracelets, churning the curds at dawn, occurs repeatedly. Andal's home was tirumullaivayil which was a pastoral zone specializing in dairy products. There are reference in pattinapalai mentioned lord Krishna is mentioned as Gopalan or 'Mayon'. The centrality of the 'milkmaids' who milked the cows, churned buttermilk and sold their products such as milk, curds and butter, is bound up with the medieval movements. The sale of milk and milk products helped the people improve their economic condition of life. However, the nature of pastoral women's share in the overall medieval economy is more difficult to determine. European sources for the medieval period suggest that due to Proximity of the pastoral and agricultural tracts, the women from poor peasant families often hired themselves out as servants in the dairy sector in the emerging European towns.

As the housewife became free from labour in the larger dairy farms, milking, cheese making, and butter making became the work of hired women workers.

Salt Industry

Using the available natural resources Women living in the coastal region were engaged in producing salt though it did not fetch them much profit. They traditionally played an active role in salt panning and sale of salt. Women engaged in salt production and sales were known as 'Umanapendir'. The *perumpanatruppadai* describes how the Umanar couple extracted the salt, loaded it, on carts, and sold it in the neighboring eco – regions. The *umanapendir* also hawked the head leads of salt from door to door getting in exchange paddy and other essentials. If the necessity of the commodity be considered, the salt should cost more but due to the availability in abundance and the low cost of production, it was very cheap and the producer got only a marginal income.

Fishery

Fisheries are another economic sphere in which women played a major role in traditional society. In early Tamilaham, women played a key role in fishing and in hawking the fish. Fishing was an important occupation as it yielded much profit. People who were engaged in fishing were called as 'Minavar'. They used fishing-rod with the line and net for the purpose. The fishes were sold mostly on the spot (Seashore) and then taken to the interior parts of the country. The *paradavar* women caught and sold fish. Young girls of this community kept watch over the fish drying in the sun. The Sangam text *Ahananuru* refers to these women as 'Panimagal', literally 'working women' and says that they sat in street corners selling fish. This suggested that the more affluent fisher folk may have hired women to carry out the actual task of hawking the fish. There are also references to fisherwomen exchanging fish for paddy from the *Marudam Tinai*. However, they earned much by fishing and it was also an important occupation.

Handloom sector

Weaving has been the male preserve in most traditional Indian societies. There is no doubt that a remarkable measure of skill in weaving had been achieved by the Tamils of the

Sangam age. Spinning has been exclusively women work. Women spinning thread must have been a common sight in the region. Women did the spinning within their domestic space and then either sold them directly at the local fairs or delivered them to the middlemen who collected the spun yarn from them. The sangam literature refers to spinner as 'Parutti pendugal', literally 'the spinning women'. Spinning was particularly were the occupation of widows, single women. Interestingly, those categories of women who had to sustain themselves through their own earnings. The *purananuru*, a sangam text datable between third century BCE to uses to expression; 'Parutti Pendir Paruvalenna' for the thread spun by spinsters and says that spinsters spun late into the night with the aid of the lamp⁸ spinning was by and large a part of informal sector of the economy. Another text *Nattriniai* referring to widows / spinstars as 'alil pendir' which means 'women without men' says that they spun fine yarn. Spinning continued to be the exclusive professional preserve women during the medieval period. There are miniatures depicts, while the farmers ploughed the field, their wives spun thread. There are references in sangam texts and early texts that apart from bleaching woven cloth, the washer men washed the clothes of people and presumably were paid for it. It is clear that the washing of clothes was a paid service but there is no indication of what was the nature and mode of payment. There are hardly any historical references for this. One can logically assume that like other menials and profession of village community they were being paid from the grains. Decorative motifs adorned the clothes and the dyeing also was prominent. In the handloom sector, the bleaching and washing of cloth has been predominately women's activity. The washerwomen came from the lowest caste and were called 'pulatti'. Washing of clothes was done by both men and women of pulaya caste. While the overall number of women weavers Vis-a Vis men, remains ambiguous. Spinning needed much patience and hence it was generally entrusted with womenfolk, especially widows as they could be from other domestic cares. The women continued spinning even late at night in the faint light of the oil lamps. All these things show that the women engaged in spinning and weaving of cotton and silk which were profitable.

Women in Crafts: Pottery, Basketry, Mat weaving, and Garlands

Basket making and Mat weaving have been traditionally associated with women. Both are part of cottage industries and are very poorly paid profession. In the kalittogai roughly datable to 6th century it is said that besides washing it was the work of the pulatti to make baskets out of 'korai' weeds. In the inscription there are references to 'medari' meaning female basket weaver'. In the Karnataka and Andhra region the basket weavers belonged to medara caste⁹. Basketry is the auxiliary craft of the parava[fisherwomen]. The sangam texts refers to many crafted items made out of Netti including hair decoration and garlands. The silapaddikaram refers to the Netti work done in Pumpuhar and the sale of Netti products in the markets of pumpuhar. Although the text does not specifically mention the state of women, evidence indicates that while the production was dominated by women, their labour was informal and extremely underpaid, compounded by economic and sexual exploitation. Garland making and flower selling was continues to be predominately women's occupations. The Ahananuru says that vettuva [feminine of vedar, hill tribe] girls gathered the flowers in bamboo pipes and went to the villages to sell them.

Maids and Menials

There are references to low caste women employed as domestic workers are fewer in the sangam period, because the texts mention the poorer classes and low castes as ' kadaiyar and kadaisiyar' there is no clear evidence that they worked as domestic labour. This can only be logically inferred from sangam text 'Mullaipattu' which refer to the employment of girls for lighting of huge lamps and for serving as hand maidens in war camps. Maid in the capacity of female attendants or companions do figure in a number of sangam texts. Women also worked as construction labour. One chola inscription from tiruvamattur says that at a site where there were both male and female labourers , the women were to be paid half of what the men got¹⁰ the record specifies the work as lifting water from ponds and canals and irrigating the gardens and fields and also gathering flowers and making garlands . For all such labour the male workers were to be paid only eight nazhis per day while

the woman workers were to be paid only four nazhis.

Conclusion

Woman, as a biological and social category, have been on the margins of history for centuries and correlation between women and work is its most neglected segment. Women's labour , by and large being considered informal, was neither recognized nor recorded, not just by men but perhaps also by women themselves. Working and living condition are inseparable for the women working in the unorganised sector.

These women lacked access to means of creating, disseminating or preserving their own history. There is a complete absence of woman's voice in most of the literature, within which one can locate the majority of woman working within domestic spaces and secluded from public space. All these activities, while they could be as seen as women's work fell under the two seminal categories of domestic work and non – domestic 'paid' work. The everyday life effectively robs women of any real agency of understanding and thereby transforming their world.

Panoramic survey of women and work in peninsular history should be seen as initial step towards a much more ambitious feminist enterprise. The primary endeavor has been to available data on women's work both paid and unpaid, both visible and less –visible in order to highlight south Indian women's contribution to work domain and indicate directions of movement and changes in women's work or labour history.

The sangam literature presents a panoramic view of the articles introduced or used in the trade with barter system. It portray the boats came off with paddy got in barter of salt and tied to the poles pitched in the back waters. The exchange of essential commodities such as paddy, salt, vegetables, etc on barter basis'was common in those days' especially in villages. Women sold the commodities produced by them to others in the neighbourhood and occasionally to those at the distance.

Nevertheless plating seeds, guarding crops, husking paddy and pounding grain have been exclusively women's occupations since sangam times. In the context of the representation of

women in early historic period, historians often throw light upon the economic roles of women through specific perspectives. The women workers are confined to certain categories as hired labourers, domestic servants, singers and dancers, who are identified as women earning their livelihood. On the other hand, the familial roles of women are valorized and their domestic labour is never translated into economic terms. The interplay of women, work has been studied

by historians, with the respect to engagement of women in economic processes, it has been argued that women of rural classes participate actively in economic activities along with their men, while women in urban societies are less likely seem to be involved in economic role. Till now scholars have mainly confined themselves to viewing the relation of women and work in specific paradigms.

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FAMILY BANKING FIRMS IN HYDERABAD STATE – A HISTORICAL STUDY

G. Dayakar

Introduction

The bankers were closely and constantly involved with high-ranking officials, revenue – farming *talukdars* and the leaders of military troops. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Government Officials and banking firms did not keep separate, independent records of the firms' loans to the government; the banking firms kept these records, which might be copied or summarized by government clerks¹. A Government Official signed the banking firm's records and these were used by the government when necessary².

Chandu Lal, the Prime Minister of Nizam get funds from the private family firms in the first decade of the nineteenth century. He maintained good relation with family firms in Hyderabad State. The local bankers financed the government activities and personnel. Makhdum Seth, belongs to the Begum Bazar of Hyderabad headed one firm. Seth Kishen Das belongs to Karwan was opened another firm. The Marwari

firm was opened by Mahanand Ram Puran Mal. He access to the Nizam court and received as *Jagir* of Sitaram Bagh Temple. Maheshwari Marwari firm was established by Surat Ram Govind Ram. He belongs to a Gosain family of Begum Bazar. The Oswal Jain Marwari Firm was started by Umrasi Sajan Mal. All these bankers associated with the Chandu La I the *Dewan* of Hyderabad State³.

The great firms of 19th century Hyderabad belonged to three major communities such as Gujarati, Gosain and Marwari. Gujarati merchants and bankers were settled at Karwan in 17th century during Qutb Shahi rule. The Gosains came from Central India and settled in different district of Hyderabad State during first Nizam rule and resided at Begum Bazar. The Marwari, Oswals, and Maheshwaris came prior to Agarwals. Marwaris settled in Begum Bazar. Others were settled in the Residency Bazars in the Secunderabad Cantonment area, under the Jurisdiction of British. The residences of bankers

and merchants and military men intermingled throughout that suburb⁴.

Europeans, Eurasians and Persis were actively involved in the banking activities in Hyderabad State. The Palmer and Company had close relations with the Gujarati bankers. Henry Dighton, a clerk of the Palmers who was a British subject, later functioned as leading banker and revenue contractor in Hyderabad State. Kishen Das, the Gujarati banker and Dighton were partners at one time, but they split; in 1841 Kishen Das' s districts were reclaimed and turned over to Dighton, causing a bitter dispute. The Pestonji Viccajee firm, headed by Persi brothers from Bombay who were British subjects, was a major creditor of Hyderabad for a decade following Pestonji Mirji's introduction to Chandu Lal in 1835. The Palmer and Dighton lived near the Residency⁵, and Pestonji first took over the Kothi of the Muslim firm of Makhdhum Seth and then built his own and impressive Kothi in the Residency area. The important communities were involved in the banking activities in the State was:

Gajuaratis

The leading Hindu bankers in Hyderabad State were initially Gajuaratis settled in Aurangabad and in Karwan. Early members of the Gujarati banking family of Benkati Das Bhagwan Das moved from Aurangabad, settled in Karwan and maintained a garden between Begum Bazar and Karwan⁶. The Govardhan Das Bagh was an important Bagh between Golconda Fort and the city of Hyderabad. Salabat Jung an effective ruler from 1750 to 1761 left Hyderabad and stayed in the garden in 1756, he also stayed in the garden and left it for Golconda fort in 1760. Nizam Ali Khan left Hyderabad and went to the camp at Govardhan Das garden in 1764. Bokhan Das, a Gujarati name and perhaps a mistake for Govardhan Das, was appointed Khazanchi (Treasurer of the State). Nizam also Khan marched to the garden and camped there in 1776 and 1777, and the army marched and camped near the Garden of the math of Govardhan Das in 1782. Finally, when Sikandar Jah assumed the throne as Nizam III in 1803, his flag was hoisted there. The Benkati Das Bhagwan Das family also established a Gokulnathji Temple in Karwan and in the early nineteenth century and affine of this family functioned as *kotwal* or mediator for all Gujaratis

in Karwan. Karwan was dominated by Gujaratis, although other was also settled there. Benkati Das became a partner of Palmer and Company, from about 1810, and William Rumbold also became a partner of the firm, after 1816. It is Benkati Das descendants who represent this famous firm in Hyderabad during that period⁷. They preserved not only an original partnership agreement with Benkati Das signature in Hindi script but also, in their puja room, William Palmer's silver sugar bowl and creamer, which bear his name and the date 1817.

Goswamis

Goswami Rajas, Dhanraj Girji and Chandrakant Gir, were invited to the 1967 coronation of Mukarram Jah, heir of the Mir Osman Ali Khan. These two banking firms loaned money to the Nizam and other nobles in Hyderabad but helped to finance the Nizam's State Railway from the 1870s. Certainly, the wealthiest Goswami Dhahda in twentieth century Hyderabad was led by Narsing Girji and then Dhanraj Girji, the math headed by Umrao Gir in the 1840s and 1850s and linked to maths in Sholapur and Poona. The competed *dhada* was led by Raja Birbhan Gir⁸, these two *dhadas* competed with each other not only in Begum Bazar but in the wider public or civic arenas of early twentieth century in Hyderabad. Thus, in late 1926, Raja Pratap Gir built a sports pavilion near the Chaderghat Bridge in memory of Raja Narsing Gir, and it was declared open by the British Resident, with the Prime Minister Maharaja Kishen Pershad and other high officials in attendance. In early 1927, Raja Birbhan Gir donated a house of his at Residency Bazar to the Marwari Hindi *Pathshala*, and the same time, Raja Dhanraj Gir granted Rs. 8,000 for the construction of a public library at the Reddy Boarding House⁹. These Goswami Rajas played an important role in the administration of Hyderabad State.

Marwaris

The Marwari Agarwal firm of Mahanand Ram Puran Mal is an important firm in the Hyderabad State. Mahanand Ram, was the founder of the banking firm in Hyderabad State. He migrated from Ganeri and Lakshmangadh, Rajasthan in 1791, settled at Begum Bazar in Hyderabad in 1802. Begum Bazar was described in the 1830's and 1840's as a suburb

with many kinds of people living there, in contrast to Gujarati-dominated Karwan Sahu, and in the 1830s and early 1840s, just as the Gujarati banker Hari Das had mediated among factions in Karwan, the banker Puran Mal did the same among members of his community in Begum Bazar. Mahanand Ram and his son Puran Mal were close to the Nizam's court. Mahanand Sahu stopped beggars' riot near Charminar in 1811 by giving out alms, and Puran Mal Seth sent gifts in 1839 for the marriage of the daughter Jahanparwar Begum (a consort of Sikandar Jah, Asaf Jah III), in 1839. Puran Mal established Sitaram Bagh Temple in Begum Bazar¹⁰ in Hyderabad in 1825¹¹, a Temple founded by *jagirs* granted as *inam* by the government. The Nizam was attended laying of the Temple foundation. The Marwari family lived within the Temple compound and tombs of Mahanand Ram and Puran Mal were erected on the Temple ground. Nizam appointed Puran Mal as Treasurer in Berar. Puran Mal son Prem Sukh Das collected revenue there. This Marwari family played an important role both in the Nizam administration and banking activities.

Maheshwaris and Oswals

The Maheshwaris and Oswals came to Deccan. Half of the forty two Maheshwari families had come to the Nizam's State by 1850,

while half of the sixteen Oswal and thirty –two Agarwal families were there by 1860. The four Maheshwari families that arrived before 1800 settled in Hyderabad, Khandesh and Jalna¹². Two Oswal families settled in Bijapur and Aurangabad in the 1750s and 1790s respectively. More of Maheshwaris settled in Hyderabad old city, while ten families of Oswals settled in the British areas, Residency Bazar, Secunderabad and Tirmulgherry. Two Agarwal families came in the 1780s and 1790s and Agarwals seem to have settled mostly in Begum Bazar and Hyderabad old city¹³. These families occupied prominent place in the banking firm activities.

State debts

The Nizam Government had taken loan from the bankers in Hyderabad city. The Prime Ministers such as Chandu Lal, Ram Baksh and Siraj-ul-Mulk were taken loans to run the administration affectively in the State. The banking firms of Umarsi Sajan Mal, Moti Ram Surat Ram, Hari Das Lachmi Das, Lachman Gir, Shiv Lal Moti Lal and Kangir Umarao Gir were given loan to the Government of Hyderabad in different period. The debts due to the bankers detail as follows.

Table : Debts due to Hyderabad Bankers by 1847
Un-repaid Rupee loans to successive Administrations

Banking Firms	Chandu Lal 1806-43	Ram Baksh 1843-46	Siraj-ul-Mulk 1846-47	Total
Umarsi Sajan Mal	6,00,000	30,000	-	6,30,000
Moti Ram Surat Ram	3,50,000	30,000	1,00,000	4,80,000
Hari Das Lachmi Das	1,50,000	4,00,000	75,000	6,25,000
Lachman Gir	8,00,000	3,00,000	-	11,00,000
Ramaswamy	-	3,00,000	1,00,000	4,00,000
Shiv Lal Moti Lal	-	5,00,000	5,75,000	10,75,000
Kangir Umarao Gir		3,00,000	1,50,000	4,50,000
Kripa Ram	-	3,00,000	95,000	3,95,000

Ramdhun	-		50,000	50,000
Girdhari Lal Fateh Chand	--	--	1,00,000	1,00,000
Puran Mal				23,00,000
Total	19,00,000	21,60,000	12,00,000	76,05,000

Syed Mehdi Ali: **Hyderabad Affairs**, Vol-IV, Times of Indian Steam Press, Bombay, 1883, P.20.

The above table reveals that the bankers given loans to the Government during different Prime Ministers reign. In Chandu Lal period bankers had given 19, 00, 000 rupees loan to the government of Hyderabad State. During Rambaksh period government received an amount of Rs. 21,60,000 and Sirj-ul-Mulk period again the Government of Hyderabad taken loan from the bankers an amount of Rs. 12,00,000¹⁴. The total an amount of Rupees received from the bankers is 76,05,000 in the 40 years period. They were played an important role in the administration and Government.

Hundis

Banking firms furnished *hundis*, credit instruments or bills of exchange, payable elsewhere on sight or after a certain date. Most of these were destined for the British East India Company in the Presidency towns to pay Hyderabad's mounting debt for the Contingent salaries. The firms furnished cash for disbursement made locally, such as the expenses of the Nizams household or the salaries of military troops in the city. They made personal loans to high-ranking officials, some of which were guaranteed by the government. Many loans were made to *talukdars*, who used the cash as an offering to secure a contract for revenue collection. The *Nazrana* was given to the State record-keepers; it was they who awarded such contracts at this time¹⁵.

In return, the bankers received official signatures on their records, bonds or guarantees of repayment, diamonds, jewels or gold *mohurs* given in mortgage, and increasingly, land from which they could themselves collect the revenue to secure repayment of their loans. To collect the revenue, and then prevent the government from reclaiming the land assignments, the bankers employed military men, predominantly Arab and Pathan mercenaries, who acted as their agents. These military men acted as personal bodyguards for bankers too; almost all men of

any standing in the city employed Arab troops to protect their interests. The military men also received land assignments of their own from the administration when it became unable to pay their salaries in the 1840s.

Major overlapping functions were performed by the *talukdars* and the military men. Since both groups collected land revenue, often in excess of what their contract specified or their own salaries required, they became moneylenders, major creditors of the state. The military men and *talukdars* did not deal in long-distance *hundis*; only bankers were able to engage in this form of money lending to Hyderabad. The bankers had been revenue collectors when land assignments were made openly to them in return for loans under Chandu Lal, but the objection of the British Resident in the 1840s forced bankers to work their land assignments through others¹⁶, both *talukdars* and military commanders. Networking of the banking hundi transactions in the State during 1851 given in the following table.

Table: Networks of Banking Hundi Transactions, 1851

Hyderabad Firms	Number of Hundis Drawn	Rupees amount
Shivdut Ram Lachmi Ram	19	6,47,778
Shivdut Ram Jaisee Ram	22	10,10,693
Nathmal Govardhan Das	9	2,26,683
Sultan Chand Bahadur	1	17,909
Girdhari Lal Fatch Chand	3	36,721

Hanumant Ram Sri Ram	2	60,000
Moti Ram Ramdhun	5	89,107
Mahanand Ram Puran Mal	28	13,69,519
Surat Ram Govind Ram	7	1,85,715
Padamsi Nyansi	1	3,000
Gomani Ram Ram Lal	2	83,000
Anand Ram Sadasukh	2	14,000
Lachman Das Purshottam Das	7	97,000
Lachmi Das Lachman Das	7	89,143
Kishen Das Purshottam Das	2	34,483
Jamna Das Balkishen Das	9	26,893
Narayan Das Trimuk Das	3	19,579
Dighton	5	2,60,000
Mac Pherson	1	10,000

Source: Karen Leonard: *Hyderabad and Hyderabadis*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2014, P.P 145-146

The above table reveals that the *hundi* transactions in the state in the year 1851. Shivdut Ram Lachmi Ram and Shivdut Ram Jaisee Ram were had more *hundis* and transaction with an amount of Rs. 16,58,471. Mahanand Puran Mal had 28 *hundis* and transaction Rs. 13,69,519. Mahanand Puran Mal occupied prominent place in the *hundi* transactions in Hyderabad State. Dighton also had five *hundis* and an amount transactional in the State is Rs. 2,60,000. The bankers played crucial role in the administration of the Nizam

Government¹⁷. They were also occupied prominent place in the society. They dominate their surrounding areas with their status. Government officials also supported the banking communities in Karwan, Begum Bazar and Residency areas in Hyderabad State.

Bankers were also involved in incidents of violence. In 1846, the banker Gomani Ram went with fourteen Pathans to coerce payment from a Muslim creditor, but he and six of his mercenaries were killed in the ensuing fight. In 1847, a group of bankers invaded the chief state record-keepers palace and thereby forced state repayment of Rs. 2,15,000¹⁸. Begum Bazar, where many bankers and *jamadars* resided, was often the scene of sword and gun fight. Successive *Diwans* and state officials called on the bankers again and again for loans, but these were seldom repaid. When the State was unable to give the bankers land assignments directly, many other strategies induced them to continue lending. A coalition of bankers was given an order on a *talukdar* for quarterly repayments of their loan¹⁹.

The largest banking firms of the 1840s had reached their limits. Pestonji Viccajee's land assignments were reclaimed, although Pestonji levied Rohilla troops and fought the state troops. He then requested the British East India Company's help in securing repayment; it declined, and the firm went bankrupt in 1848²⁰. Puran Mal, the Rothschild of the Deccan, whose loan had been many times those of the other bankers combined went temporarily bankrupt in 1851, as did Shivdut Ram Jaisee Ram two months later.

By 1851, the resident was scrutinizing financial records of the Noam's Government and discussing possible cession of territory. The Diwan, Siraj-ul-Mulk, responded by undertaking to repay the debt to the East India Company between July and December by 1851. He succeeded in raising loans from bankers in July, and he sent *hundis* for Rs. 40,00,000, payable in four to six months, to the Resident by mid-August. Thereafter, he found it impossible to secure a like amount by October, although more *hundis* were sent. This series of *hundis* delivered to the Resident by the *Diwan* from July to November 1851²¹.

Bankers Contribution

The oldest Kayasth Temple in Hyderabad, Ram Bagh, was built by a Bhatnagar Kayasth in 1802, at the end of Nizam Ali Khan's region. Raja Bhavani Pershad was in charge of salary distribution of palace. The Kayasth community occupied a prominent place in the Hyderabad state. The Chitragupta Temple was built in the year 1810-1811 by Duleh Rae at Uppuguda. He also received a jagir from the Nizam Sikander Jah for the maintenance of the Temple. Another Temple built by Kayasth family at Uppuguda was Kali Temple²². The special troops of the Saksena were stayed in the Temple ground. The guns and gunpowder stored in the Temple's basement. Raja Raghu Ram Bahadur served as *vakil* of several *samsthans* in the Nizam Hyderabad State. He built the Kishen Bagh Temple in the year 1822. The Nizam Sikander Jah granted a *jagir* for the Temple and later granted an additional jagir for drum expenses, a rare distinction. The Kishen Bagh Temple was dedicated to Lord Krishna and set a garden outside the old city. Sitaram Bagh Temple²³ in Begum Bazar was constructed by Puran Mal in

1825. The Temple funded by *jagirs* granted as *inam* by the government.

Conclusion

The Nizams of Hyderabad came to the power in the year 1724 and ruled Hyderabad State till 1948. They were participated many wars and public welfare activities. The Hyderabad State depended on rainfall. Most of times famine attacked the State and the ruler were taken several steps to the welfare of the State. They engaged troops in the different part of the State. Due to these reasons the State treasure empty most of the time. That is the reason why they were taken loan from the bankers and utilized for the developmental activities. The bankers also engaged troops in their areas. They were also get employment in the Government administration. They played an important role in the administration and economy of Hyderabad State. Their status is also high in the society. They were run the administration and society with the support of the Government officials. Bankers occupied an important place in the Nizam State.

End Notes

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8. Raja Birbhan Girji was the first Hyderabadadi to own a motor car and he also started Excelsior Theatre or Sagar Talkies at Abid's Circle, the city's first movie theatre.
9. Karen Leonard: *Hyderabad and Hyderabadis*, Manohar Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 2014,P. 177.
10. *Deccan Buidget*, 13 April, 1894.
11. *The Evening Mail* 17th April, 1894, State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
12. The family of the Seth Srichand Das Raghunath Das Jhandawala, came in the 1730s recommended by the Jodhpur ruler to the Nizam. The ancestor Maluk Chand was treasurer of Jodhpur; and when the Nizam sent for an able person to develop banking in Hyderabad, Seth Mulk Chand responded. His grandson, Srichand Raghunath Das became choudhri of Kesai Kata and Begum Bazar and Srichand's son Raghunath Das briefly served as Diwan and gained the title Jhandawala from Salabat Jung.
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SOCIO - ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF TIRUKOIYLUR REGION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SIDDHALINGAMADAM

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The South Indian temples, acted in the medieval period of Tamil history as a centre of spiritual as well as secular activities of the general public living around them. The temple, it is no exaggeration to say was indeed a symbol of a rudimentary experiment in the creation of a welfare state. It touched every fact of social, economic and religious. It provided proper social environment and offered ample scope for self-improvement.

Social

In the medieval period, the society was composed of different strata of communities living in groups and doing their traditional vocations. The king, the royal household and the nobility (*udankuttam*) formed the upper clan of the society. Next came the Brahmins (the priestly class) who commended the high esteem among the people. In the middle strata of society were the bureaucrats, merchants, peasant proprietors and artisans. The farm labourers and the slaves constituted respectively the fourth and the fifth rungs of the social ladder. From the inscriptions, it can be gathered that kingship was hereditary.

He was ably assisted by a council of ministers known as *Udankuttam* the Brahmins were the most fortunate section of the society and were a privileged lot and the 'chosen people' at the land. The kings created "agraharams" (Chaturvedimangalam) for them and assigned lands made free of tax for their sole enjoyment according to their status. Even as late as the nineteenth century, they were a landed class of people, the following observation of T.Venkasamy Rao in his "A manual of the district of Tirukkilur" is worth-noting. "There is hardly a family of this colony of Tamil speaking Brahmins which does not hold land on ordinary mirasi tenure in Tirukkoilur while those who hold the 'inam' tenure likewise are comparatively very few. During the days of Hindu dynasties, the Brahmins were a favoured class. In some cases, they acquired the right of *mirasi* holding by gift of the "Vellala proprietary"¹ the bureaucrats, merchants, big landholders and the artisans formed the middle order of society and were really the backbone at the administration and

social life, the landless labourers (agrarian proletariat) and the slaves were the hardworking lot and their plight was one of misery and pity.

Women enjoyed freedom in a large measure. They were placed under no restraint in their social life and activities, the inscriptions give many examples of women of the upper classes owning property in their own right and disposing of it in the manner as they chose. Though the king and nobles indulged in a plurality of wives, the monogamous family was doubtless by the normal unit of social life.

There are a number of inscriptions in the temple of Vyaghrapadeshvarar that speak of gifts given by women of different walks of life. An inscription of the 38th regnal year of Parantaka I (907-953 C.E.) records the gift of a fly-whisk coated with gold and silver by *mutta kilanadigal*, the daughter of *Kadupattigal*, a Pallava princess,² Aditya I (871-907 C.E.) married a Pallava princess Tiribhuanamadevi.³ An inscription of the 23rd regnal year of his speaks of *Kadupattigal* as the mother of the Chola queen. Hence the *Muttakilanadiga* spoken of the inscription of the temple of Vyaghrapadeshvarar would refer to the senior queen *Muttakilanadigal* of Aditya I.

There is an inscription which speaks of a woman, a *Vellatti* by name Sathan Malli of Kilai of Alanadu, as having made a gift of ninety sheep to a Vaishnavite temple lying to the north of the shrine of Vedharanyaswamy for maintenance of a perpetual lamp. The same *Vellatti* gifted one hundred and eighty sheep for the supply of ghee for burning two perpetual lamps in the temples of Vyaghrapadeshvarar. This gesture of a woman patronizing a saivite and a Vaishnavite temple at the same time speaks volume for the religious toleration that underlined the interaction between communities.

Two inscriptions in the premises of the temple of Vyaghrapadeshvarar refer to the wives of an officer of the king's government by name Sembayan Muvendavelan, each making a gift in her own right to *Tirumaraikkattu Udaiyar*, and *Maninakka Pirattiyar*. One of the wives of Muvendavelan made a gift of ninety sheep for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp.⁴ Another wife

by name *Koyilanachipidariyar* of the same officer deposited twenty-five kalanju of gold with two persons in the locality for supply of four halis of rice as food-offering to the presiding deity on the *Uttrayana* (summer solstice) sankranti day from the interest.⁵

An inscription of the 43rd regnal year of Parantaka I has a reference to the conquest of Ceylon by that ruler.⁶ His special title includes the expression *Elamum* for the first time in the inscriptions of this temple. It speaks of the children (makal) of one *Karisatti*, a maid servant (Pendatti) of the queen in the palace establishment (Velam) of Kilanadigal (queen) and living in Vicchadara street making a gift of ninety sheep for burning a perpetual lamp. An inscription in the temple premises refers to one *Nangaiyar Nakkan Naraguni*, a queen of Solamanar as having made a gift of ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp.⁷ A damaged inscription of the 25th regnal year of Parantaka-I speaks of one Nakki of Nandipuram as having gifted ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp. The term "Nakki" would refer to a female dancer.

There are three places bearing the name Nandipuram.⁸ One devaradiyar by name *Aludainacchi Amudalvi* has been mentioned in an inscription as having made a gift of a piece of land as *Tirunandavilakkupuram*.⁹ The dancers thus transferred to Sri Rajarajesvaram from Tirumaraikkadu were Nakkan Sattan living in house number ninety-one, Nakkan Tirumalai residing in ninety-two, Nakkanmadevi living in seventythree house, Nakkan Maraikkadu living in the twelfth house and Nakkan Mari living in the forty-third house outside the temple. The expression *nakkan* stands for *Nakkinai* just as the terms *amman* and *akkan* for *ammai* and *akkai*.¹⁰

One *Santikk-kutti* by name *Peruntiruvatti Kailaikkilatti* according to an inscription had made a gift of thirty-five "veli" of land to the temple made free from certain local taxes the expression *Santikk-kutti* refers to a woman player in a drama.¹¹

A member of the body called *Virasola Anukkar* by name Ilayalvan Tiruvidaimarududaiyan left one thousand five hundred kasus with the *Muppattuvatattu Sivabrahmanas* of the temple as endowment for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp from the

interest accruing from it.¹² The expression *Muppattuvatattu Sivabrahmanas* would refer to the Sivabrahmanas who had the right to conduct service to the deity in their turn. They could transfer their rights to others on monetary considerations,¹³ if they so desired. Another member of the same body of *Virasola Anukkar* by name *Kadan Melvayil* deposited one hundred kasu with the *Tirukkoyil Udaiyar* (trustees) for the maintenance of a half lamp to be kept in the night from out of the interest on the above endowment.¹⁴ There is an instance of one Irumudi sola Anukkilli having made a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp for the god Mahadeva in Tirumaraikkadu for the merit of his sister, Ilattanangai. His mother was a pendatti (maid servant of the queen) in the *Poriyavelam* big palace establishment) at Thanjavur, the expression *Anukkar* would mean a male dancer.¹⁵ A traditional lamp mentioned as *Tiruanukkan Tiruvilakku* in an inscription might have been donated by a member of the body of *Anukkars*.

The fact that slavery was practiced in the medieval period is well-attested by two inscriptions. An inscription of the third regnal year (1219 C.E.) of Rajaraja III speaks of the sale of ten slaves with their associates (Vargattar) of *Sadaiyandikutam* for one thousand kasus by *Ariyan Picchan* alias *Edirilisola Gangainadalvan*, a kaval officer to the temple of *Tirumaraikkattu Udaiyar*.¹⁶ Another inscription of the 24th regnal year of the same ruler records the sale and dedication of two slaves by name Kalani and Kudiyal by the same. *Ariyan Picchan* alias *Gangainadalvan* to the god *Tirumaraikkadu Udaiyar*

An inscription of uncommon interest found on a pillar within the mandapa in front of the central shrine refers to a special puja known as Pidapuja.¹⁷ It records a gift of ten "veli" of land to the god *Tirumaraikkattu Udaiyar* made free of local taxes by one Viliyur. *Picchan Piramadamallan*, a merchant of *Ullalai* (inside) *Periyandigudi* (big bazaar) for the merit of *Tayan Acchan* and *Acchan Tayan*, his father and elder brother respectively. Pidapuja is a part of daily rituals done in the temple. The significance of the puja is that the donor wanted a wooden frame to be used during night service.¹⁸

A permanent arrangement for reciting Tiruppadiyam in the temple of

Vyaghrapadesvarar was made during the time of Kulottunga II (1133 - 1150 C.E.). An inscription of the king's second regnal year records the conferment of Vyaghrapader by *Padipadamulattuppattudaiya Panchacharigal* on one *Tiruchirrambalamudaiyan Nagadevan* alias *Tyagasamudrappicchan* and his group. The devakanmis of the temple were enjoined to supervise the singing of Tiruppadiyam and make sure that members partaking in the service were either related to or nominated by *Tyagasamudrapicchan*,¹⁹ the inscription refers to the king as speaking reciters of our Tiruppadiyam this signifies the ruler's personal interest in the recitation of padiyams before the deity everyday.²⁰ An inscription in the temple of Sri Rajarajesvaram at Thanjavur mentions two persons from Tirumaraikkadu by name *Maraikkadan Gnanasivan Nambi Aruran* and *Avaiyan Anukkan Dharmasivan* as having been drafted from the Tirumaraikkattu temple establishment for reciting Tiruppadiyam there along with forty-six other musicians (Pidavar).²¹

The temple of Vyaghrapadar exercised a great influence upon the people living in places beyond the Chola country also. There are references in the inscriptions to instances of gifts having been made to temple of *Vyaghrapadar Udayar* by individuals. An inscription of the time of Parakesarivarman Parantaka I speaks of two persons of as having made a gift of a piece of land made free of tax to the god Vyaghrapadar Udayar after purchase from the *urar* of Perumbulam. Kannappar is identified with Kalayarkoil in the modern Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar district. It is a Sivasthala. According to an inscription of the ninth regnal year of Rajaraja I, one Narayanan alias Sembiyan Kilkarai Velan of *Mutturukurram* in Pandinadu made a gift of seven kasus to the temple for offering two palams of *Sarkkarai* (country sugar) out of the interest on the endowed amount.²² Similarly, two persons by name Kakkan Tuni of Madanam in the division of *Allarkkulakkil* and *Kavaippi* of Allur, both places in Pandinadu jointly made a gift of one hundred and eighty sheep for burning two perpetual lamps.²³

An inscription found in the temple of Vyaghrapadesvarar is about the gold and silver ornaments gifted to the temple by a merchant by name Nelveliyudaiyan,

Tiruvaram (sacred necklace), *Udharabhandanam* (wait-band), *Tiruppirai* (sacred crescent), a pair of bhaguvalai yam (sacred armlets), a pair of *tirukkaichari* (sacred bracelet), an antelope and a club (*danda*) made of gold, all for adorning the god Manavalanayanar (utsavar). For adorning the goddess Nacchiyar, ornaments such as *tirunerrimalai* (sacred forehead plate), *Tiruvaram* (sacred necklace) and *Tirumalaittam* (sacred breast plate) were gifted. The total weight of the ornaments was fifty seven kalanju and one-fourth manjadi of gold and eighty-seven kalanju, one-half manjadi and four *ma* of silver.²⁴

The fact that the place Siddhalingamadam had intimate social intercourse with the Jaffna region of the northern Sri Lanka is attested by the numerous inscriptions containing names of persons of the region of Jaffna who had helped in the renovation of certain structures in the temple premises. All these inscriptions are of recent times and on paleographical grounds can be assigned to the nineteenth century. The names of villages and towns from which the persons mentioned in the inscriptions hailed are: 1) Kodiur, 2) Marudur, 3) Anattur, 4) Siruvennainallur, 5) Iraiyankudi, 6) Kiliyur, 7) Kanakkeni, 8) Semmarrur, 9) Vikram chozha nallur, 10) Munnur, 11) Manatur, 12) Surangudi, 13) Adanur, 14) Manthuvil, 15) Vanagappadi, 16) Nirveli, 17) Palali, 18) Thalaikkurichi, 19) Thammagadam, 20) Thumbalai, 21) Polaiyur, 22) Tiruvathigai, 23) Tiraiturai, 24) Thiruvannainallur, 25) Tiruvamatur, 26) Tirumudankuram, 27) Adarpadi nallur, 28) Sivapasekharanallur and Vilvalam.

Economy

The economy of the Tamil society in the medieval period was entirely based on agriculture, the vast majority of the people lived a rustic life in the villages and agriculture was their principle occupation, the village was primarily a settlement of peasants and the village assembly on association of landlords.

The inscriptions under study give a lot of information of the existence of different types of land tenures such as *brahmadeya*, *devadana* and *salabhoga*. The Brahmins were economically affluent in the rural economy and commanded respect from every section of society. The peasant proprietors in *Vellan-Vagai* villages cultivated their lands either themselves or with

the help of term labourers or slaves. They paid taxes to both the Central Government and the local assembly called *Urar*. The farm labourers led a miserable hand-to-mouth living. In times of drought or famine, several of their families sold themselves to rich persons or temples to avoid starvation and death. Under able and efficient rulers, the lot of the general public was comfortable and satisfactory but during the rule of the weak, monarchs, their plight was pitiable.

Standard Measurements of Lands

Agricultural lands were measured in terms of *veli Ma, kani* and *kuli*. The wetlands were described as *say*, the *ma* and *kani* are usually 1/20 and 1/80 when applied to a *veli* of land. One hundred *kulis* made up a *ma* of land. The people had a wonderful commercial sense for standardization of measures to determine exact extent of lands and quantity of things they possessed or transacted. The inscriptions throw light on the standards of weights and measures employed by the people for weighing precious metals and measuring grains and extent of lands, in the days of the Cholas.

Grains and liquids were measured in terms of *kalam, tuni, padakku, kuruni, nali, uri* and

ulakku precious metals in *kalanju, ma* and *manjadi* and linear measures in *vira*²⁵ according to inscriptions in the temple of *V[∞]dharany[∞]śvar*. A weight measure *palam* has also been mentioned in an inscription.²⁶

An inscription of the 29th regnal year of Rajaraja I speaks of a measure called *Adavallan* as equivalent to *Rajakesari*. From this, it is gathered that the highest grain/liquid measure used was otherwise called as Marakkal.

There are references to the village assemblies taking upon themselves the responsibility of paying taxes to the Central Government for a particular piece of land. Some inscriptions, speak of donors or groups of people to whom lands gifted to the temple were entrusted for a purpose agreeing to pay dues (*kadamai*) and other *irais* (taxes) to both the king's Government and the village assemblies. The temple of Vyaghrapadesvarar had according to inscriptions a treasure of its own called *karuvulam* or *Sri Pandaram*. It received cash gifts and made payments towards the cost of lands or anything sold to it by village assemblies or individuals.

Foot Notes

1. *A.R.E.*, No. 432 of 1909.
2. *A.R.E.*, No. 406 of 1909.
3. T. Venkasami Row, *A Manual of the District of Tirukkoilur*, Lawrence Press, Madras, 1883, p. 321.
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, No. 47.
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, No. 94.
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, No. 126.
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 290.
8. *A.R.E.*, No. 488 of 1909.
9. *A.R.E.*, No. 465 of 1909.
10. T. Venkasami Row, *A Manual of the District of Tirukkoilur*, p. 321.
11. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 540.
12. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 278.
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 68, p. 307.
14. *A.R.E.*, No. 416 of 1909.
15. *A.R.E.*, No. 301 of 1909.
16. *A.R.E.*, No. 427 of 1909.
17. Durai Malayaman, *Op.cit.*, p.407.
18. *A.R.E.*, No. 400 of 1909.
19. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIX, No. 182.
20. Temple history: Vyaghrapadesvarar Kumbabishegamalar, 2009, p.39.
21. *A.R.E.*, No. 422 of 1909.
22. *A.R.E.*, No. 382 of 1909.
23. *A.R.E.*, Nos. 423 of 1909.
24. *A.R.E.*, No. 408 of 1909.
25. *A.R.E.*, No. 388 of 1909.
26. *A.R.E.*, No. 371 of 1909.

PANNAIYAL SYSTEM IN THANJAVUR

R. Elamaran

One of the most striking and important peculiarities of the agricultural labourers was the pannaiyal system. Thanjavur district is one of the popular agricultural districts in Tamilnadu. In the total rice yield of Tamilnadu, the district tops all the other districts and is hence known as the granary of South India.

Pannai System

The *pannai*, or home-farm, is the cultivateable land of the landlords. They cultivate their own lands by means of hired labourers or *pannaiyals*. It seems likely that this was the most general method in ancient times and that the *pannaiyals* were serfs attached to the soil and transferred from one master to another with the land.¹ They seem to have been frankly slaves when the English came into possession of the country, and many relics of the former state of things still exist. Usually, the wages of the pannaiyal is in grain and not in money. He is given presents on festival occasions and is often in debt beyond recall to his landowner.²

Pannaiyal System in Thanjavur

Agricultural slavery consisted of two types namely, pannaiyal (permanent servant) and padiyal (hired servant, receiving wages in kind). The Tamil word for slave was *adimai*. The term pannaiyal was used more frequently than *adimai*.³ The pannaiyals led a miserable life. Pannaiyals brutally punished the people who rose against them. They were meted out punishments like the horsechip beating and drinking cowdung. The pannaiyals called their landlords as "Sammy", "Egamani" and "Andai", even today.⁴ The bonded labourers could not send their children to school. Education was rejected to them. The sons and daughters of the tenant's should work with their parents in Pannais. All civic rights were designed to them.⁵ The pannaiyal and his family were tied to their landlord or peasant master by debt. They never owned any land. Labour power was their only possession to be exchanged. The landlord had the right of life and death over their own slaves.

Wages of Pannaiyals

The pannaiyals or permanent labourers in the later half of the 19th century were generally remunerated in the following manner. i) They were paid mainly in kind viz., grain and the like, ii) They were given presents on the occasions of wedding, childbirth, and festivals and also were helped when death occurred in their family, iii) They had the right to glean after harvest, iv) They received loans without interest, v) They could lease a house with a backyard, vi) They could lease lands from the mirasdars.⁶

Land owners were very interested in paying advance money to a labourer to prevent him from leaving his service and to keep him in a condition of servitude. The object of the advance money was to secure a permanent servant at a wage distinctly lower than the market rate and to make life as difficult as possible for him to change masters or atleast to go to another master in a different village.⁷ The Mirasdars asserted their rights over the pannaiyals' house plots or settlements and prevented their freedom of movement with the threat of eviction from the settlements.⁸

At times of famine, they were the first to lose employment, to feel the pinch of rising prices, and to die of starvation. Boys and girls received half of the rates. In towns, wages were paid in cash. The ordinary daily rate for an adult male being annas 4 and for children one anna. Each skilled labourer such as bricklayer, carpenter and smith were paid according to the nature of the work from 5 to 8 annas a day. The village sale of paddy on which the original commutation rate for the assessment of irrigated land was calculated, shows that the average price of the Thanjavur kalam, equal to 12 marakkal.⁹ The pannaiyals would be forced to work for fourteen to sixteen hours a day. If they failed to do so, they faced severe punishments. Even their women folk were not spared. They were not permitted to wear clean clothes. Pannaiyals and other women folk were forced to keep the upper portion of their body as naked.¹⁰

Pannaiyals and agricultural labourers awakened and got ready to struggle against economic and social exploitation. They planned these struggles in such a progressive expansion and consolidation of the *Vyavasaigal Sangam* with the help of agricultural labourers, tenants,

and sharecropper.¹¹ There were concedes that the 'Vyavasaigal Sangam' had a good grip over agricultural labourers in Mannargudi, Tiruvarur, and Thiruthuraipoondi taluks.

Since pannaiyals got a better deal in the Tanjore tenant and pannaiyals Act 1952, and the institution of agrestic serfdom was almost dead. Eviction of tenants constituted the main focus of the struggle during the subsequent years. It came to be increasingly realized that questions of tenancy and wage labour were merely part of the control over land. In a situation where the party was not fighting, an armed battle was mobilized on the issue of ceiling could greeting weaken landlord's economic and political domination.¹²

The Poonthazhankudi incident

On 6th October 1967, Valivalam Desikar, a landlord, inducted a large number of agricultural labourers from the neighbouring district of Ramnad to complete transplantation operation. It threw a large number of locals to become jobless. So they prevented the entry of the out side labourers.¹³ The land lords immediately appealed to the police to intervene in the name of law and order.

The same thing happened in seven other villages of Tiruvarur and two villages of Mayuraram (Mayladuthurai) taluk. The situation become worse and critical in a village at Poonthazhankudi, seven miles away from Tiruvarur. The landlords had their paddy harvested by out sides and caste Hindu labourers under police protection.¹⁴ The local labourers did not allow the outsiders to carry the harvested crop. They also picketed the landlord's car engaged in the same operation. Since the policemen were on the spot, they did the ugly and biased job and opened fire brutally. As a result, Pakkirisamy an agricultural labourer, was killed on the spot and several others wer arrested.¹⁵ The agricultural labourers maintained their calm and did not engage in a clash with the police. They took out a massive funeral procession condemning the landlord and the police.

As a consequence, the district administration moved into action. At a triparties meeting, the landlords agreed to raise harvest wages to 6 litres per kalam and also to induct

outside labourers only in the extreme exigency of acute labour shortage.¹⁶ The year 1968 turned out to be a replication of 1967 except that the labourers were more militant. In several villages, there was the same story of induction of outside labourers, resistance from the locals, and police intervention. In the village of Kuruppu of Nanilam taluk, the local labourers forcibly harvested paddy from a 4 acre plot belonging to a landlord. There was police intervention again, and 54 agriculture labourers were arrested.¹⁷

The frequent police interventions had an unintended effect-labourers were no longer terrostricken at the sight of rifles.

A village in Nagapattinam taluk, the same incident was repeated-induction of out side labourers, denial of job to locals and refusal to pay 6 liters of paddy per kalam as harvest wages and the presence. The local labourers could not be brow beaten. In spite of the police presence, they prevented the outside labourer from harvesting paddy.¹⁸ The local leadership was vigilant and determined to foil the land lords game. The peasant leader mobilized women in massive numbers. Support also came from neighboring villages. Through their massive mobilization they rendered the police force ineffective. Police vans were gheraoed even when women workers were threatened with arrest. Sixty of them were arrested and taken to the nearest police station.¹⁹

A vast multitude of agricultural labourers protested against the arrest by obstructing the movement of the policemen and their vehicles. The policemen could hardly scare away such a multitude of agricultural labourer by resorting to violence. They persuaded the labourers to lift the blockade and promised to leave one van at their dispense to bring back the women labourers from the police station.²⁰ Each side honored its commitment and the explosive situation was diffused. The Mirasdars could easily disease that the balance of forces was how titled against them. They conceded to the wage demand and the lifting of the economic boycott against the local workers. It was a major victory and agricultural labourers exhilarated.

The landlords, however, failed to learn the lessons from their experience with labourer militancy. They wanted to make every efforts to maintain status. They resolved to teach recalcitrant labourers a good lesson. Organized as they were.

It could be possible to mobilize immense resources and buy up police support to achieve their objectives.

In the village of Kasuveli near Nagapattinam, the landlords engaged the routine work with the help of outside labourers and the police. It was opposed by the local labourers. Over 300 local labourers marched to the threshing floor of the same landlord in the evening.²¹ The policemen liberally made use of their teargas shells and lathis (sticks). Three labourers sustained injuries. Even though the landlords in this village got little success, they were not fully satisfied. They wanted to subdue the labourers completely.

The humanitarian and social minded leaders drew the attention of the government to the inhuman activities of the land lords and the partisan attitude of the police. During this time, the Tamil Nadu Government had appointed the special police branch, that was known as Kissan Police, Kissan Inspector, and Kissan Circle, and Kissan D.S.P and some Kissan police cadres.²² The word Kissan which means (agri). The Kissan police protected the law and order in Tiruvarur taluk, but they did not protected the agricultural tenants from the atrocities of the landlords. The police attached no importance to the allegation of the agricultural tenants.²³ But the attitude of the policemen towards the agricultural labourers continued.

Target of Venmani

On 25th December, 1968 evening, there was a clash between the local and the outside labourers in which one of the outsider namely Pakkirisamy was killed.²⁴ Irinchu Gopalakrishna Naidu had mobilized a large number of hire lings. Even as they were entering the village of Venmani with guns, sticks, axes petrol etc, the agricultural labourers consisting of men, women, and children ran to their shelter. Most of the folk ran away from the village.²⁵

Women and children around forty four in number took shelter in a little hut. The little hut was owned by Ramaiyan, and this houses was 12 feet length with one gateway. A total of forty four people were hiding in the 12 x 12 feet size hut. The hirelings spinkled petrol and set fire to the hut.²⁶

Kilvenmani outrage upset the agricultural operation. Thousands of acres of paddy awaited

harvesting. The district collector exercised initiative to convince a tripartite conference to things right. It was agreed that harvest wages should be increased by half a litre. Even though the landlords representatives on the committee agreed to the agreement, the paddy producer association disowned it characterizing the agreement, as arbitrary.²⁷

Ganapathia Pillai Commission

In the meantime, the State Government appointed the Ganapathia Pillai Commission to suggest the rate at which wages could be fixed. The commission exposed its landlord bias by conceding that it did not consider in its report what might constitute the quantum of a living wage. Even then it concluded that the landlords above 5 acres should pay the wage rates as recommended below.²⁸

Plothing without own bullocks	Rs. 3.00
Ploughing with labourers own plough and bullock	Rs. 5.25
Transplantation and weeding (women)	Rs. 1.80
Bund making	Rs. 3.00
Half season repair work	Rs. 2.50
Harvest wages	

The suggestion of the commission clearly revealed that the administration never viewed the wage question as a human problem. But the landlords association refused to follow the commission's recommendation.²⁹

The Venmani massacre was an traumatic experience for agricultural labourers as well as their leaders. The scars left were too deep to heal immediately. The sarvodayees considered it an appropriate occasion to get a foothold inside the socialistic citated. The Sarvodaya workers mobilized agricultural labourers against the control of temple land by a land lord. Through a fictitious deal they were successful in getting temple lands and get it allotted to more than a hundred agricultural labourers and tenants. The sangam called upon the government to lower down the ceiling from 30 to 15 standard acres and to do away with various exemptions. In 1972, the

ceiling limit was sealed down to 15 standard acres and exempted from ceiling was brought within the purview of the law.³⁰ The impact of the land

grab movement as such led to a more radical agrarian legislation involving no actual redistribution of lands.

End Notes

1. *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. VII*, dated 28th November, 1947, p. 780.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 781
3. *The Mail*, Madras, dated 18th July 1946.
4. *G.O. No. 114*, Legal Department, dated 13th September, 1947.
5. Select Document Series, *Madras Estates Land Act, 1908-1948*, Vol. I, Madras, 1986, pp. xii-xiii.
6. *G.O.No. 36*, Legislative Department, dated 6th February, 1948.
7. *G.O. No. 3*, Legal Department, dated 7th January, 1948.
8. *G.O. No. 211*, Legal Department, dated 18th November, 1949.
9. *G.O. No. 36*, Legal Department, dated 6th February, 1948
10. *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. VII*, dated 28th November, 1947, pp. 769.
11. *G.O. No. 211*, Legal Department, dated 18th November, 1949.
12. *G.O. No. 211*, Legal Department, dated 18th November, 1949.
13. *History of Land Revenue Settlement and the Abolition of Intermediary Tenures in Tamil Nadu*, Madras, 1977, p. 157.
14. K.S. Sonachalam, *Land Reforms in Tamil Nadu*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 165.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
16. *Ibid.*, p.169.
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COMPANY'S COMMITTEE OF ASSIGNED REVENUE IN MADRAS, 1781-1786

I. Elangovan

Between the years 1765 and 1792 the English East India Company established their direct authority over Southern India. The Mysore and poligar depredations an enemy fed the country in a widespread uprising. Having no other recourse the Nawab agreed to assign his territories to the Company. This agreement between the Company and the Nawab made Assignment authorised and the Company to appoint receiver in each province of the Nawab for the collection of the revenue from the Nawab's amuldars. In this way, the decade that followed the Committee of Assignment of Revenue to the Company witnessed the

phenomenal growth of British influence in Madras.

Colonial's Beginning Acquisitions

In 1765 the English administered the Northern Circars through the deputies of the Nizam. On 12 August 1765 Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, by a firman granted the five circars of Rajahmundry, Kondapalli, Elloru, Srikakulam and Guntur as *inam* or free gift to the English. Mohammad Ali was confirmed as the Nawab by a *firman* from the Emperor of Delhi and given the title of 'Wallajah'.¹ But virtual supremacy in the South had actually passed into the hands of the

Company and the tone in which they wanted the Madras Council to address him in regard to Tanjore was by itself a sufficient evidence of this fact.

He sought the aid of the Company to occupy Dindigul from Mysore; but for fear outbreak of war, the Madras Council did not comply with. Accordingly, the East India Company began to acquire territories, first the Jaghir in 1765 and the Northern Circars in 1765 and following this the Maravas, the Tanjore and the parts of Madurai.²

Works of the Committee of Assigned Revenue

The wars of the English with Mysore had their direct bearing upon Tamilnadu. During 1780-1781 broke out the Second Mysore War. For the effective conduct of the War, the Madras Council suggested to the Nawab to assign the revenues of his territory to the Company. Mohammad Ali opposed; but subsequently agreed to a compromise proposal by which he transferred the collection of revenue for a period of five years and retained one sixth of it for his private expenses. This was known as the assignment. During this period a Committee of Assigned Revenue collected the taxes and maintained a regular supply of money, provisions and bullocks for the conduct of the War. The interests of the people and of their ruler suffered, while the English utilised the opportunity to study the administration of the land.³

The East India Company asked the Nawab of Arcot to compensate the War expenses it had incurred in the Carnatic. As the Nawab was not able to pay the amount, he complied with the request to make over the revenues of Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli. By an agreement made in February 1781, the Company appointed receivers in Tirunelveli and Tiruchirappalli provinces for the collection of the net revenue from the Nawab' *amuldars*. These receivers, however, had no right to interfere in the internal administration.⁴ In effect the receivers were entitled to exercise supervision over tax collection charges; but lacked the powers essential for control. Therefore, it was natural that the system did not work.

The Board of Revenue was not then in existence and on 16 October 1781 the Government appointed the Committee of

Assigned Revenue consisting of six officers including George Proctor, the first civil officer to Madras Province, for the purpose of receiving and administering the revenues of the Nawab. The members of the Committee were first called receivers and then Superintendents of Assigned Revenue, shortly Superintendents. They were the forerunners of the future district collectors. The Madras Council pressed the Nawab for an unconditional assignment of all the provinces of the Carnatic to the Company. Mohammad Ali, on the other hand opposed the demand and invoked a treaty which he settled with the Bengal Government in 1781. This treaty exempted him from all pecuniary demands beyond the expenses of ten battalions of troops of the Company and affirmed his sovereignty over the Carnatic. In order to rectify the situation the English asked the Nawab for an unconditional surrender of the revenue of all the provinces under him. Upon his refusal a compromise settlement was effected on 2 December 1781 by which he provided the transfer of the revenue of the Carnatic to the Company for a period of five years.⁵ The English obtained the privilege of settling the rent with the renters and poligars.⁶ While the Company agreed to pay one sixth of the settled rent to the Nawab, it consented to account the rest in his credit. This agreement covered all the provinces of the Carnatic, granted much discretion to the Company for the settlement of rent and ensured for it direct control over the renters. The Nawab's powers for the period of five years were restricted to his receipt of one sixth of the revenue and the appointment of the Company's nominees as renters.⁷

The Committee for the administration of the assignment consisted of a senior member and five members.⁸ It functioned through native officers called Company's Collectors, who resided at the taluq or district offices. Despite its limited knowledge on the details of revenue and customs of the inhabitants, it made an earnest attempt to improve the administration of revenue. Besides, it appointed its own nominees in the place of corrupt renters and restricted the number of the revenue servants to the bare minimum.⁹ Anxious to conciliate the poligars, it appointed the former chiefs of Wodayarpalayam and Ariyalur as the renters of their respective districts. These chiefs, in consequence, abandoned their alliance with Tipu Sultan and joined the Company.¹⁰ In an endeavour to win

the confidence of the chieftains, the Committee relieved them from the renter's jurisdiction which occasioned oppressive exactions and placed them under its direct authority.¹¹ The poligars, thus, for the first time came under the direct administration of the Company. However, the success of the Company appeared limited. It found it essential to rent extensive districts to the highest bidders and to entrust unrestricted authority over the renters for the strict enforcement of collections.¹² The assignment gave an excellent opportunity to the English to learn the administration of the country. It established a precedent of the Company's intervention on the Nawab's Government.¹³

Acquisitions of Early Revenue Experimented Area of Jaghir

Among the Company's early possession, the *jaghir* of Chengleput district formed an important territory. In the initial stages of Company's rule, the authorities in India and England thought it highly inexpedient to interfere hastily and ignorantly with the method of collecting revenue. They felt it expedient to allow the status quo to continue i.e. the collection of revenue by the Indian officers of the Nawab on behalf of the Company under the same terms and conditions obtaining under his administration. The havoc caused by war was intensified by a pernicious system of administration. Often the rulers relieved themselves of all trouble by farming out the right of revenue collection in particular areas to the highest bidder. The Nawab of the Carnatic was in the habit of making assignments of the revenue collection in the districts of his creditors. All these renters were a set of men utterly without principles and every kind of injustice and oppression was practised on the people. In the revenue management, the Rajas, zamindars and poligars regarded themselves as petty kings and were indeed able to exercise the most arbitrary authority within their districts with the knowledge of the Government. They in turn often rented out portions of their districts or appointed subordinate officers to collect the revenue.

The first general acquisition of territory by the East India Company from a revenue point of view was of the country around Madras known as the *jaghir* as originally granted by the Nawab of the Carnatic. The revenue thus assigned was

intended as a contribution towards the expenses of the wars undertaken in aid of the Nawab.¹⁴ The Nawab of Arcot gave away as *jaghir*, the region around Madras, in return for the services rendered to him by the Company. At first administration was not assumed and revenue were collected according to local custom. In 1780-1781 the *jaghir* was divided into blocks and sold to the highest bidders.¹⁵ In 1780 the Company attempted direct management and let out the country in fourteen large farms on leases of nine years at increasing rents. The renters themselves did not know how to manage and the Company pressed them for advances demanding help in order to start cultivation.¹⁶ Hence, the renters had repeatedly failed and their estates were sequestrated.

Abolition of the Committee of Assigned Revenue

It was at first rented to the Nawab on renewed leases for year to year until 1780¹⁷ for a sum of 3,68,350 pagodas a year.¹⁸ A survey was conducted during this period. On the assumption of the *jaghir* by the Company's Government, it was placed under the charge of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, to manage the Nawab's possessions in the Carnatic. When the *jaghir* came under the Company's management, great difficulties were experienced in laying down a rule for the division of the crops, each party claiming to himself the largest shares, which he had at any time, enjoyed. The Committee of Assigned Revenue, in 1783, let out the country in fourteen large farms on leases of nine years, at increasing rents. The renters, to whom it was farmed in 1783, were men of very low origin, needy and ignorant of the business in which they had engaged. When the Committee of Assigned Revenue received proposals for renting it, they were not possessed of any lights or materials that could properly guide their judgment, in fixing the rents. In 1784 a Company's servant was appointed at the instance of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, as resident in the *jaghir*, in order to see that the several stipulations contained in the *cowls* or leases, were put into execution.¹⁹ In 1786 the Committee of Assigned Revenue was abolished; but the Resident, however, continued to discharge his duties.²⁰ On the dissolution of the Committee, the general charge and control of affairs was confided to a superintendent with a clerk, being also a Company's servant, the

resident still continuing to discharge the duty formerly allotted to him. The districts were soon afterwards placed under the sole charge of the superintendent. In 1788 the *jaghir* was formed into two divisions, and each placed under a Collector who let, to the inhabitants in smaller portions on leases for three years. By 1789 the renters, with a few exceptions, had repeatedly failed in their payments under the leases for nine years.²¹ Therefore, their estates were sequestered and several of them were put into confinement.

In short, the assignment not only established the alienable character of the Nawab's administration but made deep inroads into the prerogatives of the Wallajahs. The Committee constituted for the administration of the assignment functioned through the Indian officers called the Company's collectors. The European settler's administrative experiments in revenue matters were introduced for collecting revenue. When the Company engaged themselves in revenue collection from the conquered and acquired territories, different kinds of revenue systems prevailed in the Presidency of Madras.

End Notes

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FROM CLASSROOM TO STREET: STUDENTS, CONGRESS AND THE RAJ IN COLONIAL TAMIL NADU, 1930 – 1932

Dr. S. Ganeshram

The Post 1922 period witnessed swift changes in the political spectrum of India. The suspension of the Non-co-operation Movement in fact made the leaders of the Congress to think in terms of other alternatives. As a result, there was a cleavage in the Indian National Congress which ultimately led to the formation of the *Swarajya* Party. The demand for reform became more vocal and meetings were held in different

parts of the country to drive home this point. The Government appointed several commissions such as the Lee Commission, Muddiman Commission and the Simon Commission to pacify the people. However, the report of these commissions did not satisfy the requirements of the people. Hence, they became disheartened. The leaders of the Congress now began to demand complete Independence. At this time the

death of Jatin Das¹(1929) of Calcutta created resentment among the students which in turn strengthened the cause of the Youth movement. The year 1929 witnessed the formation of many youth and student organizations all over India. Conferences were held at several places in Madras and other cities of India.

The Indian National Congress which had its session at Lahore on 29th December 1929 declared the attainment of complete independence as the ultimate goal of the Congress.² In order to achieve this, Congress party launched the Civil disobedience Movement. The resolution to this effect framed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru charged the British Government for not only depriving the Indians of their freedom but also ruining them economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. Therefore, the Congress wanted to sever the British connection and attain *Puranaswarai* or complete Independence.³ A manifesto which highlighted the concept of *Purana Swaraj* was sent to numerous Congress organisations throughout India.⁴ The movement was marked by organization of meetings, salt Satyagrahas, demonstrations, hartals, picketing of foreign cloth shops and non-payment of taxes.

The people of Tamil Nadu extended their whole hearted support to the movement.⁵ As decided at the Lahore Session of the Congress, 26th January 1930 was celebrated throughout the country as Independence Day.⁶ The Government initiated repressive measures to crush down the movement. Undaunted by this, Gandhiji launched the Civil Disobedience Movement in March 1930.

The nationalists gave priority to the salt satyagraha programme. On 12th March 1930 Gandhiji with his seventy eight chosen disciples started their historic march to break the salt law at Dandi.⁷ In one of his speeches during the course of the Dandi march Gandhiji appealed to the students to join the struggle. He said at Anand ". . . you students must suspend your studies for as long as the struggle continues. . . come out on the battle field and become mendicants for the sake of the country".⁸ The Congress leaders of Tamil Nadu echoed the sentiments expressed by Gandhiji. Such appeals produced favourable response. A good number of students left their institutions and participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement. They

demonstrated vehemently against the arrests of important leaders. At a meeting of the working committee of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee held on 18th August 1930 it was decided to picket schools and Colleges to catch the attention of the students who attend the class and enroll students and volunteers.⁹

Students and Salt Satyagraha:

As part of the salt Satyagraha campaign, C.Rajagopalachari organised a march from Trichinopoly to Vedaranyam on 13th April 1930 to break the salt law. Out of three hundred volunteers who expressed their desire to take part in the movement he selected hundred volunteers. Most of them were young-clerks, students and graduates.¹⁰ Students like K.Vinayaka Rao and K.Srinivasan were important volunteers of the Vedaranyam march.¹¹ O.V.Alagesan of Presidency College, Madras who wanted to but could not participate in the Dandi march was also admitted as a volunteer at Thirukattupalli.¹²

Nainappa Pillai, a Congress leader of South Arcot district started the salt satyagraha on 9th April 1930 at Kille (sea shore) near Chidambaram. He appealed to the student community to extend their mite to the cause of Satyagraha. As a mark of support the students who were present there, gave away their copying pencils, fountain pens and even shirt buttons which were promptly auctioned and the proceeds sent to the national fund.

On 21st April 1930, attempts were made in two different places on the sea shore under the leadership of Nainappa Pillai and Sudarasana Naidu to boil brine. A party of students assisted the leaders in their endeavor. At about 9.30 a.m one Venugopal, a student of Pudupalayam rushed to the leaders with the news that they had succeeded in manufacturing salt. To testify it, he brought a broken piece of pot with some salt. About thirty students took part in it. This development inspired the students to such an extent that they began to evince keen interest in the movement. The students tried to manufacture salt from brine and collected money for the salt satyagraha programme.¹³

Students and Madras Swadeshi League:

The Madras Swadeshi League organised an exhibition with the help of Madras Youth

League in July 1930. The exhibition was inaugurated by P.C.Rayon.¹⁴ Swadeshi items were sold in the exhibition. The principal members of the Swadeshi committee of Youth League visited schools and colleges to spread the message. This Youth League had much influence and support among the students of Madras Loyola, Pachaiyappa's and Christian Colleges. For the purpose of selling the Swadeshi goods outside the Madras city limits, a bus was bought. H.Sarajini Rajan, a member of the League Executive and an inmate of Queen Mary's College Hostel spared no efforts to popularise the movement among the girl students of that institution. Swadeshi notebook marketed by Swadeshi sub-committee was sold to the college and school students for four annas.¹⁵ It should be noted here that few college teachers also took part in the construction work unmindful of the Government attitude. Professor J.P.Joshua of Madras Christian College associated himself with the Swadeshi League and took part in the propaganda work in favour of Swadeshi goods.¹⁶ So also, Professor B.Ramajoga Rao¹⁷ and Professor N.G.Ranga¹⁸ took an abiding interest in the movement.

Meanwhile realizing the growing influence of Civil Disobedience Movement amidst the students, the Government held the Congress squarely responsible for dragging the students into the vortex of politics. The Government blamed the Congress for spoiling the career of students and appealed to the students to come out of the movement.¹⁹ But such appeals had no effect on students and they continued to take part in the movement.

In Madras city active student participation in the movement started with the death of Govindasamy. He was an advocate of Ambulance and Boy Scout activities. He died on 29th April 1930 because of gunshot wound in abdomen while participating in the picketing of foreign cloth shops. News of his death spread like wildfire among the city students. The enraged students who found it hard to digest the death of their beloved Boy Scout activist Govindasamy gathered near Pycrafts Road threw stones and chappals on the Police.²⁰ The Assistant Commissioner of Police had to visit the spot to bring the situation under control. Few students were taken into custody. However later they were handed over to their parents.²¹

The students of Madras decided to organise a hartal on 29th August 1930 to condemn the arrest of prominent Congress leaders at Delhi. The students of Pachaiyappa's college left their classes. A band of High School boys went round the bazaar and exhorted the students of Hindu Theological High School and Muthialpet High School to come out of their classes. They also made the Headmistress of W.F.C.M.Girls' School to close the school. Meanwhile the students of Christian College also joined the processionists. They went around the Paris Corner and requested the shop keepers of China Bazaar and Esplanade to close their shops. Anticipating clash between students and Police, all the shops in the above mentioned area were closed in the evening.²²

The students of the Hindu High School, Triplicane celebrated 'Gandhi Cap Day' on 15th September 1930. A large number of students not only attended the school wearing Gandhi caps²³ but also brought caps for distribution to other students especially to sons of government officials. After doing this they came out of the school and held a demonstration. The students of Kellet High School, Triplicane also extended their support to the students of the Hindu High School. Twenty five students were arrested and later they were released on the same day.²⁴ Because of such anti-British activities, the Director of Public Instruction warned the Headmaster of Hindu High School that the government will not release the grant if he failed to take severe action against the students for indulging in such activities. The school Headmaster Subramania Ayyar had a soft corner for the students. He blamed the police for unnecessarily beating the small boys perceptuating the issue. However the school management which viewed the matter with concern suspended three students for a fortnight and fined seven students after an enquiry.²⁵

In November 1930 alone, seventy persons, mostly students were convicted for offences connected with the Civil Disobedience Movement. In October 1930 the students of Madras city colleges organised hartal to protest against the re-arrest and conviction of Nehru.²⁶ The Congress leaders appealed to the public to take part in large number in the 'Flag Salutation' ceremony planned on 25th January 1931 and observe a hartal on 26th January in connection

with the 'Independence Day' celebration. A large number of students who responded to this appeal celebrated 'Flag Salutation' ceremony and gathered near king's statue and shouted slogans like "Gandhi-ki-Jai" and 'Close shops'.²⁷ When the Independence Day was celebrated on 26th January 1931 all the city schools and colleges declared a holiday except Pachaiyappa's College. But the students of the college did not attend their colleges. By then the crowd in front of the college swelled due to the arrival of students from other schools and colleges. Expecting violence, police tried to disperse the students. The students retaliated by pelting stones, shoes and other missiles at the police. Finding the situation getting out of control, the police made a lathi charge on the students and the public.²⁸ Enraged by this, a meeting of the college union was convened the very next day, with Professor Subramania Iyer in the chair. The meeting passed a resolution which condemned the "indiscriminate and severe lathi charge" on the students.²⁹

Thus in the city of Madras, the students extended their whole hearted support to the movement. They took active part in the picketing of shops which sold foreign cloth. This affected the revenue of the government to a great extent.³⁰ The students of Pachaiyappa's College and Loyola College played a leading role in the programme connected with the Civil Disobedience Movement.³¹ From Pachaiyappa's College alone fifteen students left the institution and joined the movement during the period from 23rd June to September 1930. Many students of Queen Mary's, Loyola and Pachaiyappa's colleges were dismissed from their colleges for taking part in the movement.³²

Trichinopoly

Among the districts of Tamil Nadu, Trichinopoly took a leading role in the movement.³³ Since the headquarters of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee was located at Trichinopoly and also due to vigorous congress propaganda, the movement began to attract the attention of the students. As a result picketing of colleges and schools was successfully organised. A few arrests were also made in this connection.³⁴ During September 1930 a large number of students of St. Joseph's College, Bishop Hebbur College and National College boycotted the classes to demonstrate their

support to the non violent struggle organised by Gandhiji.³⁵ On 5th September 1930, a public meeting was held in front of the Trichi Town Hall. The students in large numbers participated in it. Paul Ramasamy, a student of the Bishop Hebbur College and Ramachandran Nedungadi of the National College delivered 'inflammatory speeches'. Paul Ramasamy requested the students to join the movement and to hoist national flags. After the meeting, the students organised procession. On 7th September 1930 the students of Trichinopoly schools and colleges not only hoisted the National flags over their hostels but also encouraged the bazaar shop keepers to do the same.³⁶ A large number of students and sympathisers numbering about 1000 went in a procession along the main streets of Trichinopoly with national flags and singing national songs.³⁷

Realizing the strength and patriotic feelings of Trichinopoly students, the District Magistrate passed an order under Section 144 Cr.P.C., preventing demonstrations or picketing. In order to suppress the student activities, the administration forced the college and school authorities to take severe action on students who took part in the movement. A large number of students were arrested and imprisoned. A few students were dismissed from the colleges. Heavy fines were imposed on the students who absented from attending the classes. Scholarships of those students who took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement were cancelled. To stop further student activities important student leaders were expelled from the hostels.³⁸

Madurai

At Madurai most of the students of the Madura College abstained from classes as a protest against the imprisonment of Jawaharlal Nehru. An emergency meeting of the college council was held and a resolution was passed punishing the students with cancellation of three days' attendance.³⁹

Coimbatore

In Coimbatore the students of Government Arts College, London Mission High School and Municipal High School took out processions and demonstrations on 9th and 10th July 1930 in support of the Congress programme.⁴⁰ C.V. Ramakrishna, a student of the Government

Arts College who left the college to join the Civil Disobedience Movement was arrested and sentenced to two years imprisonment.⁴¹

Chidambaram

At Chidambaram in South Arcot district the students of Sri Meenakshi College⁴² celebrated the 'Independence Day' on 26th January 1930 and went round the principal streets of the town shouting slogans like 'Gandhi-ki-jai' and 'down with imperialism'.⁴³ The students of Annamalai University observed a hartal on 30th October 1930 to protest against the incarnation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.⁴⁴

Suspension and renewal of the Movement:

Meanwhile, the Government was very keen to secure the cooperation of Congress to run the administration peacefully. By a settlement reached between Gandhiji and Lord Irwin on 5th March 1931, the Congress agreed to participate in the Round Table Conference to be held in London.⁴⁵ The Government then agreed to withdraw all the ordinances which tried to retard the force of the national movement and to release the political prisoners. After the First Round Table Conference Congress withdrew the Civil Disobedience Movement.⁴⁶ But the Gandhi - Irwin Pact remained only for a short time. The Round Table Conference failed to achieve

anything. Lord Willington took severe actions against the Congress workers. So the Civil Disobedience Movement was once again resumed by the Congress early in January 1932.⁴⁷ This led to the arrest of Gandhiji, Nehru and other leaders.⁴⁸ The students successfully organised hartals to protest against the arrest of Congress delegates to Calcutta.⁴⁹ On 9th November 1933 black flag procession was organised by the students of Madras city in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement.⁵⁰ The resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement was put down by the government. Although the second Civil Disobedience Movement failed to achieve its objective, it created anti-imperialistic feelings among the people. This was evident from the fact that almost all the Congress candidates got victory at the general constituencies in 1937 election.⁵¹

The nature of the student participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement clearly showed the mental maturity of the students to decide their priorities and their appreciation of the struggle for freedom. However, this could not be attained fully due to the repressive measures of the administration. Besides Madras, the students of Trichinopoly, Chidambaram, Coimbatore and Madurai also took an active part in the movement.

End Notes

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9. The Civil Disobedience Movement 1930-31 Confidential, p.179
10. David Arnold, *The Congress in Tamil Nadu*, New Delhi, 1977, pp.118-119.
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13. History of freedom Movement Extracts from Secret Reports relating to Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930-39, Bundle No.6, pp.189-94.
14. Fortnightly Report, 2nd August 1930
15. History of Freedom Movement, Secret File No.705, 29th August 1930, Bundle No. 6, p.349
16. Under Secretary's Secret Safe (Hereafter U.S.S.) File No.705 of 1930
17. *The Hindu*, 12th May 1930
18. U.S.S.File No.705 of 1930
19. History of Freedom Movement: Relating to Civil Disobedience Movement 1929-30, Bundle No.6, p.288
20. U.S.S.File No.683-A, 30th April 1930
21. U.S.S.File No.683-B, 20th May 1930
22. U.S.S.File No. 683-C, 2nd July 1930
23. White Caps made of Khadi were called Gandhi Caps. They were generally worn by members of the Congress. During the martial law regime people were not allowed to wear Gandhi Cap in public.

24. Fortnightly Report, 3rd October 1930
25. U.S.S.File No. 683-C, 2nd July 1930
26. Fortnightly Report, 17th October 1930
27. *Ibid.*, 3rd February 1930
28. U.S.S.File No.683-D, 22nd April 1931
29. *The Hindu*, 28th January 1931
30. *The Hindu*, 7th February 1931
31. U.S.S.File No.699-H of 1930
32. *Ibid.*, 699-G of 1930
33. *Ibid.*, 699-H of 1930
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35. U.S.S.File No.699-H of 1930
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LOCAL MARKET AS AN INTEGRATING CENTRE OF PRODUCTION AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY IN THE CASE OF VANIYAMKULAM

C. Geetha

Introduction

Kerala had been a hub of commercial activities since centuries. She has occupied an important place in the trade map of the world, which in turn influenced the socio-culture and political setting. Both indigenous and foreign trade had flourished here. Local Market or *angadis* played a major role in the internal trade of Kerala right from the ancient time. Vaniyamkulam is a village at Ottapalam taluk in Palakkad district. It was a part of Valluvanadu, one of the famous natus. The Cattle market here is the icon of the cultural heritage of this village. Vaniyamkulam *Chantha* bears a remarkable place in the history of Valluvanadu. The history of this *Chantha* dates back from the time when agricultural growth led to surplus produce as a result the exchange system started and trade practices developed. A place for the exchange of commodities developed as *chantas*. The location of the Vaniyamkulam Chanta is significant because this is a place where different trade routes are meeting. This type of *Chanthas* were existed in Kerala except Cochi and Malabar and still continues to be play an important role in the trade and commerce of agricultural products and livestock. Perumpilavu, Coyalmannam, Manjeri, Koottilangadi Kottatharaetc. are *chanthas* functioning even today. They played important

function in the evolutionary process of urbanisation of these centres. *Chanthas* had played an important role in the process of urbanization and economic development of a society, wherever they existed. The first cattle market of Kerala established by Mooppil Nair of Kavalappara in Vaniyamkulam.¹

Agricultural growth in the hinterland, the availability of surplus, the amount of importance given to the commerce and trade in the development of commodity production and exchanging the hinterland are certain necessary pre conditions to urban growth.² The rate of growth in the agricultural yields, in the surrounding areas of the Vaniyamkulam *chantha* and the availability of other commodities and consumer goods like apparels, ornaments and costumes were available here, due to the presence of major trade routes pass through this spot. *Chanthas* can be discussed as a developed system of primitive exchanges. The Growth of trade and markets are believed to provide the locus for the growth of urban centres, the distinction between urban and the rural or between the country and the town are reduced to the basic form of economic operations conducted in the respective centres, agriculture and trade.³

Trade Practices in Vaniyamkulam

The local trade system includes different types of Chantas as well as angadis. *Chanthas* can be classified according to the frequency of the conducting, location where it is established, the commodities available for trade and the time when it is operated. That is why we have weekly *chanthas*, *kadavu chanthas*, *kali chanthas* (cattle market), *anthi chantha* (functions at evening)...etc. The Chantha of Vaniyamkulam is considered as a Weekly Chantha, because it is held weekly at once at the same time it is a kali chantha too. Normally this Chanta starts functioning on Wednesday at 10 am and ends at Friday noon. However peak time of trade activities is on Thursday. Hence it is known as *Vyazhacha* (Thursday) *Chantha*. The exchange of the cattle is a very peculiar practice. When the animal or animals ready for sale it is exhibited in the market, those who wants to buy the cattle says aloud the price he is ready to pay for it. Then there will be a heated bargaining between the seller and buyer, The climax is when the third person enters into the scene. He is the middle man who interferes and finally settle the amount and if both of the buyer and seller agree with the rate finally they reached, then a handful of grass will be forcefully put into the hands of the traders, this is the sign that the sales of the cattle is settled at last. In some occasion instead of the grass, the towel (*thorth mundu*) is used. This system is known as *poruthukachavadam* and the middleman is paid a sum both by the seller and buyer for the settlement of the transaction.

The land of *chantha* divided into many parts to provide space for each traders for which he/she had to pay rent. The space provided for the traders are exclusively for the use of keeping their commodity for sale. Different portions of Chantha were allotted for the trade of different commodities and these portion is called *theruvu*. The following are the commodities kept in each *teruvu* for trade such as Cattles, rice, Vegetables, bamboo products, coir, cloths, potteries, iron implements, gold silver ornaments. Each *theruvu* named after the product that sold there. *Ariteruvu* (rice), *Panditeruvu* (grocery), *Muthantheruvu* (gold and silver), *Mattutheruvu* (cattles), *meenteruvu* (fish), *Kumbharateruvu* (pottery), *Tholpattateruvu* (leather) ...etc. were some of the important *theruvus*.⁴ *Mattutheruvu* is existing for cow and buffaloes, goats are also sold here.

The style and volume of trade and commerce has transformed in the course of time. Upto forty years before the commodities were exchanged inside the Chantha itself, but now there are grocery and vegetable markets outside, today the marketplace exclusively used for the trade of livestock. The livestock includes cow, bullocks, buffalo, goat, cock. The number of cattles were increased from hundred or so in the earlier times or before forty to fifty years increased to thousands today. It may be because the conveyance or transportation of animals has become restricted by rules by the Government now that the cattle from distant places are brought here by huge trucks protected from rain and sunlight by covering the truck. In former days cattles were brought here by walking a long distance from Tamilnadu and Anthrapradesh. Today on the day of Chantha more than fifty trucks can be seen parked along the highway, that used for the transportation of the cattle to and fro.

Trade routes and trade relations

There are different trade routes that pass by the Chantha which facilitated trade in a higher rate than it was in the chanthas of the same category. The chantha of Vaniyamkulam was and is a place, where three major trade routes met. One started from Kaverypoompattanam through Palakkad Pass headed towards Ponnani and the second one from Thirunalveli, through Chengotta crossing Western Ghats and going through Thiruvillamala, crossing river Nila coming to Vaniyamkulam and then to Panayur kotta, Koppam, Angadippuram ending in Kozhikode. The Third route passing through Vaniyamkulam was from Cholanadu through Attapadi, Mannarkkad, Sreekrishnapuram, and Anangan Hills.⁵ These trade routes enhanced the facilities of Vaniyamkulam Chantha up to an extent compared to the other trade hubs distributed along these trade routes.⁶

Commodities and goods for trade were brought to this Chantha from nearby places, Palakkad and adjacent states of Kerala that are Tamil Nadu and Andrapradesh. Vegetables are brought from different parts of the village itself. Cattles were brought mainly from Hyderabad and Tamilnadu, coir from Ponnani, grocery from Tamilnadu.⁷

The major portions of the commodities transacted here were brought by the natives. But in the case of cattles it is not so. Cattles were bought and transported to other districts in Malabar and Cochin. For further sale cattles were taken to other markets such Perumpilavu, Coyalmannam. Cattles were brought from and then taken to Cattle Chanthas Perumpilavu and Coyalmannam.

The trade and related transactions in these Chanthas were not meant to gain profit, but for fulfilling the daily needs of life.

Congregation of population takes place in different ways. The passage of a large number of population along the same path resulting in the formation of a route or channel, in which locality becomes a stopover. Several channels cross the locality, through the identification of locality assume network a clear form, a separate space or nodes within the network of channels. When the network becomes more complex connecting many nodes and the original locality or another node grown into an urban centre within the cluster of nodes⁸

Diverse trade and commercial practices in Chantha for long years give rise to a heterogeneous group of communities surrounding areas of the Chantha. Vaniyamkulam Chantha and its neighbouring Place Koonathara is noted for residing different sections of chettiya communities. These communities occupies an important role in the development of trade in this area.

Archaeology of the site

The total area of the Chanta is 6.5 acre and this land is under the ownership of Vaniyamkulam Grama Panchayath. There has been a Chanthapura attached to the market ground. This building was being used by the traders and officials who collected chungam, as a resting place. Now the authority to collect rent from the land rests with the local self-Government i.e. the Vaniyamkulam Grama Panchayath. The pond Vaniyamkulam after which the village is named as Vaniyamkulam. The pond is very near to the market. The practice of conducting trade (vanibham) near the surroundings of this pond (Kulam) combined originated the name vaniyamkulam.⁹ The land which is used as the Chantha is about 6.5 acres have banyan trees

and two small old houses. There signs of an old gate which is now seen closed because of its small size. Now the entrance is the east side of the land. The land is laying in terraced mode, the upper portion of the land was for the trade of gold and silver and lower part is exclusively for the cattles. An auditorium has been built by panchayath on one corner of the upper part of this land. Realizing the importance of Vaniyamkulam as an important trading hub, new trading groups has emerged during the last decades. Today a large dry fish market is functioning in the town near the *Chantha*.¹⁰

It is learnt from the field visit that there are many settlements of chettis can be seen in the eastern and southern parts of the market. Chettis belongs to different sections like Tamil, Vellala, Chakkans, Vaisya, Vaniya, Muthaliyars Kumbara, Pappada, Vala Chettis....etc. There are Mariyamman temples in their residing area. Among the Chettis Telungu Chettis (24 Mana) migrated from Tamilnadu and Anthrapradesh and speaking Telungu language.¹¹ The presence of these (Vaniks) groups plays an important role in the trading scenario of Vaniyamkulam.

Manufacture of goods and production for market came under merchant control through collective investments.¹² This is true in the case of Vaniyamkulam. The trade practices of the locality is attained as an important one in relation to the craft works. The traditional craft groups like Carpenter, Parayar, Blacksmith, and Panar, Kurvar...etc. These craft man played a major role in meeting the domestic needs of local people by producing home appliances, utensils and agricultural tools.¹³ Some of these groups closely related with the production and sale of the materials needed to the agricultural practices of this area. Varieties of iron implements are brought in the market for sale. These practices are rarely seen today. There were open fronted stalls ran the length of the ground. Realizing the importance of the Vaniyamkulam as an important trading hub, new trading groups emerged in due course.

Conclusion

The bio-diverse culture of the region also contributed the commercial as well as agrarian development. These features of the locality helped Vaniyamkulam to develop as an important place in trade and commercial

practices. Vaniyamkulam has great historical importance with regard to trade and commercial practices that still continue. The development

and present position of Chantha has an important role in the social economic and cultural history of Palakkad.

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AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN THE MEDIEVAL PAGANUR KURRAM

R. Govindaraj

The agricultural practices of the ancient Tamils provide ample scope for the study of their agricultural heritage. The ancient Tamils raised crops, domesticated cattle for farm – use and developed suitable farming implants. They adopted tank irrigation of their lands and whenever the monsoons failed and tanks got dried up, they dug wells for tapping sub – soil water. They had also attempted to study all aspects of agriculture relating to seeds, their storage and vigor. They knew that weeds also came up along with crops, and so they followed suitable methods to destroy them. They took measures to protect the crops carefully. In this paper, an attempt has been made to classify the Sangam literature and inscriptional evidences for the agricultural activities of Paganur Kurram (present Vadipatti taluk) and understand the agricultural significance.

The agricultural practices of the ancient Tamils provide ample scope for the study of their agricultural heritage. The ancient Tamils raised crops, domesticated cattle for farm – use and developed suitable farming implants. They adopted tank irrigation of their lands and whenever the monsoons failed and tanks got dried up, they dug wells for tapping sub – soil water. They had also attempted to study all aspects of agriculture relating to seeds, their

storage and vigor. They knew that weeds also came up along with crops, and so they followed suitable methods to destroy them. They took measures to protect the crops carefully. Knowing that each crop exhausted the nutrients of the soil they applied manures to the field – before raising the next crops or adopted rotation of crops. These practices were improved and refined by successive generations of farmers and handed down to posterity as a traditional system of agriculture.¹

In this paper, an attempt has been made to classify the Sangam literature and inscriptional evidences for the agricultural activities of Paganur Kurram (present Vadipatti taluk) and understand the agricultural significance. The main occupation of the ancient Tamil people and was agriculture and cultivation and they were most respected.² Agriculture, though laborious, was the most excellent form of labour for people though they go about (in search of various employments) have at last to resort to the farmer.³ Farmers were aware of different soil types, the best crops to grow and the varieties of irrigation systems suitable for any given region. Ancient Tamil country has been classified into five geographical regions according to Sangam literature, the Marudam region was the fit for cultivation, as it had the most fertile lands. Land

was classified, according to its fertility, as Menpulam⁴ (fertile land), Pinpulam⁵ (dry land) and Vanpulam⁶ (hard land). Menpulam yielded rich produce on a variety of crops, but pinpulam was cultivated only with dry crops due to limited irrigation facilities. The yield from Vanpulam was limited. Some of the well known types of soil have alluvial soil, red soil, block soil, laterite soil and sandy soil. The Tamil country stood as an agrarian region from the 6th-7th AD., century onwards. The *Pallavas* and the *Pandyas* were the early dynasties deeply involved in the promotion of agriculture; thereby they developed number of water sources for irrigation purpose. The rivers were intercepted by constructing the dams in between and many sluices. Channels were also created. The state took responsibility of creating the water sources and also assured the supply of water according to the needs of the area and crop.⁷

Classified Lands

The agricultural activities were carried out in different kinds of lands, such as *nanjai nilam*, *neer nilam*, *vayakkal*, *vayal* (wet and fertile lands), *punjai nilam* (dry land), *karunjai* (black soil), *vilaiyum nilam* (yielding land), *kollai nilam*, *kadu*, *thottam*. Flower seems to have been and planted in *Nandavanam*, *Tirunandavanam* and *solai*. Flower was supplied to the local temple. The lands such as *thidal* (up land) *tharisu*, *palnilam* were considered not suitable for cultivation.

Nanjai Nilam

Tiruvetagam inscription says about *Nanja*⁸ lands were abundance here because of the reason that they were watered by river Vaigai. The *nanjai* land was suitable for wet crops, for paddy and sugarcane. There are many references to the cultivation of different food crops in the Sangam literature. Paddy was the main crop, with different varieties grown in wetland of the *nanjai* or Marudam land such as *channel* (red variety), *vennel*, (white variety),⁹ *pudunel* (new variety), *ivananel* (five varieties) and *torai*.¹⁰ Though there are references to the five varieties of paddy, the region under study, i.e. Paganur Kurram seems to have cultivated a general variety of paddy, is called simply *nel*¹¹ in Kuruvitturai inscriptions mentioned. Sangam classic Ingurunuru mentions that a village in Vadipatti region sugar cane was planted abundantly in Tenur.¹² The poet mentions that

the sugar cane crusher factory produced noise similar to that of a voice of elephants.

Nanjai land has been called by several names such as *vayal*,¹³ *vasakka*¹⁴ or *vayakkal*, *neer nilam*¹⁵ and *palanam*.¹⁶ These lands seem to have situated in the very fertile region only. These lands were suitable for the cultivation of paddy and sugarcane. Lines of *Ingurunuru* and epigraphically records one could understand that the Vadipatti region had different kinds of wet and fertile lands and the people there were cultivated paddy, sugar cane bamboo rice etc.

Vilainilam

An inscription of the *Alagarkovil* says *Vilainilam*¹⁷ was a land suitable. Whether *nanjai* or *punjai* for the cultivation of crops. Cultivation has depended upon the quality of land suitable for the cultivation of certain crops.

Neer nilam and Neer nilainilam

Kuruvitturai and Tiruvetagam inscriptions gave details an account about *Neer nilam*¹⁸ and *Neer nilainilam* were also called as *nanjainilam* and they were provided water from the river Vaigai.

Nilam

The word *nilam* denoted two types of lands such as *nanjai* and *punjai*. The land or *nilam* was based as a common land without mentions of their water resources. The lands were demarcated as per the four surrounding boundaries mentioned by Kuruvitturai inscription.¹⁹

Padugai

Velvikudi copper plate gave the information about *padugai*.²⁰ Flat surface type of land was called as *padugai* which was irrigated by river water. Here richest alluvial soils abundantly existed. It's also a *nanjai* land where paddy and sugar cane were cultivated.

Kollainilam

Naturally bushes grown and upland are called as *Kollainilam*,²¹ there is only one epigraphically record from temple of *Tenkarai Mulanathasamy*, which merely says as

kollainilam. Here naturally grown bushes and creepers vegetables, such as bitterguard, bottleguard, kovaikai might have been cultivated.

Thottam

Tenkarai Mulanathasamy temple inscriptions and Velvikudi copper plate gave the below details. *Thottam*,²² *thoppu*²³ means at area in which trees were grown abundantly. *Thottam* was also called *thottakuru*²⁴ and *thottakadamai*.²⁵ Here *naga*,²⁶ *mango*,²⁷ *kamugu*²⁸ (*arecanuts*) and *thengu*²⁹ (coconut tree) trees were planted.

Nandavanam

Kuruvitturai Chitraratha Vallabhaperumal and Kilmattur Manikanthesvaram, these temples inscriptions speak about *Nandavanam* and *Tirunandavanam*. The flower garden was called as *Nandavanam*,³⁰ *Tirunandavanam*.³¹ Here flower was planted and those flowers were supplied to the local temples for the performances of pujas. The flower plants cultivated in the temple gardens were *kuavalai* (*Indian water lily*), *sengaluneer* (*red kuvalai*), *malligai* (*jasmine*), *perunsenbagam*, *siru senbagam*, *iruvatchi*³² etc. In additions to the above these were also other thottams seem to have existed in this region. They included *poonthottam*, *thengu nandavanam*, *kamugu nandavanam* and *kamugu thottam*.³³

Punjainilam

Kuruvitturai and Tiruvedagam inscriptions mentions about *Punjainilam*³⁴ are a dry land.the irrigation of this land mainly depends on rain

water only. This land was suitable for the cultivation of dry bearing crops. Tiruvedagam Edaganathar temple inscription gives the details of some dry crops such as *tinai*,³⁵ *varagu*,³⁶ *gingelly*,³⁷ *pullu*³⁸ and *irungu*³⁹ cultivated here.

Karunjainilam

*Karunjai*⁴⁰ land was suitable for cotton cultivation; As the soil of this land was called as *karunjai*. An inscription from Tenkarai mentions that *panjupeel*⁴¹ cotton crop was cultivated in this land.

Seasonal crops

Seasonal crops also were cultivated in this region. Epigraphically records belongs to Tiruvedagam mentions about the cultivation of kuruva crops (short term) in the month of *adi*,⁴² *aipas*⁴³ and *masi*.⁴⁴

Summary

Paganur Kurram comprised of the present Vadipatti and a part of Nilakkottai taluk during the ancient and medieval period. This region is a very fertile and greenish wetland area because of the Vaigai River water supply. Paddy and sugarcane were cultivated abundantly here since Sangam period. Velvikudi copper plates, Sangam classic literature and epigraphically records mention about the fertile nature of this and it water sources Pandya kings constructed many Channels, canal, and sluices for promoting agriculture in this region. It's a Brahmadeya land and many efforts were taken for agricultural developments by the Brahmins.

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A HISTORICAL NARRATION ON THE ECONOMY OF THE KADAR TRIBE OF VAZHACHAL SETTLEMENT

Greshma Benny

Introduction

The Imperial Gazetteer of India 1911, defines a tribe as a "collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogams though originally it might have been so". The tribal people are living in hills and forests for many centuries led a solitary life of their own, generally not influenced by the currents of the latest development taking place outside. Today they are at different stages of economic development. On one extreme they are primitive tribes still at food gathering stage in the remote hilly areas and on the other extreme the tribe seeking out their livelihood in the vicinity of industrial and mining complexes.¹

Among the scheduled tribes some tribes are more backward than others. They have been classified as the primitive tribes. Primitive tribal communities live more or less in isolation with a very simple lifestyle. Most of these communities are small in size and their growth rate is slow. They have been referred to as constituting the lowest layer among the scheduled tribe communities by the Dhebar Commission in 1963. They are at a pre- agricultural level of technology and at an extremely low level of

literacy. Seventy four scheduled tribe communities had been identified as primitive which spread over 17 states and Union Territories. In order to develop them Government has put forward separate micro projects and various other schemes which provides integrated development of these communities through convergence of education, health and income generating schemes.²

In Kerala five scheduled tribes are identified as particularly vulnerable tribal groups. They are the Cholanaikan, Kattunaikans, Kurumbas, Koragas and Kadar. They constitute nearly 5 per cent of the total scheduled tribe population in the state.

Kadar

Kadar's are one among the five Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG) of Kerala is the original inhabitants of the state residing in the Cochin forest region. They are distributed in Palakkad and Thrissur districts and adjoining forest of Tamil Nadu. The Kadar's of the Cochin forests speak a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam, while those of Anamalai hills speak the kind of tamil called Malasir. Kadar's are light hearted and wild, but not as simple as presumed. Contact with the advanced societies has brought changes in the normal primitive life.³

The term Kadar was derived from the Malayalam word 'Kadu' meaning forest. The tribe obviously got the name because they exclusively live in forest. The "Kadar land" lays between 10 degree 20 minutes and 48 minutes north and 76 degree 30 minutes and 55 minutes east, at the tri-junction of the Coimbatore district of Tamil Nadu and the Palakkad and Thrissur districts of Kerala. They are also known as Cochin Kadar's since their territory was under the former Cochin state. The Kadars of Cochin is different from a community known by the same name living in Wayanad area. In appearance and physical characteristics both the sections have nothing in common.^{iv} Kadar's are of average height, robust, deep chested and long armed. The highest percentage of skin colour is seen in the occurrence of dark ruddy brown colour. Dark brown colour is seen among then men and light brown among the females only. Kadar has frizzy hair. A large number of Kadar of both sexes was seen with their incisors chipped. The Kadar people have the highest frequency of blood group O followed by blood group B and A.⁵

Economic activities of the Kadar

The main source of livelihood of the Kadar tribe is collection of minor forest produce. It is the most traditional occupation practised among the Kadar tribe. To trace the history of minor forest collection thirty members of the Vazhachal settlement were interviewed. The minor forest produce starts with the word "minor" but it is the major source of livelihood for the tribes. The minor forest produce has the significant economic and social value for the forest dwellers as an estimated 100 million people derive their livelihood from the collection and marketing of minor forest produce. The importance of minor forest produces for this section of the society can be gauged from the facts that around million forest dwellers depend on minor forest produces for food, shelter, medicines and cash income. Tribals derive 20-40% of their annual income from minor forest produce on which they spend major portion of their time⁶. On the basis of the information collected, the collection of the minor forest produce has undergone various changes due to many factors including the legislative measures taken by the government. From the colonial period onwards tribal people faced many

difficulties due to the enactment of certain forest laws by the British and even after independence.

During the colonial period the British established the forest department in 1864 to check the monopoly over the forest. Indian forest act of 1865 and 1878 act restricted the tribal people to collect and use the minor forest produce. After independence the Indian Government formulated a new forest policy in the year 1952 popularly known as National New Forest Policy of 1952 which has imposed more restrictions on tribal communities to access minor forest produces. The Wild life Protection Act of 1972 restricted the tribal people to enter into the protected forest areas. Only in 1988 the first opportunity to use and participate in management of forest resources and its use was permitted. The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (recognition of forest right) Act 2006 popularly known as the Forest Rights Act was enacted in 2007. The act recognizes and vests individuals forest in and cultivate forest land that was occupied before 13 December 2005 and granted community forest rights to manage, protect and regenerate the forest. And these rights also made provisions for the tribal people to collect and use or to market forest produce.⁷

The major resources centers of the Vazhachal colony areas are Pachilavallam, Karadipara, Athirappilly, Ittyanni, Koranganpara, Kannarkuzhi, Kundumedu, Komallapara, Charappadam, Pandimudi, Muthuvarachal, Urukombankootty, Lakshmikullam, Pachakadu, Pokalapara. These are areas where the people of the Vazhachal settlement go for the collection of the minor forest produce.⁸

The Kadar's knew everything about the forest and they were free to use all the products of the forest and to move freely in the forest areas. The Kadar men were solely engaged in the collection of forest produce and they had plenty of things to eat. They were also engaged in barter system and exchange these collected products for other things which they were in so much need and usually sold them through *pattikavaraga* (ST) cooperative societies functioning at Thekkady, Sholayar, Palapally and Nelli Yamapathi. Even after moving to settlements also they always go to the forest for the collection of minor forest as a part of that some

are mostly residing in the forest. But lot of changes has taken place after moving to these settlements in their way of engaging with the forest. Not everyone single person goes to the forest but only those who are solely engaged in this activity others used to be in the houses with other kind of jobs. Government has allotted special kind of ID cards for those tribal men who are going to the forest for the collection of the minor forest produce to cross the forest check post without any trouble. Before that it was their wish and they were free to go anything to forest without seeking any prior permission from forest office. From the colonial period onwards tribal people faced many difficulties due to the enactment of certain forest laws by the British and even after independence.⁹

Once in a month Kadar people will be going to forest for more than two or three times. When they go they will be spending nearly one week or something it can be one month. Kadar men are solely engaged in collecting forest produce. They will be going in groups to the forest whole family will be accompanying them along with their pets especially dogs. They knew every single corner of the forest more clearly than anyone else and the availability of the particular products and the best time to collect them.¹⁰

While going to forest they used to carry all the necessary things for the days of stay which includes food materials, huge ropes, cans for bringing honey and other products, and other tools they required. Earlier they had to get the necessary things to take honey from the trees. But now the tribal department is supplying them through the VSS. Kadar Women who follows her husband cooks food for them and also helps him in collecting the minor produce and in keeping the items safe. Once they reach the forest, the first thing they do is to find a place to stay most probably they will be settling near to some water bodies where they construct small shed. Next day onwards they start their work.¹¹

While going to forest there able to eat the meat of the dead animal but now they are not allowed even to touch them that actually had affected the health of the Kadar people. while going for collecting the minor forest produce they will always have encounters with the wild animals especially elephants. Most of the Kadar

people find these animals to be not dangerous at all. In the personal conversation with the people there are rare times when these animals tend to be dangerous so to manage the situations they used to carry *thotta*, it's a kind of cracker with huge sound. These wild animals are some much sacred of these heavy sounds and they also make use of some metallic tins. They use these tins to produce some kinds of sounds to ward off the animals.¹² This is the only kind of self-defence they carry while going to the forest. When the provisions that they carried with them got over they come back again collects the things and goes back to the forest. Now due to intervention of the tribal office they have much more facilities to carry more things with them. There are facilities of jeeps available as far as seven kilometers from the place they stay to the forest for bringing the produce that they collected from the forest.^{xii} Even though many changes had happened in their life the only one thing that remains same is their dependency on the collection of minor forest produce as livelihood. The only change that came is the way in which they used to extract things from the forest. The most evident factor is that whatever happens they are not ready to leave the forest that much is the connection they have with the forest and wildlife because they are even seeing in wild animals as the souls of their elders. A modern trend of taking up taking jobs other than minor collection of forest produce is becoming so common among the younger generations of the tribe.¹³

Collection of honey

Honey is the most commonly sourced minor forest produce. Honey bees build hives to bring up their young brood. Swarms of bees (*malan theam*) usually have their hives on high branches of the trees or the cliff faces. They are different type of bees and each type having their own peculiarities so while going for honey hunting he has to deal with them carefully because some bees are very dangerous to go near in that case during the day time they locate the places and eventually they collect them during the dark night. With arrival of monsoon during the mid of May after two or three rains they start to collect honey but some people used to collect honey before but Kadar's had a strong belief that when the bees collect honey from the flowers and trees they bring pollen with

them and kept it in their hives after two or three rains when everything wash off the bees will eat this pollen and began to produce high quality honey so Kadar considered this as the great time to collect honey.¹⁵

Smaller bees are not considered as dangerous as the big ones so Kadar men used to collect honey and eggs of the bees from this hives during the day time. Kadars are peculiarly expert in climbing trees. In some cases trees will be 100 feet or 150 feet but climbing for gathering honey is instinct in them. When the trees are straight with no branches then they use to make pegs out of bamboo and these bamboo pegs are driven into the trees for easy climbing. They also use bamboo hanging ladders to climb over the trees. These ladders were lowered down from the place of honey hive. Once they reach the top cliff of the tree they carve out the honey after chasing the bees from the hives sometimes they make use of fire to chase them or they also make use of torch. Mostly during the night time the bees have very poor eye sight. But at many times honey hunter will be wounded severely with the bee stings. Usually this is self-diagnosable but in rear cases this has led to serious life threatening situations among them.¹⁶

During the communication with the VSS president who was an interviewee has mentioned about the above mentioned incidents and also about the deaths among the Kadar people. He also added that apart from that there are also accident cases of people who fell down from the top of the trees. Honey hunting is not very easy it is very dangerous but Kadar people take this honey hunting as a part of their entertainment or not as serious as it is. After when the honey is carved out he comes down with the honey if there is excess amount of honey than excepted they climb to the top twice. After when they brings down the honey then it is the duty of the Kadar wife to keep it safely. They fill the honey into cans or tins which they took with them. They also collect the other items such as bee wax and royal jelly also from the hives.

After bringing back these honeys to the settlement they shift these honey into various bottles for selling them in the markets or in the Vanavibava Vipana Kendram (VVK) which was formed as a part of Vana Shabrakshana

Samiti (VSS) programme for the welfare and to promote the livelihood of the Kadar people. Now Vanavibava Vipana Kendram is not that actively working. It was a great advantage for them to sell these products through Vanavibava Vipana Kendram because they were granted incentives during the season times of Onam and Vishu etc. When they sell these products in outside markets they won't be getting anything as bonus but most of the times these Kadar people will be cheated by others without giving the proper amount since they don't know the actual value of these products but the situations has changed even though not completely. Now Kadar men make frequent visits to markets so Kadar is familiar with the market politics. There are times when they had sold 100 liters of honey in the society. An interviewee mentioned that they sold *Karithean* for 3000 rupees per liters which is considered to be the costly honey among all the varieties.¹⁷

Collection of firewoods

Forest produce most regularly used is the firewood. Apart from cooking it is used to heat the cardamom drying sheds, dormitories, and homes and bathing water during cold months of the monsoon and winter. Both men and women collect firewood from the precincts of the settlements from the dead and fallen trees and branches are also lopped on occasion. It is common for women who proceed to bathe in nearby streams at midday to bring back firewood from the fallen that are split to stock firewood for their homes.¹⁸

Hunting

The primary occupation of the Kadar and other jungle tribes is the collection of forest produce. They hunt animals with the help of dogs. Even today they have dogs in their settlements and occasionally they capture rabbits and mangoose.

Fishing

Though there are restrictions they catch fish. They use a particular kind of canoe called *Pondi*, which is made of bamboo poles. Three or four bamboo poles are tied together to form a flat structure, to make a *Pondi*. Two persons can sit on a *Pondi*. They also use fish nets. The same *Pondi* is used for crossing the reservoir to collect fuel wood from the nearby forest. The paddle of

the canoe is made of teakwood. They themselves make the canoe and the paddle.

Miscellaneous

The other thing that they used to collect apart from honey is *Marottikaya*. They collect this and get it dried for some days and later scrub it on the rocks to extract oil from these seeds. Otherwise they sell this seeds after got dried they usually get around 300 rupees for kilograms. They also collect various herbal plants and herbs from the forest which is of medical importance. The tribal people knows the all the medical plants and herbs which are used for curing various diseases and the way it should be used. They always depend on these plants for their treatments. Once Kadar goes for the collection of minor forest produce they also collect these medical plants and sells it in the

Nattumarunnu Kadai. This also forms the part of their forest collections.¹⁹

Conclusion

The above mentioned are the products they mainly collected from the forest. There is a shift in the practice of completely depending on their traditional occupation. Since this tribal people are staying in close to the tourist spot of Athirapalli Waterfalls, which has offered them other jobs of watchman, cleaners, and as forest guards etc. One thing that they benefited most is the chances to get mingle with the person from outside that has also changed their life to some extent. Increased consumption of the alcohol has adversely affected the health condition of the tribe.

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THE FOREST AS A RESOURCE CENTRE IN A FEUDAL STATE : THE CASE OF NILAMBUR IN COLONIAL MALABAR

V.M. Haseena

Introduction: Forest represents a form of wealth deferring from other natural resources, hence forest were significant in the economy of a society and state. The Nilambur valley in the Malabar region in modern Kerala is rich with

varied flora and fauna. The flora of this region is characteristically tropical. The valley is well known historically for teak plantation, trees of high commercial value, like rose wood, *mahagony*, *venteak*, *maruthu*, etc., abundantly

seen in the valley. The Nilambur and Amarambalam *thirumulpad* or landlords who earn extensive forest reside in Nilambur *amsam*.¹ Nilambur *kovilakam*² was the largest owner of forest in Malabar and the Nilgiri District gets substantial income from its forest and was depended up on that income for its maintenance during the colonial period. The people and *kovilakam* took all they required for their simple want and requirements from the forest resources.

The Nilambur *kovialakm* is an old landlord family in the Ernad *taluk* of colonial Malabar. The important source of revenue of the family or the *kovilakam* was income from the forest. The Nilambur *kovilakam* held large tracts of forest and that virtually meant control over the resources of the forest including elephants. The *kovilakam* had deployed as administrative machinery to collect its forest resources. For the effective tapping of resources, the forest was divided into beats, namely Pothukallu Beat, Kallenthodu Beat, Edakkara Beat etc.³

The forests of south Malabar, owed their commercial importance and their financial success entirely on the famous Nilambur teak plantations. This place, the neighbouring territory was controlled by the raja of Nilambur. The raja's family held *janmam* rights over much of the land in Gudallur too. Because of the vast forest resources, especially teak wood, Nilambur was connected with the railway network by means of a branch line from Shornur. A large number of elephants used to be captured from the forest by the Nilambur raja. The forest department maintains elephant camps at Edakkara, Nedumkayam, in the interior of the forest.

The Nilambur *kovilakam* possessed large tracts of forest. *Kovilakam* owned 3200 acres of forest stretching from Kerala, Gudallor, Tamil Nadu and Karnadaka.⁴ The forest of owned by the *kovilakam* was divided into two *amsam* namely Muppinnad and Nilambur *amsam*. Varikkad, Vavad, Perumbathur, Ottathani, Elamudi, Chaliyar, and Nirpuzha forest, Edakkara forest, Maruthaforest, Perinkollapara forest, Kakoor forest, belonged to Nilambur *amsam* and Kunjathukkotta forest in Wynad belongs to Muppinnad *amsam*.⁵

The Nilambur *raja* tapped natural resources of the forest and drafted an administrative machinery to manage the forest. For the

convenience of administration, uniform system of management of forest was done by the *kovilakam*. For this, the *kovilakam* appointed various officers to manage vast tracts of rich forest resources. The forest department was headed by a chief forest officer.⁶ The *kovilakam* appointed forest officers to look after the forest administration. He was helped by an assistant inspector, checking inspector, forest guard, forest watcher, forest ranger. Besides these officials a head clerk, typist, accountant, assistant accountant, cashier, clerk, peon, range clerk were also appointed in the forest office.⁷ The *kovilakam* forest officers were given uniform also.⁸

The Second World War period led to an increase in the demand for teak other woods and hence land lords reaped profit from timber trade. The *kovilakam* supplied timber to contractors on a pass by paying a tax called *kuttikanam*. The timber that was normally available in Nilambur forests were *teak*, *rose wood*, *venteak*, *ironwood*, *jack wood*, *irul*, *mahagony*, *maruthu*, etc. Elephant, wild dog, deer, spotted deer mongoose, wild buffalo, bison, tiger, blue monkeys, bears, etc., were found in the forest. Forest became the main source of raw materials for a number of wood based industrial units. Besides timber, firewood, charcoal and green manure, mine forest produces like honey; medicinal herbs, spices, etc., were collected by the people of the landlord territory.

The rich forest resources attracted many including Europeans into Nilambur.⁹ The *teak* was the most important one among the valuable forest resources. The history of teak started from Nilambur.¹⁰ Teak continued to be high demand for ship building. With the introduction of railways, the demand for timber increased considerably.¹¹

The *kovilakam* had introduced a sort of permit system under which the licensees of the *kovilakam* had to apply for and obtain a permit before timber can be moved out of the forest and return such permits after checking stations at Kuzhikkayam on the Chaliyar River by the checking inspector or forest officers of the *kovilakam*. The final accounts between *kovilakam* and the licensees were settled and timber made over finally to the trader pass. The contractor could move timber with permit and *kovilakam* property mark was punched on the

timber. Timbers without property mark or pass were captured at the checking stations. The sleeper supply to railways was another source of income to the landlord. There were huge numbers of sleepers collected and supplied from the Nilambur *kovilakam* forest division to various divisions in British India.¹²

The *kovilakam* was getting large revenue for bamboos utilized by the contractors for floating the timber down the river from the place of extraction. The quantity of bamboos taken by each contractor to raft the timber was checked at a place called *kuzhikkayam*. In this way, the *kovilakam* collected the *kuttikanam* for bamboos too.

Teak was in high demand for ship building. Felling of trees was done indiscriminately and removal of valuable timber was almost whole sale. It is seen that large quantity of teak was supplied for the Bombay dockyard for ship building.¹³ Because of high demand of teak in market, the *kovilakam* started planting of teak trees on large scale for use in the future. A policy was developed for conservation of timber. The *kovilakam* promoted teak plantation at Mannathi, Nilambur and Palunda forest divisions. In 1928, new teak trees were planted at Mannathi and Palunda.¹⁴ The *kovilakam* could conserve and develop forest resources, by exercising all reasonable prudence in regulating felling, especially by contractors and timber merchant by providing necessary and proper silviculture and protection measures and by exercising vigilance over the forest. The existing teak plantations as also those to be opened hereafter, should be considered asset of the *kovilakam*, about 50 acres of teak extension were made annually. The trend of the timber market especially for teak and other valuables species, would justify large return.

The right to fell trees in the Nilambur area was auctioned by Nilambur raja by paying fixed amount of money per felled trees called *kuttikanam*.¹⁵ The transport of log was organized by the owners by using elephants. The service of the elephant was also with a charge called *pattam*¹⁶

There is an example of the sale of timber by the *kovilakam* to individuals. Imbichimammad, a timber merchant obtained 550 logs of timber from the forest of Nilambur *kovilakam*, on a

stump fee of at the rate of rupees 20 per each *venteak* and *maruth*, rupees 15 for each *irul* log, rupees 11 per each *maruth* log, rupees 18 per each *pali* and *payan* log, rupees 25 per each *punna* logs, rupees 30 per each *ayani* logs and *irumbakam*, rupees 40 per each *vellakil* logs, rupees 10 per each mango and *thani* logs. Accordingly, all 550 logs cost of 7945 rupees. Again bamboo required for removing the logs from the forest, 100 bamboos permitted to cut for this purpose on a stump fee of rupees 2.5.¹⁷

The people living in or near the forest tracts were allowed to require fuel, bamboos and less valuable timber trees with less charge.¹⁸ The people were given the right to cut trees without *kuttikanam* in the early period. In some cases, the *kovilakam* permitted people to cut timber as per their necessities. The *kovilakam* permitted people cut trees for construction of houses without stump fee.¹⁹ Through the tenancy system, householders were give land for cultivation. The tenant could cut trees, only if there were genuine need for building or demand of firewood. This was done under the supervision of the *kovilakam* staff. The right to fell trees in Nilambur forest was auctioned by the palace administration.

The *kovilakam* collected revenue by licensing shooting of wild animals in the forest. The landlord issued shooting license to shoot wild animals on a license fee. The *kovilakam* issued license to hunters in the forest areas belonging to the Malabar and Nilgiri districts. The license fee was Rs. 50/- for one year. Rs 10/- must be for occasional license for period not exceeding three days on each occasion.

According to a document, the landlord gave shooting license to ES Conner, Caroline Estate on 4th May 1932 for one year.²⁰ There were conditions under which the shooting license was granted. This license was not transferable and was to be shown on demand to any forest officer or forest guard of the *kovilakam*. The license did not authorize shooting or destruction of wild elephants. The licensee could not hunt or shoot in the areas where elephant capturing pits existed or operations were going on. Every applicant had to deposit a fifty rupees as security for due observance of the conditions mentioned in the license. E.S. Conner's license had mentioned permission to shoot two bisons, three sambars,

two cheetahs or tigers, two jungle sheep, one any other beast (except an elephant).²¹ The managing agent was powerful to close any part of the forest to shooting for special reasons. Violations of any conditions of the license entail cancellation of license and capture of security deposits.

The *kovilakam* sometimes issued free license too. The Railway District Engineer, Kannur also permitted hunting expedition in the Nilambur forest. The *kovilakam* gave them license for a period of three days. He was permitted to shoot one bison, one tiger, and two wild boars with this free license.²² The landlord had given free license to shoot in the forest of Nilambur to Captain H.C. Cunningham, Second Battalion, the Staffol, Regiment, Hyderabad; for hunting tiger in the forest.²³

The hunting of elephant was prohibited as it was the chief revenue of the landlord. There was a separate department for the maintenance of elephants with elephant *jamedar* as its head. The *jamedar* looked after these elephants at various elephant camps. The revenue, income and expenditure, maintenance of elephant, training of elephant were managed by this elephant *jamedar*. The *Jamedar* was in charge of elephant camps. The chief elephant camps in the territorial jurisdiction were at Nilambur, Edakkara, Neerpuzhamukkam and Eyyamkuzhi.²⁴

Elephants were captured by digging pits in the forest. The elephant *jamedar* was assisted by a forest inspector who inspected the site for elephant pits. The assistant inspector helped him in finding place for new elephant pits. The pit watcher inspected various elephant pits and reported to the *jamedar* of the elephant camps. When there was the presence of elephant in pits, the *jamedar* with mahouts went to the pit site to capture the elephant. This captured elephant were carried to the elephant camps.²⁵ These elephants were kept in camps for sale in future. In addition to the sale of elephants and hiring to them to temples and individuals also was practiced.

Elephants were hired out by various groups for various purposes. The *kovilakam* elephants were hired out to timber merchants and the charge for hiring an elephant was called *pattam*. These elephants were mainly hired out by timber merchants to drag out timber from the forest.

Elephants like *vettekkan, paru, neelandan, padmanabhan, sundari, malathi* were sent to the forest to drag out logs to the river and a cost of 43-3 *anna* was sent to the *jamedar* as rent.²⁶

Besides, the *kovilakam* elephants were also given for processions in the temples. In one case the *kovilakam* elephants were sent to the Tripuranthaka temple of Pookottur *cherikkal* for temple procession in 1930.²⁷ The *kovilakam* also supplied elephants to other landlords for dragging out elephants from the pits. They were paid *pattam* for the use of elephants.

The *kovilakam* also earned income from Grazing License of animals like elephants, and cattle. A small fee was charged for grazing of animals in the forest.²⁸ Nicholas, a retired forest ranger had requested the permission to keep two elephants at Pookottumanna during rest season. The *kovilakam* permitted him to keep his elephant at Pookottumanna, near Chungathara for about two months and they allowed to be grazed in *kovilakam* forest on a charge of five rupees for each elephant for one month. He paid the grazing fee on 4th June 1928.²⁹ Likewise, the elephant of Unnikkammu, a timber merchant grazed in *kovilakam* forest without grazing license. The *kovilakam* forester reported this matter to the *kovilakam* office that he did not pay Grazing fee. The *Diwan* ordered him to pay three rupees as grazing fee immediately after getting the order.³⁰

The *kovilakam* also sold their elephants by auction and in 1922, they conducted auction of 24 elephants. Twenty four well trained elephants of Nilambur Palace were sold in auction on 27th April 1922 at Trissur.³¹ In 1949, six elephants were sold in an auction held at Edakkara.³²

The *kovilakam* earned income from renting out forest land for plantations like tea, coffee, rubber etc. The British planters were given acres of land on lease. These planters took land on lease to plant the area with teak and other useful trees. The Gwalior Rayons Company also had leased out twenty five thousand acres of land. The land lord was collecting *pattam* for leasing out his land.

The notices issued by the *kovilakam* management shows that trespassers in the forest were also prosecuted.³³ This shows that illegal shooting and hunting in the forest of Nilambur *kovilakam* was prohibited. Likewise *kovilakam*

prohibited illegal cultivation of modan, sesame, chama etc. These were prohibited in the forest area owned by the *kovilakam*. The cultivation was permitted only after paying the *pattam* to the *kovilakam*. Clearing of forest without the permission of *kovilakam*, setting fire to the forest, cattle trespassers, illicit collection, possession and removal of forest produces were reported to the *kovilakam* and were prosecuted.³⁴

Another income of the *kovilakam* was from minor forest produces like cardamom, turmeric, honey, medicinal plants. The Nilambur *kovilakam* permitted to collect forest produces on a certain amount fixed by auction. Besides this, the *kovilakam* earned income from collection of metals from forest land. The *kovilakam* had permitted mining of 500 red sand stone for the construction of a school at Chungathara by charging five rupees as *kuttikanam*.³⁵

Conclusion

The *kovilakam* was the owner of large extent of forest land in the Nilambur valley. The *kovilakam* maintained an independent forest policy due to the fact that the important source of revenue was the forest. The *kovilakam* was a

prime landlord in Malabar to think about the need to protect the forest. Timber, charcoal, firewood, bamboo, balsa, cashew, eucalyptus, honey, wax, tusk, horn and bides of wild animals, black and white dammar, fibers, flosses, oil seed, cardamom, various roots, stems, leaves fruits and flowers of medicinal plants were the important forest produces extracted from the Nilambur *kovilakam* forest .

The forest remained as a chief source of income to the feudal state. The transformation taking place in colonial India was transforming the forest policy of the landlord. When the railway was coming, the chief attraction became teak tree. When investment colonialism turned its attention to plantations, the feudatory began to lease out land to the investors. The elephant remained as a chief source of revenue of the feudatory till the modern period. Though the *kovilakam* was not an independent state, the landlord was enjoying certain rights in colonial India due to his authority over the forest resources.

End Notes

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14. Diary of Forest Guard, E.P Narayanan Nair, dated 1928, Private Record from Nilambur *Kovilakam*.
15. Stump fee.
16. Patta means land on lease.
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ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN RAMNAD DISTRICT 1950-55

K. Karuppiah

Introduction

Before the independence of India, Ramnad district was socially, economically and politically backward region of Tamilnadu. Because, the British government had not took sincere efforts for improvement of education in same district¹. Most of people were illiterate and ignorant of the region. Moreover, they did not get sufficient basic facilities from the British government. After the independence of India, the democratic government took sincere efforts to eradicate illiteracy and ignorance among Indian people². It encouraged each and every state to open elementary schools in all villages. Following the interest shown by the central government, the madras government paid special attention to open the elementary institutions in each districts. Besides, it encouraged compulsory education to school age children and introduced attractive schemes for the development of elementary education. Subsequently the madras government opened large number of primary schools in Ramnad district³.

Elementary Education In Ramnad District 1950-1955

In Ramnad district, the state government followed the principles of central government and it took necessary steps for the improvement of primary education⁴. Following it the state government sanctioned the grant of RS.3,50,000 to Ramnad district board during 1951-1952. The subsidy amount of RS.1,00,000 was also sanctioned by the government to construct school buildings and playgrounds⁵. After 1951, the state government increased education grants to each taluks of Ramnad region, and as a result

of it number of elementary institutions were sprang up in Ramnad⁶. All these developments created awareness among the general public for compulsory education for school age children. In view of these governmental steps primary education in Ramnad district improved quite a lot⁷. Kamaraj came to power in Tamilnadu in the year 1954 and aimed at introducing efficient and liberal administration in all fields⁸. He felt that promotion of education was essential for the economic welfare of the people. With this end in view, he opened schools even in remote villages, strengthened the existing institutions and implemented a scheme of compulsory education for the children upto the age of eleven⁹. For that he introduced fee concessions, free uniforms and mid-day meals on a large scale to draw poor children to schools. During his period, quite a large number of primary schools were opened in rural and remote villages.

Secondary Education

Based upon the census of 1951, the total population of Ramnad district was 20,35,600 in number. Following statement shows the total number of educational institutional of the Ramnad district and average population served by one institution¹¹.

State natural divisions and district (1)	Total number of educational institutions (2)	Average population served by one institution (3)	Percentage of literacy population (4)
Ramnad	1504	1383	21.4

It is very difficult to trace out uniform correspondence between the percentage of literacy in a district and the average population served by one institution in Ramnad district that the figures disclose a number of disparities. This is because the percentage of literacy depends not only upon the number of schools provided proportionately to the population, but also on the extent to which the schools have been actually availed by the population in each area¹³. Some private management and private agencies ran the high schools in same district. Moreover two private training schools opened in Ramnad district were namely, Balagurukulam training school at Virudhunagar and Alagappa training Montessori school at Karaikudi where quite a number of boys and girls were interested to join¹⁴. Hence the separate schools are also run by Harijan welfare department for the concerned community students. Besides, the state and central governments sanctioned considerable grant for the development of secondary education¹⁵.

Missionary Management Of Secondary Education

The Christian missionaries contributed much for the spread of education in Ramnad district. Under them several secondary schools were opened. The German missionaries took the lead of this process and they are under Fredrick Schwartz visited Thanjavur, Sivaganga and Ramnad areas. They opened number of educational institutions in Ramnad and sivaganga taluks¹⁶. Consequently, Schwartz high school was opened by common Christian missionaries in Ramnad during eighteenth century. The school was first opened as high school in Ramnad region. The Raja of Ramnad also gave absolute support to German Christian missionaries to run the institution. Moreover, he contributed liberal donations to this institution for the construction of buildings and playground¹⁷.

Following Fredrick Schwartz, missionaries under St. Andrew's took sincere efforts to develop the female education. He had taken practical steps towards the establishment of high school for the girl students and a high school was opened by the missionary in Ramnad during the academic year 1937-38. Subsequently, for the development of the women education, Shanmuga Rajeswara sethupathy Raja of Ramnad donated free lands and liberal grants to

the institution¹⁸. Hence, missionaries sincerely ran the secondary education and also, they provided positive help to poor students¹⁹.

Higher Education

Though Ramnad region was backward in all respects no organization or political leaders came forward to launch any higher academic institutions to improve its general standard for a long time. Specifically between 1910 and 1946, there were no higher institutions opened by the government to its credit. Due to the lack of higher institutions, the poor students unable to continue higher studies in Ramnad and had to travel for off places to get their education²⁰. There were so many factors attributed for this lacuna and the major cause was that the common man did not understand the importance of higher education and lacked knowledge about governmental services, self-employment services and private employment opportunities. They only depended upon agriculture and fishing works²¹.

Under this situation a few private managements came forward to open higher educational institutions in their respective areas with the major intention of upholding their own communities. In this venture few significant personalities emerged were the Raja of Sivaganga, Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar of Karaikudi and Senthikumara Nadar of Virudhunagar who came forward to open new arts colleges in their respective areas²². Accordingly, three arts and science colleges were opened on August 11, 1947 in Ramnad district which were the first higher institutions of the district. The three higher academic institutions were named as the Raja Douraisingam memorial arts college, Sivaganga, Dr Alagappa Chettiyar arts college, Karaikudi and Virudhunagar Hindu Nadars' Senthikumar Nadar college, Virudhunagar²³. Though these colleges were aimed at the upliftment of their own communities as well as other communities and they became service minded institutions in the later days. Number of students joined the institutions and they got undergraduate degrees in concerned faculties. Moreover, the qualified candidates received employment opportunities in central and state government services²⁴.

Professional Education

Ramnad was a technically backward district in Tamilnadu. Though its literacy rate was improved due to the introduction of so many

educational institutions. Therefore, under the hue and cry of the general public, several technical institutions and provisional colleges were earmarked one after another. To begin with, the venture started with the inauguration of Dr. Alagappa college of engineering and technology²⁵. On the basis of government order, Alagappa Chettiyar's college of engineering was inaugurated by Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar in Karaikudi during the academic year 1952 – 1953. Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar education trust immediately sponsored the grant of four lakhs of rupees towards the opening of new engineering college. The college was affiliated under Madras University and it offered the following courses namely, free – engineering B.E.Civil, B.E. mechanical and B.E. electrical engineering. For the engineering courses only 180 students were admitted in the beginning. Right from the first page of students sent for the B.E.degree examination, the college had secured first rank in the university successfully for five years²⁷.

Subsequently, Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar training college was the second educational institution founded by Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar in 1950-1951 in the Alagappa campus of Karaikudi under a scheme of special aid. Moreover, Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar polytechnic is one of the cluster of educational institutions founded by the Late Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar on

the 4th July 1955²⁸. The institution provided technical training at diploma level and offered training in three basic courses of civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, leading to the diploma examination conducted by the state board of technical education²⁹.

Conclusion

After independence of India, the democratic government took sincere measures to remove illiteracy and ignorance of the people. During the Congress administration, particularly, the congress ministry under Kamaraj witnessed the social revolution of establishing schools and colleges in Tamilnadu, especially in the regions of Ramnad. Under his shrude and sharp administration, a number of schools were established in several backward and remote villages of Ramnad³⁰. He had encouraged education by implementing free mid-day meals scheme, free school education and serving scholarship to suppressed and backward classes. Even though, higher education as well as professional education had not sufficiently developed in Ramnad region. During the period, if the central and state governments provided sufficient higher education to people, the Ramnad district was socially, economically and politically was highly developed³¹.

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COMPANY AND TIMBER 'MONOPOLY': LOCATING TRADE WITH PRIVATE AND 'NATIVE' MERCHANTS IN COLONIAL MALABAR

M. Lijin

Introduction

India for centuries has attracted foreigners because of its wealth and natural resources. Since the seventeenth century, there occurred a keen competition among European maritime powers to trade with India. The first among the Europeans to reach the shores of Kerala were the Portuguese. They were followed by the Dutch, the French and then the British. The English East India Company began its trade with India 1600. Within a period of one hundred and fifty years, it attained territorial control in different parts of India. The proposed paper trying to understand the East India Company's timber trade and tracing the reasons behind the establishment of government 'monopoly' on timber resources in Malabar. During the early decades of the 19th century, Malabar volume of timber trade comparatively high and East India Company establish political control on Malabar forests.¹ Due to various reasons, East India Company's immediate problem was to procure timber for naval stores and other purposes. Preservation of forests and forest wealth of India in general and the Malabar, in particular, gained importance by the 18th century. Political control alone would enable the East India Company to establish a government monopoly of the forests in Malabar. For generating maximum profit company grant permission to free trade, especially with 'native' merchants and private individuals and agencies.

These private agencies belong to English private companies, Parsee merchant groups etc.

Timber 'Monopoly'

'Monopoly' may be accustomed to mean the entity that has total or near-total control of a market. By formulating various rules and regulations for the steady supply of timber for shipbuilding and other public works British authorities controlled the natural; world of Malabar. Interestingly enough, this was strongly emphasized by the British officials surveying the forests of the Western Ghats in Malabar and Canara. In any event, this procedure made it quite easy for the British to announce their teak monopoly on the Malabar Coast in 1807. Joseph Watson, lately appointed to the new office of the 'Conservator of Forests', unified the provinces of Canara and Malabar in the Forest Department newly created to facilitate the thus centralized timber trade and announced a monopoly of teak.²

Since the East India Company had established timber monopoly in Malabar, it could exercise complete control over the forests of the Malabar. Information based on surveys of various officers was assembled and analyzed at frequent intervals.³ This helped the East India Company to develop its timber trade throughout Malabar presidency. The surveys conducted by various officers including Engineers, Botanists, Surgeons etc. during period from 1804 to 1812

submitted the different reports on the natural world of Malabar and details about the tree species particularly teak and other valuable timbers.

The Correspondence files between Public Department Bombay Presidency and President and Governor in Council of Malabar dated on 05/01/1807 mentions about the Royalty of Teak trees in Malabar province,

*"We do ourselves the honor to lay for your Hon'ble Board's information, copies of letter and of its accompaniments from the Conservator of Forests, Malabar dated 15th and to express our satisfaction at their conveying important information about the trees of Malabar forests and make control over teak trees and announced Royalty on Teak and Malabar forests."*⁴

The Conservators report on Forest Surveys on Malabar forests seriously reported that the necessity of the conservation and control of forest resources. During the subsequent years of the early Nineteenth century, the various correspondence took place between the Malabar and Bombay Presidency, about the measures taken for sustaining the continuous supply of timber for shipbuilding industries. The Madras correspondence files during this age throw light on the necessities and significance of timber supply. As a sum result of these developments, finally under the basis of various reports includes forest surveys, land surveys, and other methods Hon'ble Government proclaimed control on teak trees in Malabar forests, naturally through this significant administrative legislation colonial state established timber monopoly.⁵ Accordingly, they had to secure the supply of timber for their naval stores, a crude kind of forest management was set up on the Malabar Coast in 1802, and in 1807 they proclaimed a timber monopoly over teak and specified trees.⁶

Trade with 'native' merchants

The forests of Malabar originally belongs to various possessors like local *rajas*, *nayars*, *janmamkars* etc. According to Mr. Farmer, member of the Bombay Bengal Joint Commission and supervisor of Malabar, most of the forests were privately owned. The timber trade along the Malabar Coast was organized by two distinct groups, whom the British identified as 'jungle merchants' and 'coast merchants'. The 'jungle merchants' mostly Mappilas, employed

several contractors to conduct the different phases of timber procurement.⁷ The 'native' merchants procured timber from the forests and these timber logs were stored at *koop* (local timber yard). The 'jungle merchants' employed woodcutters from the surrounding areas on daily wages. Local chieftains or *rajas* controlled the trade in the Western Ghats determined the amount of timber to be transported and ultimately the price per log.

In Malabar province Mussa gained a monopoly in timber trade also the connection with the prominent trade centers in Alappuzha, Travancore, and Bombay etc. and seriously engaged trading activities in Beypore, Kallai, regions. Zamorin of Calicut failed to break the monopoly of Mussa in Calicut.⁸ To reduce the number of mediator merchants, the British invested with the well-known and firmly established wholesale merchant Covakkaran Mussa with one thing just like a monopoly for felling trees in specific space inside the Malabar province around twelve years.⁹ British aim was to that maximize the timber output. All felled and stored timber had to be transported to the Ponnani, Beypore Calicut or Ellatoor.¹⁰ Mr. Watson, Conservator of Forests, published a proclamation,

*"All trees which people now have ready to cut and lying in the jungles, must be brought on or before 31st of January 1807 to Ponnany, Bbepore, Calicut or Elattoor, after which period on person if he has Timber in the jungles must bring it down, the period being elapsed, the Kuttikanm and the charges of felling and barking will be paid him, accordingly to the old custom"*¹¹

To meet the demand for the steady supply timber for shipbuilding in the Bombay dockyards, the British were enforced to sign further contracts with individual native timber merchants. These bonds were more or less of the same time. A stable amount of timber had to be provided on a certain date to a specific place. Timber merchants employed as carpenters, the wood reapers and workers, the draught animals, and he commenced the transport of logs. In North Malabar British make a contract with Covakkaran Mussa and Calicut, agreed with the indigenous timber merchant Paiangalat Chanja Pakki for furnishing 600 teak *Candies* per year each at least 40 to 45 feet long.¹² The official

records gave the details of contracts with local merchants and native traders.¹³ Through the continuous and rigid timber and spice trade between native or indigenous merchants and British or East India Company trying to develop an Anglo-Islam culture in Malabar. It helps to culminate in some elements between both sides.¹⁴ The trade with 'native' merchants paved the way for the deep contact with Malabar and naturally company utilizes this opportunity as a safety valve for establishing political supremacy in Malabar.

Commercial Link with the Neighboring States and Private Trade

In the adjoining states, the Company influenced the timber trade via its residents at the court of *rajas*. Travancore is one of the princely states involved in continuous timber contracts with the company. East India Company formulating a trading contract with *Maharaja* through its residents. Francis Buchanan says about the peculiarity of timber trade as follows,

*"The forest in every part of Malabar would appear to be a private property- person who wants to cut timber must first apply to the land lord (Jenmakar) for permission; which is granted in a writing called Kuttikanam, in which is specified the price that is to be distance of trees from water carriage".*¹⁵

The other significant category of timber trade framed by the colonial state through contact and contract with neighboring states like Travancore and other regions. Native merchants like Mussa engaged close contact with Raja of Travancore, because the famous *Odathil palli* in Thalasseri is constructed by teak got from the Raja of Travancore as a gift to Mussa. Although British authorities make trade contact with the Rajas through the residents at the Court of Rajas. In the early 1800s, East India Company signed a treaty with Raja of Travancore supplying of teak timbers. Avittam Tirunal Rama Varma, Raja of Travancore offered to supply the British with the yearly teak produce of his country, for a particular amount of money. Besides the native merchants, the contracts with local Rajas create a more continuous supply of timber to the Company. As a result of this, the Resident, Mr. Handley, informed the Bombay Government that this form of trading association was the only viable course because no single or native

merchant could guarantee the huge quantity and the great quality of the timbers. Besides all forests were in the custody of Raja, so it was with him that East India Company had to convert their contracts.¹⁷

Moreover, the East India Company involved private trade, particularly the British officials rather than organized or public trading activities. The significant private traders in Malabar were the Mardok Brown in Anjarakkandy in Canannore and Alexander Mackonochoy in Beypore. Company officials, legal advisors indiscriminately supported any private British enterprises. The private trade flourished a few years after the annexation of Malabar, the British private individual set up a saw mill at Beypore to supply the Bombay dockyards with planks, beams, and masts. The Commissioners of South Malabar were asked to organize further timber supplies from local merchants to keep the samill functioning efficiently.¹⁸ Sawmill project had tried to check a state monopoly for pepper and had been relatively successful in instituting a prominent position in the pepper trade in Malabar province.¹⁹ Mardok Brown established a plantation at Anjarakandy and through this investment, he concentrated in trade and trading activities in Malabar. Through the double profit of timber trade rather than spices especially pepper, naturally Brown turned much importance in the timber trade. Mussa and Brown were the prominent natives and British private traders in Malabar province. Mardok Brown is a prominent and significant foreign timber merchant in Malabar province. Due to the profit earned through the timber trade was high and this realized by the colonial merchants suddenly, moved on this type of trade. Their various conflicts have emerged among the Mussa and Brown in the case of timber monopoly in Malabar, particularly North Malabar. Mussa and the company were closely and maintained cordial relations with Company, but Brown sometimes failed to make friendly contact with Company.²⁰

Besides, Alexander Mackonochoy other private traders other than different parts of British India, especially Parsis. Particularly the individual merchants, who mainly settled in Bombay because of Malabar and Bombay experienced a high volume of timber trade relations. The

majority of these individual merchants were prominent contractors, they engaged in construction works. The merchants and contractors create timber contacts with Malabar province.²¹ It also helped the increase in the growth and development of timber trade with the Bombay Government. Some of the significant contractors and merchants during this period includes, Cursetjee Nowrojee, Jugannath Wittonjee, Meya Huson, Sunkarjee Pillaijee, Embramjee Mahimkar, Bayan Chacootty, Adasheer Dady, Hurmusjee Bomanjee, Oram Jatta, and Mohammed Waddagata Chartow. The Madras Correspondence Files gave details about the contract and contact between these private contractors and merchants. Everyone who framed or formulated timber transport agreement with Conservator of Forest, Malabar.²²

Not only have the private individuals some of the agency firms also associated with the timber traded with Malabar. Sometimes, these private and private agency houses become a threat to the East India Company. Some of the private agencies that closely associated with the timber trade in Malabar were, Alexander Adamson; Bruce, Fawcett and Company, Forbs and Company, Harding Rivett and Wilkinson, Souza (Miguel de Lewis), James Tate, Taylor and Agnew.²³ These private enterprises closely adjoined with the Malabar region and actively participated in the timber trade.

End of Timber 'Monopoly'

In 1818 the government of Madras appointed H.S.Greame to enquire and submit proposals for improving the revenue administration of the province. He observed,

*'It seems not to be disputed that the timber monopoly has curtailed the profits of coast merchants that a number of the lower orders of the people employed in the construction of vessels have been deprived by it of a comfortable livelihood and that their occupation has been chiefly transferred to the port of Bombay.'*²⁴

In 1822, a minute recorded by Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras stated, *'The people however now submit reluctantly to the monopoly, but we should recollect that no partly profit in timber trade can compensate for the loss of their goodwill.'*²⁵ On the recommendation of Munro, the Governor of Madras, the Bombay government abolished the appointment of Conservator of Forest. It thereby ended the Government Timber 'Monopoly' in the year 1823 after seventeen years of its introduction in Malabar.

The Company's rule in Malabar meticulously involved in the trading activities for a long period. Timber trade and forest conservation would become the aim of the colonial regime. Although, East India Company encouraged private trade in Malabar and authority maintained deep contact with native merchants, especially mappilas. On the eve of British colonialism in the province mappila merchants were the occupied monopoly on trading activities. They paid *Kuttikanam* (Stump Fee) to the local *Rajas* and felled trees from the forests. During the early decades of 19th century, company promoted 'native' merchants and private individuals and also registered private agencies in the timber trade. Through these various waves of trade, Company ensures a steady supply of timber planks and other commodities required by the needs of the state.

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TRADING COMMUNITY IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD AS PORTRAYED BY THE INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRUDHUNAGAR DISTRICT

L. Maheswari

Trade and commerce was the traditional profession of the Tamils. It played an essential role in the daily activities of human life. The economic condition of the Tamil country was greatly shaped by its trading fervour. The prevalent of peaceful political scenario coupled with a stable socio-economic order favoured the emergence of several trading communities in the Tamil country. The regular customary practices favored the profession of trade and commerce. Mostly all castes and communities participated in trading activities in one form or the other. Epigraphical sources throw light on trade both internal and external, centers of exchange, items of trade and trading castes. As a profession, trade had secured a social status in the society from time immemorial. The merchant class were undoubtedly the most powerful and influential section in ancient Tamil country on account of their number and wealth¹ These traders created an atmosphere of goodwill among the local population by constructing water tanks and places of worship – a corporate social responsibility initiative of those days.²

Virudhunagar District is situated in the foothill of the Western Ghats, the commodities arrived from the Western Ghats were taken towards the Eastern Ghats. Hence many merchant settlements one can find through the inscriptions of Virudhunagar District.

Trading Community:

According to the inscriptional sources the trading community mainly belonged to Chettis and Nagarattar. According to Edgar Thurston Nagarattar is a sub-caste of Chettis. Their main occupation was trade and commerce. They

accumulated wealth from exports, imports, and sales within the town.

Settlements:

The merchant settlements were administered by the assemblies called Nagaram. These mercantile settlements were well protected by the armed guards called Virporivirar, and Asiriyam provided by the Nattars. In other villages the merchants resided in separate streets in the towns and villages. For instance, Aruppukottai inscription³ (13th C A.D) [refers to the three great streets of the merchants]. Cholakuram Inscription⁴ Mudivallangu Pandya Nallur inscription⁵ give details about their settlements.

The merchants lived in well protective areas. They had good relations with the Nattars and got asiriyam or protection from them. Managaseri inscription of Sundara Pandya mentions Mallinattu⁶ Kulasekarapuram Nagarattar got protection from Venbu Nattar and Karunilakudi Nattar, because they were in need of getting protection for their goods and wealth. This reflected their cordial attitude towards other communities.

Trade Centers

In Virudhunagar District merchant settlements were existed in Sattur⁷, Kulasekarapuram⁸, Seithur⁹, Sengundrapuram¹⁰, Chettikurichi¹¹, Edirkottai¹², Aruppukottai¹³, Kambikudi¹⁴, Tiruchuli¹⁵, and Tiruttangal.¹⁶

Domestic Trade

In the domestic trade the merchants had the marketing place called sandai.

'Vikramapandian Sandai'¹⁷ is mentioned in the Maravarman Sundara Pandya I's Aruppukottai inscription. Taxes were collected by the government. The Aviyur Inscription¹⁸ mentions that for the domestic goods puravayam, and Urayam as taxes were collected from the merchants.

Highways

For internal trade for the markets and also for external trade three ancient highways criss-crossed this region.

- a. Madurai to Western Coast
- b. Madurai to Kanyakumari
- c. Madurai to Tuticorin on the Eastern Coast.¹⁹

The trading communities used these routes to transport goods across Pandya nadu and the traders often settled in villages along the trade routes.

Weights and Measurements

The inscriptions throw light about the different units of weights and measurements. The standard measures in these days were often called by the names of the reigning kings. The standard weights used for gold, silver, copper and other metals were kalanju, kunri and Manjadi. Traditionally in all the periods standard cubic measurements were used. They were alakku, ulakku, uri, nali, kuruni, padakku, thuni and kalani.²⁰

Coins

Coins is a piece of hard material traditionally metal, which was used as a form of money. They are standardized in weight and produced in large quantities at a mint in-order to facilitate trade, issued by a government. Materials used for coins exhibit their economic prosperity. Through the symbols in the coins one can know of their religion, kingdom and their love of art. The Pandya rulers issued gold coins in the name of kasu and palankasu from the 9th century onwards²¹. At the same time, they struck silver as well as copper coins, with the symbols of bow and arrow, conch, chakra, fish, elephant and sea tortoise.²²

Panam

Varahan (or) panam also were in usage. Achchukasu also in circulation. Both types were

mentioned in the Aruppukottai²³ and Suranur²⁴ inscriptions. The Cholapuram inscription provides information that one achchu was given as wage to a stone mason for payment done with stones during the period of Virapandya.²⁵

Armed Guards

To protect their wealth and their safety they had the armed guards known as Virporivirar associated with trading groups.²⁶ At the same time they got protection from the Nattars in the name of *asiriyum* (protection). For instance, Sengudi Nattu Abimanamerupuram, a traders settlement was in the protection of Nayanar Manithanthaperumal.²⁷

Foreign trade

The Pandyas had trade relation with other countries. The inscriptions also refer to the presence of Tennilangai Valanchiyar, a trade guild settlements in many villages. Nanadesi Thisaiyayirattu Ainnurruvar, and TennilangaiValanchiyar are the trade guilds mention in the inscriptions of Aruppukottai and Cholapuram. Inscriptional evidence is corroborated by the discovery of 12th C A.D. Srilankan gold coins found at Sengundrapuram and the Chinese coins found out from Cholapuram. They point out the fact that the Pandyas had trade relationship with China in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Role of Traders to the Society:

Through their wealth, the merchants did a lot for the society and for the temple activities. The Traders donated much to the temples. Edirakottai inscription²⁸, Kundalakuttur inscription²⁹, Sengundrapuram inscription³⁰, Aruppukottai inscription,³¹ and Cholapuram inscription³² give details about their donation in the form of land and institution of services to the temples. The armed guards of the trading community donated land to the Jain monastery (Samana Palli) at Pallavakulanthagallur.³³

In short, Traders and their trading activities led to the thriving-economy of this drought-prove district. Hence they were highly respected in the society. The Mannarkottai inscription (10th C A.D) mentions the offering of one's own life for Kaliyuga Kandadi-Dharma Chetti by performing Navakanda sacrifice. The man who did was none other than the village headman.³⁴ A village headman offering Navakanda denotes that the

Chetti might have done many welfare measures for the village. Hence for his well-being the exceptional sacrifice might have been taken by the village headman.

The merchants of the medieval period engaged in internal and external trade activities and thereby uplift the economy of their kingdom.

As they were wealthy, they had their own settlements and assemblies. As wealthy people they spent their money in donation the temple in their locality which was the centre of the village activities in the medieval period. Thereby they played a significant role in the economy and social wellbeing of their country.

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AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE VADPARISARA NADU IN THE NORTH KONGU REGION IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD- A STUDY

M. Mathialagan

The study of the Hindu temple as economic entities assumed great prominence in their economic historiography of Medieval South India. The work of Burton Stein marks the important step towards a new methodology in the analysis of the temple inscription and their socio economic import. The monetary endowment of the temple generated a stream of income which was used to finance of the temple and development of agriculture feeding Brahmans, temple construction and repair, rituals, lighting the lamp and so on.

Here an effort is made towards elucidating the questions dealings with the role of the temples for the development of agriculture and its impact in *vadaparisara nadu* in the North kongu region from the Kongu chola (*konattar*) period to the Vijayanagar period.

Vadaparisara nadu was one of the nadu division in the North kongu region which lying in the northern side of the Kongu region.¹ The region covered in the *vadaparisara nadu* inhabited by the primitive people who belonged to the Mesolithic age.² In the pre historic period

the ancient pastoral and hunting tribes lived in the Noyyal river basin and in the Sangam period the whole kongu region was occupied by the pastoral people who were called as *kongar*. The *kongar* were a great pastoral people fond of cattle breeding and agriculture.⁴

Aditya I invaded the kongu region in 870 A.D and 894 A.D and assumed the title of *kolliyurko* and *kokandan*.⁵ The origin of the chola viceroyalty of konattar chiefs of kongu can be traced from parantakal after the battle of Takkolam. The cholas bifurcated the nadu division and appointed the konattaras their viceroys. Virachola perumandikal (942-989A.D) was the first ruler of the kongu chola dynasty. Virachola kalimurkha (980-1004 A.D) and kalimurkhavikiramachol (1004-1047.A.D) were controlled the *vadaparisaranadu*.⁶ The nadu comprised of / *vadakarainadu*/ *va/a/ayurnadu* *Nirararparrunadu*/ *Chevurnadu* and *Nalarparrunadu*. The other two nadu division found under the *vadaparisaranadu* were *puluvanadu* and *vellalanadu*. The core region of the vadaparisara nadu was present Avinashi and Thirupurtaluk of the present position.

When Cholas occupied the kongu region they initiated the agricultural development in the North kongu region. In *vadaparisara nadu* the konattar (Kongucholas) linked the shepherd villages with the local temples. The *samantas* (*king's* officials controlled the north kongu region. The inscriptions⁷ of the Kuluthunka I of the *vadaparisara nadu* reveals various names of the *samanthas* in the north kongu region.

The epigraphical evidences⁸ reveals that the tax was collected from the *Puluva nadu* and *vella/a nadu* by the temple authorities. The sabha of the shepherd villages remitted taxes in the temple treasury. An inscription⁹ of kokalimurkan and Kokkali murka vikirama cholan reveals the name of the cattle settlement villages (shepherd village) (Pa//ika/). During the period of Kulothunga Annur inscriptions¹⁰ mentions the name of the king officials (*nattusamandan*). The sabha collected taxes from the each house hold (*kudikanam*)¹¹ and it was remitted in the temple treasury

The inscriptions¹² of Koluthungal (1149-1168A.D) in reveals that the Brahmans were the members of *chitrameliperiya nadu* assembly and called as a *kaniyudiya siva brahmanas*.

Another inscriptions¹³ of the kulothunga I in Naduvacheri mentions the eight kind of social group among the shepherd community and they remitted their taxes in the temple treasury for lighting lamp in the temples. The sabha collected taxes from the each house hold (*Manrattu*). An inscription¹⁴ of the kulothunga II in 1203 from Annur mentions that the *kaniyudia siva Brahmans* received the gifts from each kani holders (*manradi*) for light the lamp in the temple.

An another inscription¹⁵ of kulothunga II (1196-1210 A.D) in 1200 A.D reveals that members of the temple treasury encouraged the entrepreneurs in the *devadanam* villages. Alathur was devadanam (lands donated to the siva temples) during the period of kulothunga I itself and it was encircled by number of small villages with *nanchai* (wet land) and *punchai* lands (drylands).¹⁶ Avinashi was a temple town called as a *adikil thalam*.¹⁷ many merchants (*valanjijyar*, guild) settled in and around of this temple villages.

Virarajendra (106-1256.A.D) was an important ruler in the among the konattar, Konguchola rulers. During his period the Hoysalas occupied the north kongu region and the kaikolas settled in large number the north kongregion. The epigraphical evidence¹⁸ of Virarajendra (1206-56) reveals that Palankarai become a weaving centre and Naduvacheri was a *brahmadeya* (grant of land to the brahmans) village in Vadaparisara nadu¹⁹. Many villages were developed around this town. ViraRajendra promoted the agriculture in the *vadaparisaranadu*. The king, merchants and individuals donated lands to the temples. The temple lands were converted into fertile lands with human efforts in the form of irrigation techniques. The dry lands were converted into wetlands. An inscription²⁰ virarajendra from Annur refers that the Kulothunga choladevan kuravan, a king official, deposited 95 *achu* with devakanmis of the temple at manniyur for bringing certain lands under cultivation. During the period of Pandyas various kings and his officials, the local bodies (*sabha andur*) and individuals figure as the promoters of reclamation. One undated inscription²¹ from Karuvalur denotes that the kings ordered to the temple authorities to donate the tank namely *pursakulam* in Karuvalur village along with the

lands irrigated by the tank to the temple as a *thiruidaiyatta iraiyili* in Palankaruvalur.

An inscription²² of virarajendra from Avinashi denotes that the gift of land by the king's officer and his wife to the Avinashi temple. The land was situated in the Kolinjipadi alias *udiyapiratti chathurvedimangalam*. The land was very fertile and called as *ku/othunga chola mannarai*. An inscription²³ of Konerimaikondan in 13th century from Sevur records that a gift of a village namely Arasur alias kuladeepanallur as *devadana* to the kaapolisvara temple by the king.

Apart from the kings, the king's officials also donated land and villages to the temple. An inscription²⁴ from Avinashi records that one Rakutharaya singaya dandanayaka army general of Viraballala III donated villages from *Karaivalinadu* to the Avinashi temple. The inscriptional evidences from the Pandiayas of kongu region reveals the social group of *vellanadu and puluvanadu*. They were cattle keepers and have formed a new group in the micro region of *vadaparisara nadu*. They donated lands to the temples and promoted agriculture after donating the lands to the temple. The sabha of the *vellanadu and puluvanadu* received the loan from the temple treasury for the development of agriculture. One inscription²⁵ of sundarapandyan from Annur in 14th century reveals that the merchants purchased lands near sevur tank from vellalas and donated the land to the temple. The inscription further reveals that the sevurmanram (Ur sabha) become the defaulters of the temple treasury and the members of the *manram (Ur sabha)* sold the lands to the merchants as *Thiruidaiyattairaiyili* to the sevur temple.

An another inscription²⁶ of the same ruler from sevur denotes that one vellala from sevur namely vellalan kommaiya siruvanandan sold the land near tanks area (*sangalvan kulam*) to perumal temple at Sevur for *anradu varagan* 300 *pullikuligai* panam. During the period of Viravallala in 1322 A.D the above temple land became waste land {fallow land} of the temple consequently one madappa dandanayak, an army general of viravallala III undertook the reclamation work and redonated to the temple.²⁷ An Inscription²⁸ of Virapandya from Sevur denotes that the *vellanattar and puluvanattar* donated *thiruidaiyatta iraiyili* land

in Karaipadi village. The land included *nanchai* (wet land) and *punjai* land {dry land} well and garden.

An another inscription²⁹ of virapandya from Sevur in 11th century reveals that *vellanattar and puluvanattar* of the *vadaparisara nadu* donated marudur village to the sevur temple as tax free *iraiyili* for conducting the *periyannattar* festival in the temple.

Agriculture was the basic industry on which vast majority of the population depended for livelihood. Temples as a biggest land owner filled a large place in the agricultural economy of locality. Right from the kongu chola times the villages donated to the temple called as *brahmadeyas, Devadanas and thiruidaiyattam*. The brahmanas occupied in the temple villages called as *kovil kaniyudiy Brahmanas*

They were the members of the temple treasury. According to the inscriptional evidence they collected taxes on behalf of the temple from tillers. Subsequently, the temple property was increased in due course the temple become big land owner. An inscription³⁰ from Avinashi temple in 1350 A.D. reveals that one srirangabhattan from *viranarayana chathurvedimangalam* in the chola country donated lands from *karaivalinadu and perurnadu* to the Avinashi temple. It is assumed that the brahmanas land lords (*Kaniyudiy Brahmanas*) donated lands to the temple general welfare.

The wet cultivation and dry cultivation was widely prevalent in *vadaparisara nadu* in association with well irrigation. The paddy was cultivated in the river beds such type of lands were called *mannarai*. The inscription from *vadaparisara nadu* refers the prevalence of canal and tank irrigation. The major tanks are mentioned in the inscriptions of the temples³¹. The kings and officials also promoters of irrigation system. The irrigation works in the dams and canals was maintained properly by various agencies, assemblies and individuals. The Vijayanagar ruler Achutaraya in 1538 A.D constructed one tank namely *saliya samudram* and he donated half of the revenue from the lands irrigated by the tank to the Avinashilingeswarar temple at Avinshi.³²

The *brahmadeya* settlement in the *Vadaparisara* nadu reduced the mechanism of violence in the north kongu region. It served as the agents of detribalization by reducing the tribes into caste. The *brahmadeya*, *devadana* and *chaturvedimangalam* settlements spread out the brahmanical culture. The Brahmans organised *chitrameli periyana* assembly and united the shepherd community on the festival occasion. The brahmans occupied the fertile lands and holding the *manrattu* rights. They collected the taxes from the tillers from the temple villages. The new *gothras* among the brahmans appeared in the inscriptions denotes that the brahmans inroads in *vadaparisara* nadu developed a new culture in the north kongu region. They employed various position in the temple complex and developed the temple treasury and attained a superior position in the temple and society. The pastoral people of the kongu region in the early period were leading a tribal life with clan division mingled with

immigrants and emerged as vellalar on the north kongu region and adopted the valley culture. The mercantile guilds indulged in trading activities in the *vadaparisaranadu*. Subsequently many mercantile settlements emerged in the north kongu region. The *kaikolas* settled in *vadaparisara nadu*. They developed in spinning and weaving and dying in the north kongu region which paved the way for the inroads of weavers from the north kongu region during the vijayanagar period. The entrepreneurs like potters, artisans and *devaradiyar* were settled in the villages in *vadaparisaranadu*. The temple become the landowner and temple property was increased due course and become big land owner. Temple garden was developed in every temples. The agricultural development in the *vadaparisara nadu* paved the way for emergence of many mercantile centres in the Noyyal river basin.

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REVENUE SYSTEM DURING THE PERIOD OF QUTB SHAHIS OF GOLCONDA

Mohammad Osman Pasha

Agriculture is the most important and the oldest occupation of this country. It provided basic needs like food, clothing and shelter, and

employment to the people. Through the ages land revenue formed one of the basic sources of income to the government. Land revenue was

collected from all kinds of land owned by the individuals and institutions. Like other contemporary decentralized feudalistic states of Indian sub – continent, the QutbShahi government also collected its revenue by farming particular methods. The greatest source of revenue for Central Government was derived from the king's claim as a share from all agricultural production. Through the mechanism of the land tax, the Qutb Shahs appropriated a large share of every harvest.

From the earliest years of Muslim rule in Golconda, there existed a perfect assessment of Jam – e – Kamil which specified a normative land tax, figured for village, taluq and district – wise in the kingdom. By the latter part of the 17th century, with the annexation of Carnatic territories, the Jam – e – Kamilwa improved. As far as land tax is concerned, the State demanded at the time of the formulation of the perfect assessment seems to have been computed on the equivalent of the one half share of the produce of every harvest as land tax since in theory of the rule of the battai or equal division of crops between the government and cultivators. The State officials gathered the land revenue which starts from the level of the village, Karanam who was the official and collected the revenue from each talent.

In the exploitative land structure that prevailed, during that time, land revenue was shared by three classes of elites at the topmost layer, viz. the Sultan, the muqasadars (the great nobles), the sarsamatus (district governors) and hawaldars. In some parts of Golconda the central revenue ministry could directly collect land tax, while in other parts the muqasadars were given specified lands or muqasas as revenue assignments. In still other parts such as in the coastal Andhra region, the sarsamatus had the power to collect taxes from large territorial expanses and the hawaldars from smaller areas. A chosen few of the Persian Sayyids and sometimes person of Habashi origin were given the posts of the sarsamatus, whereas the lower level of posts of hawaldars was given generally to Niyogi Brahmins¹.

The agrarian system was a matter of duties rather than rights. At its root lay the conception that it was the duty of peasants to till the soil and pay a share of their produce to the State. So far as private rights claims were recognized, they

were subordinate to this fundamental obligation. Golconda rulers did not impose an entirely foreign system on their subjects in their kingdom. They accepted the established customs (barbast) in the land tenure system, as the revenue was a prominent feature of the agrarian system. The kingdom was divided into Subhas, which were under the control of a Subedar.

The Subhas were further divided into Sarkars or mahals or Tarafs, which were under the control of Tarafdars. Tarfs were divided into Taluqas or Simthu or Paraganas, which were under the control of Amils and Majumdars. And the village was a primary Revenue Unit. In these administrative divisions the Simthu or pargana was considered to be a center for revenue collection. These parganas were auctioned every year and given to the highest bidders called Ijaradars, or Jagirdars or Zamindars, on contract basis.

“The Zamindars used to go for higher biddings and they used to collect the revenue through their own appointed subordinate officers who in turn collected revenue from the assigned tenants in the villages”. If number of villages were more in a paragon, then it was divided into two or three divisions (vonttu)² and given to Zamindars, who were to be under the control of Amils in the concerned pargana. This Ijara (contract) system was quite prevalent even after Qutb Shahi rule.

Moreland also gives the similar information and it is on the basis of description from a travelogue of “Pieter Van den Broeck's Voyages”. Which states that “ the kingdom was divided into districts under Governors, and the posts were formed by every year to the highest bidders. Here the Governor was not a provincial Amil but a Zamindar or jagirdar who was a contractor of tax collection. “Most of the local Governors were Brahmins or Baniyas. “The craftiest and most knavish people in all India”, we gave lavish presents to their superiors at court, so that the complaints of the poor could never reach the king”.

The auction (Ijara) method was not only for collecting land revenue but also for collection of other taxes in the State at seacoasts, on export, import duties, salt, markets and mines. Through auction, the allotment would be given to Ijaradars or zamindars. The rights over the region were not

only for collecting the land revenue but also for looking after the village and Paragana administration. The land revenue was collected two or three times in a year and it was collected in cash (varahalukattadi) or kind (kolichetattu).

The Zamindars usually used to pay in cash to the treasury. The stipulated annual sum had to be paid to the royal treasury in three installments in a year. These Zamindars used to collect more revenues and they were paying little amounts to the treasury in three installments in a year. Because of this type of practice the mediators and contractors became very rich and enjoyed the regular rights over Zamindari by offering highest biddings. Zamindars were continued in their Jagirs by political influence like the recommendation of Qiladars or other nobles of the kingdom.

Revenue minister Mir Jumla was responsible for revenue collection from the provinces in regular intervals every four or six months. Subhas were under control of subedar or sarkhel. His office comprised the Diwan, in-charge of revenue and assisted by the sherishtadar, a head accountant. Tatafwas under the control of tarafdar or mahaldar or maniavar, held responsible for law and order as well as revenue supervision. He was assisted in revenue collection by Sardes – e – Mukhis or Deshkulkarnis³, who were in charge of revenue accounts.

Parganas were under the control of Amil who were assisted by majumdar, who used to collect the revenue from the Ijaradars and also maintained the records and accounts which were subjected to audit. He was also empowered to audit the zamindars accounts and records. There are instances found in QutbShahi records wherein Amils and majumdars dominated over Zamindars in the matters of inspection and audit of accounts of Patwaris who were appointed by Zamindars.

Majumdars were assisted by Desha Mukh or Desha Pandya even sometimes known as Desaiyans. Their primary job was to maintain the records and accounts and they were also in-charge of collecting the taxes from the Zamindars. Sometimes, they were appointed directly through the Sultan's farman. In lieu of their services they were paid some percentage of their collections, ranging from 5% to 10%⁴.

The zamindars used to collect the revenue through their own patwaris or kulkarnis who maintained triennial accounts and village land records. They were asked to submit the accounts to majumdars. There are instances that these Desha – Mukh and other revenue officials often misused their powers in revenue collection and embezzled government. "Zamindars and Amils joined hands in the misappropriation of government revenues which were detected and proved zamindars and DeshMukhs were asked to submit their records regularly. Account books, revenue register (Awarja – Taqaqi). Records (Pahanis) were inspected and audited.

Delay in remittance of revenue by zamindars was punishable crime. If they failed to pay the revenue in time, due to negligence or failure in collection they were required to produce the security bonds. After executing security they have to pay their regular installments along with due money in time. Otherwise, the zamindar and his guarantor were arrested and kept in custody. Their release was only after executing a new bond for the due amount (taujih) as determined. In some instances they borrowed money from money lenders and noblemen of the kingdom on interest at the rate of 4% or 5% per month.

Under any circumstances, if the employees embezzled the government money, they were punished severely. Misappropriation or misuse of government revenue by the Amils or tarafdars was treated as a serious crime. "...defaulting Governors were permanently injured by the punishment inflicted on them". It is clearly understood that the QutbShahi officials were not responsible for revenue collection⁵.

They looked after the revenue remittance, accounts, maintenance of accounts and auditing the Zamindar's account books. They audited the revenue remittance accounts. They were not having direct contact with the cultivators of the land, who were exploited by the Zamindars. There was no one to hear their woes. There are no clear evidences to show that correct uniform land tax was levied on the peasants.

That QutbShahi government used to settle the land disputes and land tax by appointing revenue officials of the state. A number of inscriptions of the period attested the cases. For example, the Dharjavaram inscription (Prakasam

district) describes at length details regarding land and other taxes, Mohammed QuliQutb Shah's period, the army chief Ekhlash Khan gave the inscription in A.D. 1592 regarding the land tax determined by the government after the settlement of cowl, at a newly established town Ekhlashapuram. He was a Tarafdard of Addanki and Kondavidu region. Details of taxes on land are as follows⁶:

1. Newly cultivated land for the first two years as per the Kowl agreement (as per the prevailing system tax would be exempted for 5 years. Here Ekhlash Khan granted exemption for initial period of two years only.
2. From the 3rd year onwards tax should be paid $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce permanently.
3. Different crops sown in wetlands would be taxed $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce. (Rajuku Palu Okati, Kulapallu Rendu).
4. Uncultivated land if cultivated, then the king was entitled to claim $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce (Rajuku Palu Okati, Kulapallu Mudu).
5. Out of grain produced from Chalaka land in case of Thurakalu, Doralu, Brahmalu and Karanalu (they are all called Sukhavasulu (people leading a life of comfort) king was entitled to $\frac{1}{2}$ of share of produce. (Sagamu Rajuku Migatadi Kulapolluku).
6. In case of barren land, $\frac{1}{5}$ th share of the total produce was collected by the king. (Rajukupalu Okati – Kulapallu Nalugu).

The Malkapuram inscription contains details of the agreement made by the people of

24 villages in Ravimpadusthala. It was collectively agreed by them to pay tax. The inscription also describes the details of wet land existed in each village totaling around 2,657 kuchalas (one Kuchala is equal to 29 acres, this means that the total wet land in 24 villages accounted to about 77,053 acres). The land tax was fixed as $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the produce to all communities. Brahmans were exempted from tax payment and Mulims had to pay on $\frac{1}{6}$ th produce as tax.

Basing on the inscriptions and Kaifiats it can be concluded that during the QutbShahi period, the land tax was more or less $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of produce of every crop. The revenue statement relating to the reign of Abdul Hasan Tanashah (A.D. 1686) shows the annual revenue from the kingdom to be 2, 47, 50, 530 huns realized from the land taxes.

K.V. Bhoopal Rao gives diverse amount that in the year A.D. 1686 that the State yielded Rs. 33741840-00 per annum as land tax. However the QutbShahi government used to get immense wealth from the land revenue which varied from place to place.

The above study now draws focus on the nature of State's land revenue collection. J.D Thevenot has observed of the Deccan on one journey of the insolence of tax collectors acting in the name of their lords whom villages had been granted⁷. Later he noted that the nobles appropriated maximum amounts of revenue from their land grants mainly because of the weakness of the central authority. Finally we can say that Qutb shahi rulers maintained a systematic revenue system in entire kingdom.

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TANK IRRIGATION AND GRANTS AS REFLECTED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF KOLAR DISTRICT

Munireddy & N. Shaik Masthan

Introduction

Kolar district is a district in the south eastern tip of the state of Karnataka which is traditionally regarded as the drought hit district with only an Annually Average 744 MM of rainfall. But this district has a rich and vibrant history and culture. The people of the district are known for their hard work who toil day in and day out to meet the demands of the life and in fact they have carved out a life style of dignity due to their persistent and sustainable way of development. It is a rain fed district and majority of the people are agricultural based in their profession. Hence, artificial way of collection of rain water has been a means and method of development of agriculture and through irrigation. Therefore, development of tanks has become an important aspect of the way of economic life of the people where tank irrigation plays a very major role and importance, a little bit of rain which falls annually has to be carefully store effectively. Even the great dynasties which ruled the district starting from the Chalukyan period to Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara dynasties constructed and maintained many tanks along with the development of the tanks by the queens, Ganikas, temples and the philanthropic people. Constructing a tank was called as a 'punya' water or a merit which bring credit in the other world. A tank which is filled with Rain water leads to fulfilment of so many other tanks in the stream as there was a chain of tank system that was developed in the entire area. But today due to various human activities number of tanks in district have disappeared¹.

A Gazetteer Edited by B.L.Rice explained that 85% of water which is available from Palar and north Pinakini (Uttara Pinakini) rivers are used in Kolar district. Further it is said that in ancient period, there were a total 5,497 tanks, which served/watered 48,600 hectares of lands of Kolar region. Palar River which originates from Gotham Gudda near Kaivara flows through Kolar, Bethamangala, Ramasagara all the Rivers of Kolar, Nangili, Kurubur Comes to these streams only. Ramasagara tank is the biggest tank in the District, The tanks situated in Bangavathi, Ronour, Kolathur and Lakshmi

sagar of Srinivasapur taluk has a very good catchment area.

The northern Pinakini, also called the north Pennar River, rises on the Chennakesava hills to the northwest of Nandi hills, in Chikkaballapur taluk and the Subsidiary Rivers of northern pinakini called as Chitravathi and Papagni River fills water to many tanks in the flow stream. Byarasagar tank of Gudibande is the biggest tank in the district. As well in the same district there are tanks like watada Hosahalli, Huddugoor, Nagaragere, and Namagondlu are very important.

The south Pinakini River (Dakshina Pinakini), which also originates in Nandi hills in Chikkaballapur taluk, flow in the easterly direction upto Shiddlaghatta, and to this river there are attached tanks like Kandavara and Gopal Krishna are constructed².

In Southern India irrigation system developed and adopted since ages. The Human in the beings developed agriculture as their primary activity and entirely depended on rainfall for cultivation. But with the increase of population, people shifted to less density areas and started the technique of storing the rain water for cultivation and household activities. Tanks were constructed with the help of dried and wet leaves, sticks, creeper and soil to pile up the bunds. And then the rain water is stored in such tanks and water was supplied to catchment area for cultivation through small canals. History explains the how megalithic cultures stored water from the mountain regions were used for cultivation activities throughout³.

The development of tanks and tank irrigation In Kolar district are referred in the inscriptions starting from 5th century to 18th century. The first inscription in this regard belongs to Gangs period which is known as Malur taluk's Nonnamangala copper plates, According to these inscriptions two tanks were constructed for irrigation purpose and the area below it nearly of 6 zone of land were given as land grant⁴.

The study of the District tank irrigation is divided and studied as

1. Tank construction and Grants.
2. Repairs and management.
3. Water management.
4. Technical Skill etc.

Tank construction and grants

There are many numbers of inscriptions that are available in the district of Kolar, which explain that many or every dynasty that ruled the district like the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Hoysalas, the Vijayanagara, the Wodayers and the Sultans of Mysore have taken proactive role in the construction of the tanks particularly their kings, Queens, Palegars, officials, women, Prostitutes, Businessmen, priests, private people and organisations who not only built the tanks but also managed tanks.

The first record of tank construction in the district was found in 931 C.E at a place called as Avani which is popularly called as Avani inscription. As per this record in the 40 years history of Avani there were built 50 temples and 2 tanks⁵.

In Bangarpet taluk, there is Ramasagara inscription. Ramasagara was famously known as 'Bukkasagara' as it was constructed by Bukkaraya the governor of the region during the Hoysala rule. As per the inscription of kalludi in Gauribidanuru taluk, Pratapa Bukkaraya ordered to Singhia Batta [who was a water Resources Expert] and make the flow of water from Pennar Rivers to Penugonda for the betterments of people.

The kings in those days implemented various programmes for the construction of tanks which helps in Irrigating purpose like 'Bittuvatta,' 'Dasavanda,' and kattu-vadugai etc., Words are seen in inscription which suggest the collection of special taxes for the construction of tanks for irrigation as well as for consumption purposes. They also suggest the encouragement provided to tanks irrigation. For construction and repairs of tanks the land below catchment area of tanks were given as Grants of land to people. 1/10th portion of tax amount collected was spent

on tank construction and repairs ['Kodugai' or 'kattu-kodige'].

In 1033 C.E a place called as Iramudi Nadu was given as a Grant by king Iramudi Chola, who said to have constructed 300 tanks and sluices are recorded in the Nancharlu inscription. In 1330 C.E Arabikothnoor inscription mentions that one of his subordinate ruler on behalf his brother constructed shivalinga temple and a tank.

Vaniganahalli inscription in Mulbagal taluk mentions that the citizens and priests requested their king Mangarasa to distribute 2/10 of tank catchment area and 2/10th of his tax amount to spend on tank irrigation project of the region.

In the olden times it was believed by some people that construction of tanks, wells, temples etc., was a religions merit which was believed to be a punya that would yield foots in the other world. In this regard an inscription dated 1100 C.E, at a place called Bovigondanahalli in Chintamani taluk has references to the construction of a tank in its pure philanthropic pursuit. In this inscription the son and grandson of king Verupakaran constructed tanks in Madamangla region with king's trade mark and seal exhibited on the inscription⁶.

Private people were also interested in the construction of some tanks. In an inscription found in Chikkaballapur tells that kuduvathi tank was constructed by a family from its own cost so the tank was given to the use of the village along with the family⁷.

There were references that woman also showed much interest in construction of tanks and wells for water purpose. The granddaughter of Bukkaraya, Jammadevi constructed canals in the village of Tiruvani. The names of the contractors were also given in the inscription, like Peddabaluvooja and Chinnabovivooja who agreed to construct the tank and after completing the construction they said to have received 130 honnnu coins, land, and horse from king⁸.

There are references that, Even Businessmen were also interested in the construction of tanks in those days. As per an inscription of Arlukunte in Srinivasapur taluk, a businessmen (Shetty) from Kanchi constructed a tank and was given as a gift to the people of the village has been documented⁹.

Repair and management

Tanks were constructed in the river flow catchment areas not only for storage of water but also to guard from the disasters and damages to be caused due to heavy rain fall at times. There were occasions also that even tanks were also to be damaged by bunds being cracked and the crops were destroyed. Hence they were required to be constantly observed, repaired and maintained. In 950 C.E an inscription of Bethamangala records the maintenance work of the tank of Vijayaditya Mangala which was repaired by the administration. In 1155 C.E the official Sokkeimaiya, a subordinate of king Vishnuvardhana of Hoysala kingdom repaired this tank once again. In 1903 C.E when the tank collapsed due to floods once again, the Mysore kings reconstructed this tank. At present this tank supplies water to K.G.F city, and it is the main source of drinking of water to the people of the city.

An inscription in Kolar district dated 1000 C.E called as Hebbani inscription depict that the head of the village had reconstructed a collapsed tank so he received "kottu kodige" inam, (land grant) from Nolamba rulers¹⁰. Another Inscription in Malur Taluk says that some People called, one Kadripathi and Dasegowda have repaired half of the collapsed tank and rest of the construction and repair was done by a person called Agasa Chinna¹¹. In another inscription called, Dalsanur Inscription there is a mentioned that in 1128 C.E a Person called, Pudunadu Gowda converted around 300 hectares of barren land into cultivable land by suppling water to this.

Tank water management

In every Village in ancient and medieval ages, a person was appointed especially to look after tank water management, and that was the practice in n Kolar region. The government used nominate that person on the recommendations of the village panchayat and he was to be given a plot of land for his livelihood, and it was rotation among the same community people of the village. He was called as Neeraghatti or Neeraganthi. That apart this person also used to get annual subsistence from the farmers, who grow the crops in the catchment area of tank in the form of grains and grass as remuneration to the person who worked as water manager or the

Called Neeraganthi. It was the practice that on Sunday's and Monday's in every summer session, all the people of the concerned villages together used to repair, maintains, managed and reconstructs the tanks where ever necessary.

The village administrators called as Shanubhoga, Patel, and Neeraganthi, Tohti, Talwar, Poojari and others were all the service providers who played a pivotal role in the service of the total welfare of the village and the up keep of the tanks as per the Village rules, regulations and traditions. The Catchment area of tank is extended for cultivation as well as for the purpose of drinking water available in tank. Safe guarding the entire area was the most responsibility of the village community and the administration.

An undated inscription found on the tank-bund of the village called kurabarahalli in Kolar District, Claims after the gifting of the land (Bittu vatta) for the maintenance of the tank, that whoever adhered and acted according to the principles of dharma, would earn the merit that would accrue for having performed the traditional horse sacrifice (Aswamedha – phalam) benefits.

In Chintamani taluk there were villages called as Munuganakunte and Doddakere where the village's tanks had catchment areas of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ parts but was facing an acute shortage of water problem including drinking water. To solve this problem and to bring balance to the catchment and water availability a system called "DAMOSI" was adopted, which can be seen even today¹².

The Vijayanagara kingdom which was established in 1336, ruled all most all parts of south India. It developed a unique system of administration and the basic feature of Vijayanagar kingdom was the system of 'Aayagar'. In this system among all the officers of the village, an officer called Neeraganthi, was in charge of the village tank and looked after the water management and distribution of water efficiently and equally to all the land holders for their crop pattern. He was in charge of any water dispute of the village and was a highly responsible person held responsible by the panchayat. Of course he was suitable remunerated for all his duties.

A Kannada Inscription of the year 1517 C.E. of the village called Bana Samudra, in Kolar district records that one Chabayanayaka made arrangements for the removal of silt from the spot of the sluice, year after year regularly. Further the pit (channel) so formed had to be strengthened with stone walls to prolong its utility, year after year. One, Mekalabomma, in the year 1636 C.E. repaired the breaches in the tank of his village, in Kolar district, in return for which he received some wet-land below that as 'Dasavanda' arrangement¹³.

Technical skill

The tanks which we are seeing today throughout the district are only the legacy and the reminiscences of the technical expertise that our forefathers displayed in the technique and the skills of construction, repair, and Maintenance of small as well as big tanks. An inscription found at a place called Porumamilla in Kadapa district, there is a description of the water lifting system through a sluice or culvert, which is still functioning, is one of the magnificent and a typical example of the hydraulic method of water lifting adopted in the Vijayanagara period. It is an unusual display of engineering skill. But this inscription points 12 requirements and 6 disadvantages as the prerequisites in the construction of tanks¹⁴.

The Rajagundlahalli inscription (1497 C.E) in Kolar district, has explained the details of the construction of new tanks. Thereafter, the embankment or the bund was constructed with stones. Its rear was packed with loads of earth and the tank was farmed. It was also provided with a sluice, built of stone –slabs which were fixed firmly by using bricks and lime-mortar and it was complete in all respects¹⁵.

In a Vokkaleri copper plate inscription Shivaji's subordinate Subedhar Ananthaji Bose said to bestowed showers of praise to one Mari Gowda for one of the best construction of tank he had given to work with. Though there is no mention of any material benefit awarded to him, it was a matter of pride and honour to have been received such laurels. Though there are minute details about the construction of tanks, their maintenance and policies and programmes relating to them, There are hardly any inscripational details regarding tank's capacity and quantity of water storage etc., For example,

in 1408 C.E Agara inscription tells about tank construction while the Avani inscription tell about the appointment of a priest of a temple for the purpose of construction of religious hall (Dharmachatra), he said sold the tank catchment area to Ankappa and so on., but the capacity of the tanks, the measurement of water and such details are in wanting.

Conclusion

Though inscriptions as such are available in Kolar district since 4th century CE, inscriptions relating to tank irrigation are available only since 5th to 18th century. While, some 90-95 inscriptions tells about new tanks that were constructed and the development of the irrigation works in the region at the times of Gangas, cholas, Hoysala and Vijanagara period rest of the inscriptions are ment for donor records, grants, sacrificial stones and so on.

To sum up it can be said that system of water management and distribution of the water was a main concern of every civilization at every given point of time. It totally dependent on the availability of water as a resource. While, where ever rain water and river system was not adequately available, people strived to develop the technique of storage of water in an artificial way i.e. by tank system. The natural instinct for the betterment of life by all the creatures was also a motivating factor for the thought process of storage of water. So there is a great concern for all the Researches, Experts, Officials and politicians as well as government to focus, on these issues for the betterment of the living human society.

It is our earnest to give the message to the society, that instead of constructing houses and various Buildings both for domestic and industrial purpose in the tank catchment areas. It's better to repair and reconstruct the damage tanks and maintain the existing tanks and its catchment areas for the purpose of future irrigation and agriculture activities. It not only helps the conservation of environment but also provide better life to the generations to succeed. This paper in time and space is only a tribute to those great people and the times who have contributed their might to the cause of building culture and civilization. It is for the betterment and welfare of people in Kolar and Chikkaballapur districts in particular, As well as entire human folk of the society in general.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATION IN CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

V. Palanichamy

Introduction

Irrigation holds the key to agriculture development. It is one of the most important factors for assured more crop production in wet and dry lands. Adequate and timely supply of irrigation water to crops is a pre-requisite in the agricultural production process, particularly in areas where the rainfall is scanty and irregular. Irrigation in colonial India has been subject to many studies and debates. Scholars such as Elizabeth Whitecombe and Ian Stone debated whether colonial policies on irrigation had been beneficial or detrimental to society.¹ In South India, different regions, such as Tirunelveli and Nanchilnadu, have been examined in detail to understand the impacts of colonialism on agricultural life, including irrigation setups.² But by the end of the 18th century the irrigation system was in a miserable state and the area was largely depopulated.³ The agricultural crops were affected by famine; therefore land revenue was decreased. During colonial rule in the indigenous irrigation works were mostly neglected. The irrigation development through treated as commercial in early days was primarily undertaken as a famine relief measure.

After the British conquest of the Tamil country in 1800, the continued importance of eminent native personalities in financing irrigation was over shadowed by the growth of Government as a centralized planner.⁴ Sir Arthur

Cotton was analyzed that irrigation only as a means for obtaining land revenue, and in general, the state sponsored projects had to run a profit.⁵ The financial feasibility of irrigation schemes was used as the test of utility.⁶ Because of (British officials) negligence, throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries the irrigation works sometimes survived by local efforts and sometimes deteriorated.

There is no Public Works Department prior to the late 1840s but the whole problem of irrigation was looked after by Civil Engineering Department under the Board of Revenue. "The various Collectors had annually to report to the Board of Revenue as to what works required repair, with an estimate of the charges. Small undertakings were looked after by the local authorities, while the more important ones were assigned to the Superintendent of Tank Repairs and Watercourses". In India particularly in Madras Presidency, a Civil Department of Public Works was established in 1852 by the colonial government with irrigation and chief concern⁷ because, it was so in most of the irrigation tracts of the country, through they took interest in some large scale irrigation works. By around 1875 it was observed that a few works 'of native origin' were the only ones which registered commendable success and helped to show a positive balance in the government's irrigation account.⁸

The Famine Commission in 1879 had indicated that no irrigation works had yet paid their way in all provinces (upper part of Madras) of colonial India. The Commission had also indicated that the localities in which large scale irrigation could be undertaken with significant advantage were becoming exhausted. This Commission realized that the great famines during the year 1877-1878 had hit the neglected areas which were not suitable for large scale irrigation and pressed the need for development of minor irrigation.⁹ On the basis of the recommendations of the Famine Commissions, the First Irrigation Commission was set up in 1901. The Commission also brought into focus the management problems of the minor irrigation works like the tanks. This paper is made an earnest attempt to bring out light about the social and economic changes in Chingleput district through the development of irrigation. It also deals with the various irrigational systems and maintenance of, channels, canals, tanks etc., these were controlled by government officials and private landowners over the period. Some scholars Prasannan Parthasarathi¹⁰, Arun Bandopadhyay,¹¹ David Mosse¹² have been studied related on the development of irrigation, methods and its practice, maintenance of tank, Channels, canals of South India. Therefore the author has focus on micro level study on the development of irrigation in Chingleput district; it is brought to light about social and economic changes under the British rule through the development of irrigation. The establishment of a stable revenue regime also required comprehensive power over water resources in order to maximize revenue potential for Colonial India. Water was controlled and distributed to the pasture land for commercialization of agriculture and for collecting more revenue to the government during the periods of drought, so that necessary moisture may be always available for the growing various crops in this region.

Development of Irrigation Works in Chingleput District

Types of Irrigation works

The irrigation works of Chingleput district may be divided into four main categories i.e., rivers, canals, tanks ('eries' in Tamil) and wells. The Madras Government devoted particular attention to the improvement of this class of irrigation. In the beginning 19th century, canal

irrigation was spurred on by search for revenue. The early British officials were taken effort on the redevelopment of old system of previous rulers of this region. In addition to the repair and renovation of existing tanks a number of new works were inaugurated, including weirs across many of the smaller rivers of the district designed both to give direct and irrigation by means of canals taking off above them and to replenish the supplies of the small storage works in the commanded area. Collectively these small works were considered importance and contribute largely to the irrigated area of this region.¹³ Under 'canals' are classed all works of any considerable size for diverting the waters of streams or rivers, and carrying them on to the land.

All works for the storage of water, and all natural depressions of which the water is used for irrigation are called under the caption of tanks, and under 'wells' works for giving access to the subterranean supply or to the waters of rivers which running deep below the general level of the ground; it lifted vertically before they can be made to flow on to the fields.¹⁴ 'Canals' are of the perennial' or inundation type according as they are designed to draw their supplies from the river at all seasons of the year or only when it is in flood. In the former case it is almost always necessary to make a weir, temporary or permanent, across the river so as to divert the water in to the canal, and this is often one of the most expensive parts of the canal works. Inundation canals had no such weirs ones cleared of silt they go on taking in water from the river until, at the close of the flood season its surface falls below a certain level, and the canals then remain dry until the next flood season.¹⁵ Parthasarathi has rightly pointed out that the development of agriculture in 19th century Tamilnadu including Chingleput district was very complex and varied environment of the region. It contained extensive tracts of forests, widespread wastelands, and abundant surface water. This diverse environment made it possible to maintain high levels of agricultural productivity as it provided the resources to maintain the fertility of the soil and the supplies of water that were critical for agricultural enterprise.¹⁶

The changes in the pattern of irrigation resources in colonial Tamil Nadu need some

explanation. The number of rivers, channels, tanks and wells in Chingleput either remained unchanged or increased negligibly during the 18th and 19th centuries under discussion. Chingleput was predominantly a wet district, extensively irrigated by river-channels and tanks. The two major rivers Palar and Cheyyar are flow through the southern part of the district irrigating mainly Uttiramerur, Kanchipuram and parts of Chingleput taluk, while the other two rivers i.e. the Korattalaiyar and the Arani are pass through the northern taluks. None of these rivers was a very secure source of supply, and irrigation in the early season was often hampered by the low level of breaches in them.¹⁷ This district had an elaborate tank system, and the larger tanks of Uttiramerur, Ponneri, Chembarambakkam, Red Hill, Chingleput and Madurantakam were all located in central and southern parts of the district is discussing below.

Tank Irrigation and development of Agriculture

There are two largest tanks i.e. Chembarambakkam and Mathurandagam have been irrigating in Chingleput district. Other tanks are smaller and rain-fed ponds irrigation small areas of within the circle. The Chembarambakkam tank was the biggest one embanked by old native ruler of Tamil country, irrigating usually as many as 52 villages.¹⁸ Before its enlargement it held from 55.61 millions of cubic yards, and had an area of 4,648 acres or 7.26 sq miles. After enlarging the tank capacity was 102.91 million cubic yards and the waterspread was 5,729 acres or 8.95 sq miles.¹⁹ However, these tanks were not always in full supply; and we often hear of any of them with six, four or even one months' supply.²⁰ The tanks of the northern taluks were mostly shallow and insecure.²¹ The result was that the wet land in Chingleput could not be continuously cultivated because of the limitation of the irrigation system, at least with considerable degree of intensity. The river system could not be always depended upon, while the tank system was subject to failure. The latter was not only due to seasonal scarcities, but also to certain defects in the construction of the tanks concerned. The tanks were often breached or inundated in the middle of a season, causing subsequent loss of water; and sometimes water was let off through sluices in anticipation of inundation and then there was no water.²² Consequently, even some cultivable,

good wet land could become waste for the time being in this region.²³ It is important to note that complete check in the growth of tanks in a great tanks district like Chingleput constituted a serious hindrance to the increase of cultivation.

The creation of channels and any major repairs of both channels and tanks were always regarded as part of government responsibility. The Madras Public Works Commission of 1869-70, and successive commissions of enquiry during the remainder of the 19th century amassed a vast body of evidence to demonstrate the existence of autonomous village institutions of tank maintenance and communal labour, generally referred to as *Kudimaramat*, 'villager repair or maintenance works'. The total agricultural production of both wet and dry crops yield below the average under the large tanks was extremely good in this district.²⁴ The Government had estimated amount for the development of Chembrabakkam Tank Project was Rs.6,43,000 and the granted for the year 1877-78 was Rs.41,550. The Uttiramerur tank supply channel in Chingleput district was widened and deepened by famine labour in 1878.²⁵ There was 14,371 acres irrigated from Chemberambakkam Tank and collected revenue sum of Rs.62,073 in 1878.²⁶ The colonial government also admitted for the first time its moral obligation to maintain minor irrigation. Government not only increased its sponsorship of tank repair, but also insisted on its overriding right to own and control local water resources in the public interest. By this time also, the ryotwari revenue settlement had turned irrigation commons into state property.

Irrigation under Wells

Irrigation through wells was practiced mainly for garden cultivation in Tamilnadu, However, for wet cultivation in the insufficiently irrigated areas, and for better dry cultivation, wells were often used. In Chingleput district there were repaired 4629 wells in 1826 to 1827 and it was increased to 4827 wells in 1837-38.²⁷ D. Brandis had travelled through out the districts Tamilnadu in 1880 and mention in his report on Forest Management, he noted that Salem and other districts of Tamil Nadu the large number of new wells were deepened in the inland districts, and it seemed to that the people fully recognized the value of wells for irrigation. Such wells cost from Rs500 to Rs.1000.²⁸ The Board's report on

the Revenue Settlement of the Madras Presidency gives the details of well irrigation in 1890 shows that 3,176 wells were excavated in that year by Government ryots at a cost of Rs.2,63,677, it was increased three-fourth in Salem, Coimbatore and Chingleput districts. The large number of wells had been excavated in the Chingleput, North Arcot, Coimbatore, Madurai and Tirunelveli district of Tamilnadu during the year 1877-78 with the aid of government loans. In the single taluk of Ponneri, which was more or less to drought, it appeared that no less than 900 wells was constructed in hard soils end of the year 1880.²⁹ This was a great advantage to that taluk which was protected peasants from droughts. Generally, large number of wells was dug for irrigation purpose with advances granted by Government under the Land Improvement Loans Acts on very favourable terms for protecting cultivators from droughts.³⁰

Practice of Irrigational Methods

On garden lands, irrigation is practiced on an elaborate scale. Three methods of raising the water are adopted, according to the height of the field above the source of supply. For low lifts a bucket was used, swung on a rope' this was raised and lowered by two men,, while a third upsets it over the field. For higher lifts, up to 12 feet, the *picottah* was used. This ingenious but simple machine was identical with the level of Egypt. The third form of lift, the *kavalay*, was used lifting water from deep wells. This consists of a leathern bucket, attached to a rope, which runs over a roller, and is worked by a pair of oxen moving up an down an inclined plane.³¹

Cropping Patterns

To take the case of wet land in Chingleput at first, the main crop was no doubt the much-talked about *samba*, amounting to 62 per cent of the whole produce.³² The *kar* was a limited first crop, cultivated in areas where the facilities of early irrigation through river-channels were available, as in Kanchipuram and Uttiramerur, but it was generally insecure.³³ Of the two-cropped wet land, the cropping schedule was either *kar* (reaping time October-November) and *navari* (reaping time May-June), or *samba*

(reaping time January-February) and *madungal* (reaping time June-July) on the same land. Sometimes there was a third produce, a kind of pulse called *poovasi* which was reaped before August-September.³⁴ In the second half of the 19th century and early half of the 20th centuries the British government forced formers to cultivate commercial crops viz., cotton, sugarcane, groundnut, and indigo etc., for exportation of foreign countries. Cotton was more demands in the manufacturing factories during the time of First World War. The mirasidars (land owners) and the small peasants were cultivated cash crops for market values. The farmers were easily cultivated groundnut because of it needs less amount of water to irrigate and the laboring charge was very low. Therefore commercialization of agriculture reached its zenith during the early 20th century. The money lenders and the *mirasidars* thus enjoyed enormous profits through collecting money from the landholders during the harvesting times. Hence the small landholding community's social and economic life style was slowly changed over the period. The expansion of trading activities in India as well as the whole world were enriched the growth of manufacturing factories. The manufacturing goods were sold outside of the countries and gained profit, this profit was transferred in to the world market economy.

Conclusion

The development of irrigational system in Chingleput district is to understand that most of the waste lands had been brought for cultivation due to availability of water in the catchment areas. Therefore land value was increased during 1860s and 1870s. Besides the land revenue was levied by Revenue Department in different from tank to tank and utilizing canals and river waters. During the colonial rule water was commercialized by the government officials and the elite group of people. This was made conflict between the big landholding and small peasant communities for utilizing water. Hence the small farming communities were sold their land and moved to urban centres for searching new kind of job opportunities for their livelihood.

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WEAVERS' COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA - GENESIS AND CHALLENGES

P. Prasanna

Handloom Industry in India constitutes one of the major sectors employing the largest number of persons next to agriculture. According to the *Handloom Reservation Act of 1985*, "A Handloom is defined as any loom other than a power loom".¹ Loom was one of the Gandhi's

Catalyst for the freedom movement.² Handloom uses the services of other professions like carpenters, loom makers, dyers, transporters and makers of reeds, etc. Hence, it is a complete ecosystem of skilled workers.³ Nehru considered co-operation in its wider aspect as relating to human

relations in general and not as a particular form of economic organization.⁴

Emergence of the Cooperative Movement

In Capitalism, the private ownership of capital and resources provide incentives to agents to utilize resources efficiently and avoid the tragedy of commons. The inability of the poor to access finance and sell output at the right price traps them into a poverty cycle. In the capitalist system, labour and the capital markets were interlocked. In 1844, a group of 28 workers of Rochdale organized a society called "The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers" in Rochdale, England.⁵ It was considered as the true beginning of the modern cooperative movement. They showed the way of retail trade and developed the methods of modern large scale distribution and co-operative stores to offer standard good at standard prices.⁶ Cooperatives as an organizational arrangements of collective economic activity can break the interlocked capital, labour and the output markets.⁷ It is an essential association of human beings and the power of capital can be eliminated by limiting the return on capital to the minimum. It gives the direction and the sense of reality to the social structure and the national economy.⁸ Through cooperation, it is possible to generate higher surplus than the individuals acting as autonomous agents.⁹

The Cooperative Movement in India was formally introduced in the year 1904.¹⁰ There are two kinds of Cooperative institutional arrangements. First kind deals with the ownership of resources and the common capital, and the second deals with the members own their physical and human capital, but the cooperative institution deals with input and output markets to realize high surplus through collective action.¹¹ It was initiated not only to aid in economic development, but to bring about social change as well. In 1935, the Tamil Nadu Handloom Weavers' Cooperative Society, popularly known as 'Co-optex' was started. After independence, the state started to provide massive assistance under various development plans to build a strong cooperative sector especially in the rural areas.¹²

In India, more than 4 million jobs are provided by the Handloom, Power loom and the Mill sector. Out of the 38.47 lakh adult weavers and allied workers in the country, 77% are

female weavers and 23% are male weavers.¹³ More than 50% of the weavers belonged to the North Eastern region.¹⁴ In the 1960s, the international and national forces contributed favourably to the development of multilateral cooperative societies.¹⁵ Amalgamation of primary cooperatives into large cooperatives was the most significant development that occurred in the producers' cooperatives. In 1963, National Cooperative Development Corporation was set up with a view to promote the cooperatives.¹⁶ Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) suggested to reflect the infinite variety between Indian textiles and world products and "India Handloom" brand was launched in the year 2015 with its own logo to endorse high quality products as per need of the niche market.¹⁷ Between 2010-11 and 2014-15, total grants and subsidies allocated to the textile sector was Rs. 11,232 crore. From this quantity, the allocated amount for the Handloom sector was Rs. 2176 crore.¹⁸ After 'Make in India', the demands for the handloom products increased.

Problems faced by the Cooperative Movement

Trade union movement and the cooperative movement began as the movements of dissent and protest against the exploitation of labour in the capital system. Trade union movement over the years consolidated its position in protecting and promoting the interests of the workers. But the cooperative movement did not achieve it. Even though, many successful cooperative organizations emerged, they were under a particular leadership which acted as an instrument for strengthening their community and as vote banks. It caused an unequal balance between the cooperative leadership and the workers. K K Taimni in his article 'Co-operatives as Employers' affirmed that the cooperative idea was formulated with a view to break the hold of capital over industry and labour, but it has never worked that way.¹⁹ Workers were weak in terms of resources²⁰ and organizational strength and the local financial markets made the people dependent on middlemen for short term finance.²¹ Primary cooperatives without structural support are relatively weak. Government initiatives to reduce the public sector through privatisation and contracting out of public services opened new opportunities and challenges.²² Cooperatives are placed at a disadvantage while competing with larger firms and integrated corporations.²³

In India, Powerloom contributes 60% of the total cloth production and the handloom contributes nearly 15% of the production.²⁴ More than 80% of handlooms are in rural India.²⁵ In 1985, 22 items were reserved for Handloom, but within a decade it reduced to eleven. Powerloom encroached the handloom designs which created an unequal battle that paved the way for the loss of opportunity among the handloom weavers. Modernization and mechanism threatened the traditions of the weavers.²⁶ As per the Third Handloom Census of India carried out in 2009-10, more than 43 lakh people are engaged in weaving and allied activities related to the handloom industry in India, which was 65.5 lakh as per the Second Handloom Census conducted in 1995-96.²⁷ From 2002-2012, suicide of thousand weavers were reported, especially in the state of Andhra Pradesh.²⁸ Exploitative wages, the appalling conditions of work, inadequate supplies of yarn and their inability to attract and retain young talent weakened the sector.²⁹

Conclusion

Oliver E. Williamson who won the Nobel Prize for economics in 2009 found that common ownership in the form of firms, helps to solve some market failures by mitigating transaction costs and uncertainty.³⁰ International Cooperative Alliance principles recommended the cooperatives to function as independent,

democratic and member-led cooperative business organizations. To develop self-reliance, the cooperatives have to generate the required capital internally and not depend on the state. For mobilisation of resources, Cooperatives can approach the open money market through the raising of share capital. Comparative analysis of cooperatives and capitalist firms would help us to find to what extent cooperatives could perform well in comparison with capitalist firms. If the cooperative action is successful, it could develop output markets by reinvesting a part of the surplus. The survival of cooperatives depends on its ability to adapt to the changing market economy so as to gain the confidence of producers and consumers in relation to price and the quality of products. Gandhiji propounded that the cooperation or local government where wider participation by the public is the essential condition for the success. Workers should be participated in the decision-making process and the relationship between the elected cooperative leaders and the workers need to be healthy to maintain a good industrial relation. In order to attain optimum utilization, all the members of small and large of an integrated cooperative must form an alliance. Cooperatives should pay attention to their internal management to improve their operational efficiency and the success depended not only on economic benefits from the cooperatives to members, but also based on fulfilling the needs of the members.

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IMPACT OF INDUSTRIAL POLICY ON NATIVE STATES: A CASE STUDY OF COCHIN STATE

P.S. Pratheep

Introduction

The Princely State of Cochin made its debut in the political history of Kerala with the dismemberment of the Kulasekhara power in the twelfth century A.D. The ruling family of the State was known as Perumpadappu Swarupam. Till the end of the thirteenth century, the headquarters of the Perumpadappu family was at Chitrakoodam then to Mahodayapuram then to Cochin by 1405 A.D. Colonial penetration into Cochin commenced with the advent of the Portuguese. Cochin changed hands from the Portuguese to the Dutch, and by the end of the eighteenth century, Cochin became a vassal of the English East India Company. This was accompanied by the signing of a series of unequal treaties with the colonial power, which cemented England's control over Cochin.

After the conquest of the sub-continent by the British, India found herself ruled by two agencies, the direct rule by the British, and the indirect rule through the princes. Although the Government of India was ultimately responsible for what was happening in the Princely States, Indian princes, who had only *de jure* authority, internally ruled these States. The guidelines of the official British policy concerning the Princely States' transaction with capitalists and financial agents were formulated as early as 1797, when the Government of India initiated certain measures which made it obligatory on the part of British subjects.¹

Background for Industrial Growth

Though there were no consistent official guidelines for the industrial policy of the Government of India till 1914, it can be seen that a few individual administrators did some pioneering work in the field of industrialization.² For example, Lord Curzon, interested in the economic development of India, encouraged provincial governments to establish additional facilities for technical and industrial education, and in the subsequent years some provinces initiated modest schemes in this direction. Convinced of the feasibility of the suggestions made by Alfred Chatterton, a Professor-turned industrialist, the Madras Government made some pioneering efforts in the aluminium hollowware industry between 1898 and 1903. This was a remarkable success and later more and more enterprises were started culminating in the creation of the first provincial Department of Industries in 1906, and in the next year the Government of India created a State Department of Commerce and Industry. More important was the 1907 Nain Tal Conference convened by John Hewett, the then Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, to chalk out future plans for industrialization. This Conference also stressed the need for close relations between the technical education and other State efforts to encourage industry. The annual meetings of the Industrial Congress also made some valuable suggestions for boosting the industries.³

In response to those demands for industrialization, the Madras Government

appointed a Director of Industries in 1908. All pioneering enterprises and industrial education were brought under his direct supervision. The Government of India also came forward to finance individual entrepreneurs by way of loans. Thus, between 1898 and 1910, modest beginnings were made in the direction of Indian Industrialization with the support of the Government of India.⁴

By the late nineteenth century, the Cochin administration was fully oriented towards the industrialization of the State. But the lack of sufficient capital as well as the imperial restriction and insufficient technological know-how hindered the State from making any venture in this direction. Yet, the State successfully entered the rail map of the country in 1902.⁵

It may be noted that the Shornur-Cochin railway line became a reality exclusively due to the financial support of the State⁶. Reports indicate that the State had even to dispose of a small part of jewellery for the fulfilment of the project⁷. The introduction of the railways facilitated easy transport not only of the humans but also of the goods. The railways boosted the commercial activities of the State.

In tune with the policies of the Madras Presidency, the Government of Cochin also decided to conduct an Industrial Survey of the State. The survey was entrusted to C. Achyutha Menon⁸ who was asked to suggest ways and means of improving the industrial plight of the State.⁹ The terms and references of the survey included the extent to which the interference of the State could be made in industrial pursuits, the prospects of expanding the technical education in the State, and also the scope for further expansion of the industries of the State.

The Report of the Industrial and Economic Survey was submitted in December 1910, which highlighted the following suggestions:-

- (i) Institution of a technical scholarship tenable in Europe for training in leather industry.
- (ii) Institution of an annual Industrial Exhibition.
- (iii) Granting of advances to artisans to produce articles of fine

workmanship at these exhibitions.

- (iv) Granting of loan to the Sitaram Spinning and Weaving Company.

The recommendations in the above Report were gradually implemented in the State. Priority was given to technical education, and a technical school was started in Trichur, which imparted training both to girls and boys in several trades and crafts. Meanwhile, the reigning Raja Rama Varma had to abdicate the throne in 1914, following serious differences of opinion with the Imperial Government. The outbreak of the World War I in 1914 forced the Cochin Durbar to keep the Report in cold storage. In other words, the Report of the Economic and Industrial Survey had a premature death due to colonial interference as well as the outbreak of the global war. World War I helped to surface many problems latent during the nineteenth century British imperialism. The war also dislocated India's markets and the first year of the war saw the considerable fall in both Indian exports and imports.¹⁰

The Government of India, as announced by Sir William Clark, when speaking on Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's Resolution in the Legislative Council on 21 March 1916, decided that the time had come when the question of the expansion and development of Indian manufactures and industries should be taken up in a more comprehensive manner than had hitherto been attempted.¹¹ India possessed two notably successful manufacturing industries in the two great textile industries of cotton and jute, and there were others which had also reached some degree of importance; but it remained none the less true that she was still in the main a producer of raw materials. The Government of India had strong hopes, however, that it might prove possible to place the industries of this country on a much firmer and more extended basis than at present, and they considered that no means should be left untried which held out a reasonable hope of effecting this end. They were aware of the eager desire of a large number of the people of India for the industrial development of their country, and with this desire the Government of India fully associated them.¹²

The efforts of the Government in the past towards this end had disclosed the timid and unenterprising; skilled labour was lacking; and there was a want of practical information regarding the commercial potentialities of India's raw products. All these difficulties required full examination by men of technical experience and high business standing. After much deliberation, the Government of India, with the approval of the Secretary of the State, appointed the Indian Industrial Commission in 1916 with T.H. Holland as the President. Other members of the Commission were Alfred Chatterton, Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Edward Hopkinson, C.E. Low, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Rajendra Nath Mukherji, Horace Curzon Plunkett, F.H. Stewart, and Dorabji Jamsetji Tata¹³. Some of these members were acquainted with Indian conditions, some with industrial progress in other countries where similar objects had been pursued, and others with industrial problems generally and their business side in particular.

The Commission was instructed to "examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit its recommendations with special reference to the following questions:

- (a) whether new openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry could be indicated:
- (b) whether and, if so, in what manner, the Government could usefully give direct encouragement to industrial development –
 - (i) by rendering technical advice more freely available;
 - (ii) by the demonstration of the practical possibility on the commercial scale of particular industries;
 - (iii) by affording directly or indirectly financial assistance to industrial enterprises; or
 - (iv) by any other means which were not incompatible with the existing fiscal policy of the Government of India¹⁴.

The Indian Industrial Commission

The Industrial Commission was appointed at an appropriate time as the new Secretary of State for India, Chamberlain, was more inclined

to encourage State industries than had been his two predecessors, Lord Crewe and Lord Morley. Chamberlain agreed to abandon Lord Morley's prohibition of pioneering activities and gave permission to local governments to initiate and assist promising industries. Yet, no headway was made until the appointment of the Indian Munitions Board in 1917 which was supposed "to control and develop Indian resources with special reference to the needs created by the War"¹⁵ and to apply the manufacturing resources of India to war purposes with the special object of reducing demands on shipping.

The Board definitely gave considerable stimulus to certain established industries like cotton, jute, iron, steel, etc., and their successful working revealed how the new departure of the Government of India from the traditional *laissez-faire* policy to State encouragement could boost local industries.¹⁶

The Government of India received the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission on 29 October 1918.¹⁷ The said Report, published in 1918, was based on two fundamental principles. The former was that in future the government should earnestly address itself to industrial development in the country and the latter was that the government should undertake such work only with adequate administrative equipment and sufficient scientific know-how.¹⁸

The Report also urged the government to set up Provincial Boards of Industries. The Commission also envisaged a scheme of creating Provincial Departments of Industries endowed with vast powers.¹⁹ The provincial departments would thus be the mechanism through which the motive force contained in the technical, scientific, educational and financial proposals of the Commission would be applied in the way in which they could be most effective; viz, through an agency under the complete control of Local Governments.²⁰

Each Provincial Department as envisioned by the Report was to be placed under a Director of Industries, who would also act as the Secretary to Government in matters of trade and commerce. To assist the Director, a Board consisting mainly of non-officials was to be constituted which would comprise professional experts and teachers. This

Provincial Department was to function as a link between entrepreneurs and the Government. The Board was to help the new industrialists in assessing the feasibility of fresh projects. There was even suggestion for setting up Industrial Banks for speedy financial assistance to the needy industrialists. The Board was charged with the responsibility of reviving the sick units in all technical aspects connected with production and marketing. Thus, the Provincial Departments were to become the nerve-centres of industrial expansion in the country.²¹ The other recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission were:-

- (a) to constitute a central department of industries;
- (b) to create All-India scientific and technical services;
- (c) to create an agency for the purchase and inspection of stores in India.²²

Accepting the fundamental principle underlying the Commission's recommendations, the Secretary of State agreed to a policy of active participation by the government in the industrial development, as one of the legitimate functions of the State.²³ Abandoning the traditional policy, the State now decided to be an active participant in the process of industrialization of the country. In short, the new industrial policy of the Government aimed to step up the industrial growth of the country. The World War I also sounded the death-knell of 'free-trade'. Indian tariffs, till 1917, were dictated by the Lancashire Cotton industry.

Industrial Growth: Government's Initiatives

On 9 April 1918, the Government of constituted a Department of Industries, with a view to the improvement of the minor industries of the State.²⁴ Unable to realize the advantages of having an independent Superintendent of the new Department, the Cochin Durbar gave the Headmaster of Government Technical, Commercial and Industrial School at Trichur, additional charge of the Superintendent of Industries. Two years later, the Department was delinked from the Department of Education under a full-time Superintendent with effect from 1 May 1920.²⁵ In 1922, the post of Superintendent of Industries was abolished and

again the charge was handed over to the Headmaster, Government Trades School, Trichur. For the convenience, the Office of the Director of Industries was shifted from Ernakulam to Trichur.²⁶ Later, the post of Superintendent of the Government Trades School, Trichur, was abolished. In 1925, the Department of Industries was amalgamated with the Department of Education and the Director of Public Industries began to function the duties of the Superintendent of Industries also.

The Advisory Committee attached to the Industries and Commerce Departments recommended that a separate Department for Commerce and Industries should be constituted. The Government of Cochin, after careful consideration, was convinced of the necessity of laying down a sound policy of industrial development, through a strong base of industrial education. The Government decided to impart technical and industrial education to the people. Industrial education received further impetus after 1925. The Government Industrial School at Trichur was the most important and earliest of all the institutions imparting industrial education in the State.

Government interest was not confined to the development of industries alone. They were anxious to improve the conditions of the workers also and Cochin possessed a labour code. All the important decisions of the International Labour Organisation ratified by the Government of India had been brought into effect in Cochin also. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1111 M.E (1945-46), the Trade Union, Trade Disputes and Dock Labourer's Act of 1112 M.E (1946-47), the Factories and payment of wages Act of 1113 (1947-48) had all been enacted on the model of the Acts in British India. An important feature of the Post-war period in the State was the tendency on the part of the working class population to organise themselves into trade unions and fight for the betterment of their conditions.

Conclusion

To conclude, the above analysis reveals the fact that, despite the obvious technological and financial constraints, the performance of the industrial sector in Cochin was quite

encouraging. At the same time, the inability of the State in moulding a proper vision regarding the industrial growth frequently obstructed the industrial achievements of the State. Even though the State faced very serious financial constraints, the State ventured into industrial concerns even by disposing of its precious jewellery, as could be gleaned from the building

of railways in Cochin. On the other hand, most of the State ventures ended in a fiasco, and the initiatives of the private sector did yield tangible results. Though the Government of Cochin had ambitious plans they all failed due to a lack of proper technological advice and partly due to bureaucratic lapses.

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8. Born in 1862, educated in Ernakulam High School and graduated in 1885. Won Elphinstone and Arbuthnot English Essay prizes as well as gold medal and prizes for Sanskrit; entered Cochin service in 1886 as Tutor to the princes and rose to the position of the Secretary to Diwan in 1895. Retired in 1912. He conducted the Economic and Industrial Survey in Cochin in 1908. Founder and Editor (1890-1895) of *Vidya Vinodhini*, a high class Malayalam monthly, and author of Cochin Census Reports (1891-1911), Cochin State Manual, Diwan Sankara Warriar, Life of T. Sankunni Menon, H.H. Rama Varma, a Shashtipurthi Souvenir, etc. Elected Member of the First Cochin Legislative Council, representing Mulakunnathukavu Constituency. He was the President of the Special Finance Committee. He was a versatile writer and linguist too.
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WOMEN IN AND AROUND THE CANTONMENTS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD: AN ECONOMIC AND MEDICAL PERSPECTIVE

Preeti Das

This paper discusses the fate of the European women associated with the military men in the British army as well as looks into the perceptions that existed about the Indian

women around the cantonments. Therefore, I have tried to put forth the wider social conjuncture through the lenses of medical and economics factors that somehow determined

the position of the women. Women, though undoubtedly an intrinsic part of the society has been mostly left unnoticed in the larger aspects of the social, political and economic dimensions. However, with the popularity of the Gender and Feminist discourses, the existing question of women, have become a new fascinating subject. Military has been one of the major divisions where the absence of women has been highly conspicuous. During the colonial period, Indian women were considered a disease spreading agent among the European soldiers, who were considered by the British authority, as Erica Wald says, as 'an asset to be protected'.

Women, majorly and in the context of Indian women in the British military regiments were viewed as nothing more than a pathogen spreading venereal diseases. Erica Wald mentions that, military costs consumed the larger share of the company budget within which, most of the expenses was towards the maintenance and payment of officers and soldiers, both European and Indian. However, statistics reflects that the Troops of the European regiment were most expensive to maintain and as their numbers in India grew, so did the expenses. Also, it was higher because they had to be maintained in a land away from their home and clothing and other incentives had to be included. Hence, 'avoidable' losses like the ones caused by venereal disease or liquor were highly resented. According to her, Syphilis and gonorrhoea continued to disturb all army attempts to control the diseases; even though a cure was discovered in the early twentieth century. The way in which The Military and the Medical responded to the venereal disease and drink points to the obstreperous nature of the Company's ruleⁱ. One can easily figure out the differences of notion regarding men and women as regulation policies acted as tender balancing acts, arguing that men had to be handled and pacified for the fear that, if their needs are not fulfilled they might refuse the obligations to their masters and turn against them. Hence, to provide the men's perceived needs, 'healthy' controlled outlets were needed. This concern is evident in both the lock hospital system as well as the cantonment regulations which are devised to control the Indians who surrounded the Europeans, rather than to

regulate the soldiers. The extreme surveillance and treatment systems, known as the *lal bazaar* and lock hospital systems emerged as the answer to the sexual and social 'threats' chasing the menⁱⁱ.

By 1822, lock hospitals operated in almost all the major stations where European troops were based. The count of the women treated annually in Bengal alone has been estimated as 4,000. The operation of this system officially existed till 1831, as the government general Lord Bentinck ordered its abolition, due to the expenses and lack of considerable results. It was first abolished in Bengal and four years later in Madras and Bombay. In Calcutta, however, the system was favoured by most military surgeons that left the officers with a plenty of loopholes which allowed them to continue it, though unofficially but with similar measuresⁱⁱⁱ.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, fearing a threat to the stability of its relationships with the Indian rulers, the East India company was doubtful regarding the allowance of any increase in the number of European women in India. This might be one of the reasons, but definitely not the sole reason that, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, relationships between European men and Indian women continued to be fairly common, even if there was a lack of material support from the Company. Also the relationships of the concubinage with Indian women highly prevailed. In fact, a proposal to the Governor in 1810, noted that, men who had relations with native women were less likely to have venereal diseases and unlike the men with European wives paid more attention to comforts related to health. There existed contradictions between the Indian Army and the civil government, wherein the former fostered facilities for sexual relations between British soldiers and Indian women and the latter attempted to prohibit any such relationship among the British officials. However, both aimed at preserving the imperial construct of power by maintaining the soldiers' 'masculinity' and interspace between social elite and the people^{iv}. Erica Wald notes the proposal of a surgeon who suggests the officers to encourage their soldiers to nurture relationships with native women, who according to him had

sobering influence and would reduce disease and promote efficiency. These medical men regarded the European women as a burden rather than offering any help, as they were not 'strong' enough to endure India, and hence lost themselves to the country. Samuel Hickinson, who was an officer in the Company's army in Madras, provided an insight into the existence of relationships of these kinds. He disclosed that most of his compatriots, who initially intended to return to England, after arriving in India, went into relationships with Indian women and chose to settle in India with their wives or mistresses and children.

The relationships that grew among the European man and Indian women and how the category of 'prostitute' was transformed by pressure from the colonial state as also did the longer-term relationship between Indian women and European men^v. An evident cultural gap existed between India and Europe in the understandings of 'prostitution' as can be traced in the fact that there existed no equivalent of temple dancing girls in Europe, and thus no observer could have a comparative understanding. Due to the discrepancies in the notions, the medical and the commanding officers who translated these sundry practices, could manipulate the definition of the category according to their suitability^{vi}.

Erica Wald also provides the monetary accounts of the soldiers, where each European soldier represented incurred considerable expense on the Company, which puts the average cost of maintaining a soldier in India at £100 inclusive of recruitment, equipment and pension. Considering the distressed condition of the company's finances in the early nineteenth century, the cost of maintaining a soldier was a sizeable one and thus, something the Company wanted to safeguard. Thus, the time spent outside the active duty of service was a loss to the Company which included the time spent as patient in the hospital suffering from fever, dysentery and venereal diseases. Among these, venereal diseases was the most resented, since it was viewed as something occurring due to carelessness of the men regarding their physical needs. Additionally, the treatment of venereal diseases was time consuming and the diseases like syphilis were believed to make the one affected more vulnerable to the other

diseases. Costly wars of expansion and pacification along with expensive administrative functioning, resulted in massive deficits and thus, the cost of an army which was stricken by venereal diseases could be the last one for the company would intend to afford^{vii}.

Surgeons and commanding officers gradually they adjusted the system to suit their needs, these officers were desperate for a solution but perceived many of the rules as constraints, re- fashioned the lock- hospital system. The outcome was therefore not a system that grew out of an unified discourse that would result a best means to tackle venereal diseases, but from unstable and discerning dialogues among the surgeons and commanding officers who were fearful of instigating discord amongst men through examinations and treatments as well as of an army weakened by venereal diseases^{viii}.

She also suggests that, they were keenly aware of the potential fiscal and political costs and hence suggestion was made on the most feasible and perhaps the 'only' feasible politic option, i.e. enforced monitoring and treatment of women deemed to 'prostitutes', who would 'safely' ensure the sexual needs of the men. The idea behind this was that, the prolonged and often dangerous treatment required for venereal diseases would be borne by the women and not by the men on the military which meant that fewer days will be lost for the Company in the name of treatment.

Wald states that, women were defined by the surgeons as the main weakness to justify a potentially overpriced system. The blames for venereal infections were largely framed in gendered terms, whereas there were other 'moral' ailments stalking the cantonments and the so called dangerous women were not be solely made responsible. Among the most malignant was the high level of drunkenness among the European soldiers. In such instances, 'low- class' European women was seen to be 'naturally' inclined to 'immoral' activities but unlike their husbands, these wives were 'eligible' for punishment. Irrespective of the sympathies, European women who were repeatedly caught selling liquor or engaging in illicit prostitution was perceived as disruptions to the moral order of the cantonment and to

solve these issues, permissions were often sought to expel these women from the cantonment areas.

She also says that, widows of soldiers and women who left their husbands were seen as the disturbing agent, the tag which was already reserved for the single daughters of the soldiers, who according to the higher officials, could easily temper the composer of the cantonment. Noting one of the Lieutenant Colonel by the name, Henry Havelock, who in 1848 was serving as Deputy Adjutant General of Bombay, viewed the presence of a woman whose husband was serving in Karachi, as problematic to the camp and argued that it was within the rights of the Adjutant General to forcibly expel her from the cantonment premises but was wary of the fact that would be projected in front of the natives if she loitered around the surrounding areas. Her dissolute behaviour would do nothing but only cater 'disgrace' to the European character.

Philippa Levine notes that, women who worked as prostitutes, especially the ones who serve the British army and sailors had to register officially as prostitutes and engage in regular examinations designed to detect venereal diseases. The Contagion Disease laws and the other measures to tackle health related issues have been noticed to be primarily protecting the health of the soldiers. Levine not only talks about the laws but also the counter attacks, hence, she tells that the Contagion Diseases Act attracted dissent and resentment from the women campaigners who felt offended by a law that was gender as well as class prejudiced. They viewed only women as the ones responsible for the transmission of diseases and subject to legal and medical surveillance. Even among the women, only the working class women were punished, veiling the unobtrusive forms of sexual assistances which were exclusive to the wealthy.

The Cantonment Act of 1864, brought regulation to military and the Indian Contagious disease Act of 1868, extended it to the cities and that the cantonments were surrounded by bazaars, markets from which supplies and labour were drawn^x. Registered prostitutes were predominantly confined to the 'lal bazaars' which she says were also known as also known as chaklas^x. She quotes Jay Cassel

in saying that, nineteenth century Venereal disease laws always perceived as a subsidiary product of prostitution also saying that the primary concern of the Contagious Disease was governing the sexuality, especially of the women and the colonial people. She also opines that these hospitals must have been very expensive ventures as the wards were segregated for women of different religions. However hospitalising women was not the wider choice of control, She mentions that in Madras presidency, expulsion was the tactic that was favoured. Cantonments at Bangalore, in the early nineteenth century made the infected women cut of their hair and then they were publicly expelled.

The regiments were often accompanied by women who had sense of attachment towards it. It was usually on the line of march, campaign close by the barracks and experiencing the degree of protection and at times, subvention from the regimental funds^x. The Contagious diseases policies of the colony were however never exclusively military but the discussions focused frequently on soldiers health. Women whose clients were soldiers and sailors had a mandatory allegiance to surveillance and detention. Levine refers to them as merely a pawn in the larger game of imperial defence. The discussions on venereal diseases without referring to prostitution was either absent or rare. Therefore, one can have a brief idea of the larger picture in the way women have been looked at. Also the fact that they were the ones to be solely blamed for the spread of diseases gives the impression of the prejudiced version of supremacy of the opposite gender.

The dynamics of how women were perceived in relation to the military is multi-faceted and at times ironical. European women were viewed as to be of superior racial origin but also were seen as weak in terms of their durability in India, whereas Indian women though regarded as the major source of venereal diseases which the soldiers suffered, were thought as better off than their European counterparts as they had better immunity. On one hand, European women were not allowed to stay in Indian without the required permission as it will only add to the extra burden on the expenses meant for the soldiers; on the other

hand, permanent relationship with the Indian women were also not something that was appreciated. Within this existed layers where 'upper-class' women were seen as different from

the 'lower-class' women. Hence, women had to face challenges not only horizontally like say belonging to different regions but also vertically on the basis of class.

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THE CONSEQUENTIAL CHANGES IN THE LAND SYSTEM OF MALABAR UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

C.P. Radhamani

The British administrators had an ideological affinity towards the seventeenth century English concept of private property, derived from John Locke and others, and it was transmitted to them through the school of Philosophical Radicalism or Utilitarianism. These ideas and *laissez faire* principles were decisive forces in controlling the Indian political economy in the nineteenth century. The British land policy under the utilitarian principles mainly stood for defining and recording the rights of the landowners and guaranteeing their rights through law courts¹. The Whig concept of a political society was more concerned on landed property and protection of the rights in the land. Joint control and communal ownership over land were considered as characteristics of a primitive society. As such the existing pattern of agrarian relation among the numerous groups in the rural India were disturbed and disrupted by the English administrators in the early stages of colonialism. But the growth of rural population, the integration of the economy and agriculture with the world capitalist system, periodical revision of land tax, absence of scientific cultivation, etc created an explosive situation in the villages of Malabar especially in grain producing southern Taluks. The social evils arising from the growing dominance of landowners and intermediaries were not so far

controlled by the Government. It could not further create conditions favourable for a prosperous agriculture in Malabar owing to defects in the tenurial system, land control and other factors under the colonial government².

By the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792 Tipu Sultan ceded Malabar to the English East India Company and made a part of Bombay Presidency³. The Mysorean rulers made the settlement with the *Kanakkars* who were then in possession of land. Taking advantage of this situation the Muslims purchased land at low costs or to seize land withheld by fleeing landlords⁴. But the Kanakkars who became a party to the revenue settlement of Mysorean only tried to preserve their *Kanam* rights and did not try to seize the *Janmam* rights. If the *Kanakkars* regarded the *Janmam* to be really important right in the soil, they would have definitely claimed this rights⁵. As soon as the British annexed Malabar, they started leasing lands to the Rajas of numerous principalities, whom they had encouraged against the Mysore sultans for lump sums equal to the Mysorean assessment⁶. Naturally the collection of land revenue was done by the deputies of the Rajas. This policy left the country at the mercy of the Rajas who in turn were supported by the might of the British, had pernicious effects. Under this conditions agriculture did not flourish, and that the fields

now cultivated (which in some districts bear but a small proportion to those that are waste) should yield but very indifferent crops⁷.

The company's assessment of the tenorial position in the Mysorean period was stated as follows. In the year 1766 Hydar Ali first invaded Malabar the country was divided among a number of petty *Rajahs* of whom the Zamorin was by far the most powerful. The Village headman were called Desway Jelmway He enjoyed the whole or only a part of the rights which were supposed necessary to the constituting of complete chief of the *Desam*. These rights together with the landed property of the village were originally obtained from the Nambudiri Brahmins who were the ancient proprietors of the whole country⁸. Another British official wrote in the province of Malabar there was a class of people called *Jenmkar* or possessors of free hold, for there is not a spot of ground that had not been for one of those claimants, so difference in this from all other countries of India and this is owing to the impossibility of renting⁹.

It could also be seen that the Company's officials of the earlier period were very much anxious to keep the Brahmins satisfied¹⁰. They were equally anxious to hold to the fled Rajas and Hindus (the lower orders exempted) the prospect of restoring them to the situation they held prior to the Mysorean invasion. One of the officials of the Company stated: "they were then called on to join our standard, as people who in avenging their own injuries might prove useful allies to us¹¹. Further proof to the conciliatory attitude towards *Janmis* could be seen in Governor –General in council in his reply to the Malabar Joint Commissioner's report. He wrote "whatever importance our possessions on this Malabar coast may in future attain, either in a financial or commercial view, at present their political consequence is most worthy of attention"¹². On account of such factors to the early British administrators accepted the Brahmin tradition that they alone enjoyed the proprietary right in the land¹³.

In 1793 a group of Joint Commissioners¹⁴ were appointed to supervise collection by the *Rajas* as well as to study the region in order to make more convenient arrangements for revenue collection and general administration. When the Joint Commissioners started their

work of enquiring into the land tenures of Malabar the Brahmins and Nairs who had left the region following Mysorean invasion were returning. Farmer, one of the Joint Commissioners to restore them to their estates. They were reinstated with full ownership rights and as per the rule laid down for the restoration they were given the authority to prosecute in law courts for regaining possession which they lost before September 1787¹⁵. This was done in view of the older usurpation of their rights by the Moplah of Ernad Taluk. By 1789 the major part of such possession were reclaimed by landlords except in the Moplah districts. Farmer reported in 1793 that two types of right-holders in land were found in the region. First *Jelm-Kars (Janmis)* or free holders who hold their lands either by purchase or by hereditary descent. Second *Kanam-the Kaars (Kanakkars)* or mortgagers, to whom an actual delivery of the land appeared to be made, although the money taken up on it was not at all proportioned to the value of the land¹⁶. Thakery and Warden who was Collector of Malabar for twelve years from 1804 to 1816, also subscribed to the above idea, that the *Janmis* possessed entire rights on the soil¹⁷.

One of the far reaching consequences of the tenancy reforms during British period was that they did not draw a bold line between different interests but singled out the substantial tenants for special protection and devoted less attention to other tenants. The twin rights of fixity of tenure and fair rent were granted to tenants who held lands directly from the landlords i.e., the *Kanam* tenants and every settled cultivators. These reforms raised the *Kanam* tenants into a new class of landlords who had no interest in agriculture. The interference of the Government helped them enjoying protection from competition. The most important effect of this change was on their tenants, they were exposed to competition and had to become tenants not only of the traditional landlords but also of protected tenants. Their position became worse in the agrarian hierarchy since the migration from other sectors increased the number of people who sought their livelihood in agriculture. On the whole, therefore it must be stated that tenancy reform did not constitute a change in basic economic relationships. This only reshuffled the upper levels of the tenorial

hierarchy and exposed the tenants at the bottom, to competition.

The cultivating tenants had no protection of law in regard to fixity of tenure and fair rent. As more people had to be accommodated in the narrow confines of agrarian structure, these unprotected tenants had to pay more rent to retain their holdings. The tenancy legislations afforded little relief to agricultural labourers, the actual tillers of the soil. They were tied to agriculture and it was their main source of livelihood. Their wages depended on the demand of labour and they often received only low wages. They were subjected to both 'old' and 'new' kinds of exploitation. The result of the reform was the multiplication of interest groups in land, which had no inclination whatever to invest directly in agricultural development. The actual cultivators, the last right holder was left high and dry. In consequence, agricultural produce suffered a set-back.

The colonial economy gradually lifted a new stratum to wealth and power, and brought the most ancient and power, and brought the most ancient living aristocracies to an end. The Syrian Christians, Moplahs and Ezhavas as traders and merchants benefited more from cash crop cultivation, commercialization of agriculture, and from the expansion of trade and commerce. They were the people who purchased land from the traditional land owing communities. The mobility of the middle class strengthened the National Congress. The marginal farmers and agricultural labourers under the leadership of the Communist party fought against the evils of landlordism and colonialism. The Party's perpetual struggle helped them to broaden their base in the state, especially in British Malabar.

The land policy of the British in Malabar aimed to achieve two objectives. Firstly, they wanted to extract large share of the agricultural produce as land revenue. Secondly, while achieving this end they were also interested in creating and recognizing a few superior right holders in land who would act as the agents of the British. Thus the application of the British jural norms led to categorization of the agrarian population into *Janmis*, *Kanakkars*, *Verumpattakkars* and agricultural labourers. Thus the erstwhile joint proprietorship or corporate ownership was transformed into individual ownership and the growth of middle

peasantry. The restoration of feudal and semi-feudal structures of the through gifts and donations on festive occasions. This practice continued well into the twentieth century on account of the vesting of complete rights over forests and waste lands in the landlord, and the refusal of the government to consider the afflicted question of the rights of tribals over the land they cultivated.

With the expansion of cultivation of cash crops and the development of industries based on agricultural products had accelerated the monetization of economy and wages were paid in cash. Agriculture especially the cultivation of paddy became more extensive in the interior. There was also an increase in the area under paddy cultivation in large extent. Since all waste lands and forests belonged to the *Janmis*, the peasants had to get permission from the *Janmis* for cultivation. They had to bear all the responsibility of cultivation and half of the produce was given as rent to the *Janmis*. The increase in the agricultural population and vast expansion of cash crops created many problems to the tenants.

The fall in the per capita production of paddy and other food crops was one of the striking features of the development of agriculture during this period. At the same time, production of cash crops increased and the growing demand for cash crops in world market deflected paddy cultivators, which provided only a small margin of profit.

The development of commercial agriculture involves replacement of subsistence farming by producing crops for trade. While modernization of agriculture implies transformation in the modes and therefore in the relations of production. The shifts in the cropping pattern was chiefly determined by the demand and supply situation, particularly of raw materials. When cultivation became expensive, cultivators took to the practice of borrowing money from local money lenders and landlords. The money lenders and landlords extracted high interest rates from the farmers and absorbed large scale transfer of land from cultivators to non-cultivating, money lending households. Gentleman farmers attracted by the profit and social status resulting from land ownership began to possess land. Their aim was to make more profit not from direct participation in

agricultural production but from rack-renting and land speculation.

During this period customary rights disappeared and the labourers became free to sell their labour at prices fixed by the market forces or to remain unemployed, if no work opportunity was available. The new cropping pattern was comparatively less labour absorbing because the perennial cash crop cultivation needed labour only for maintenance and harvesting. That was especially true of women agricultural labourers. The ruin of local manufacturing industries in the colonial period swelled the mass of agricultural labourers and increased the number of people forced to live on land. The agrarian sector could no longer absorb the underutilized and unutilized labour force in the district. The European planters depended mainly on cheap labour available from neighbouring regions outside the district.

The tremendous increase in the population and the decline of traditional manufacturing industries had increased the demand of land for cultivation. During the late 1920s Malabar witnessed the migration of peasants from Travancore because of the high pressure of population on cultivable land in Travancore. The small peasants purchase the lands in Malabar and brought up waste land converted them into paddy fields or orchards and plantation. Increasing capital investment in agricultural

sector in highlands of Malabar was the main impact of migration. The migrants introduced crops like tapioca, ginger and lemon grass. As a result of migration rapid changes took place in agriculture and cropping pattern. Cultivation of coffee, rubber, cashew etc had been rising and the area under food crops fell considerably. The growth of plantations and the expansion of agriculture which was accelerated by the process of migration reduced the area of forests in Malabar. Moreover the migration was also responsible for the fragmentation of agricultural holding in Malabar.

Under the impact of increasing monetization and the advent of capitalism the traditional agricultural system was under strain and stress. Subsistence agriculture was undermined by the introduction of commodity agriculture. The increasing regional specialization and the shift of emphasis from lower to higher value crops diminished not only the income but also changed the attitude of the agriculturists. Food production for local consumption was neglected in favour of articles of food and raw materials for export. Commodity exchanges began to play an important part in the newly evolving economy. Under the new conditions, land was exploited instead of being used for subsistence and crops were produced not for consumption but for sale.

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AGRARIAN TENSION IN MADURAI - THE ISSUE FOR DEBT RELIEF AND LAND REVENUE REMISSION, 1954

K. Ramesh Kumar

Introduction

Agrarians witnessed a sharp increase all over the county since independence. About 200 tenants were barely treated by Ultrathathy Mutt in Thenparai village. They formed *Kuthagai Vivasayigal Sangham (Share Croppers Association)* in January, 1943.¹

The name of Share Croppers Association was changed into *Tamilnadu Vivasayigal Sangham (Tamilnadu Agricultural Labourers Organisation)* on 14 June, 1943.² In 1954, the peasants of Tamilnadu in general and Madmai in particular demanded ceiling on land holding, higher waram, debt relief and protection of tenants from eviction which were categorically rejected by landlords.

Confiscation of Peasants Property in Dindigul Taluk:

In Nagayakottai in Dindigul taluk, the land revenue remission was sanctioned where the outturn was 8 a1mas and less. Owing to drought, the land revenue was not collected in the previous year. In spite of remission, peasant's property such as utensils and cattle taken away by the tax collectors. The peasants who paid tax without pocket money were not given receipts by Tax Collectors. After paying tax with pocket money a receipt was given to Ramasami Gounder of Senduvali. In Kalkottai, Muthusami Konar's cattle, Andiappa Konar's utensils, Mariithai Konar's utensils were forcibly taken away by the village munsif.³ About 743 peasants of Nagayakottai, 1015 peasants of Vedansanthur and 110 peasants of Puthutamaraipatti sent a petition to the government to extend Debt relief for 3 years.⁴

The 6th conference of Tamil Nadu Kisan Sabha:

The 6th conference of Tamil Nadu Kisan Sabha was held at Dindigul between 30 July and 1 August, 1954⁵. About 50,000 peasants gathered at the conference. A procession comprised of 10,000 was held. It passed the following resolutions:

- i) long live peasants struggle.
- ii) ceiling on land holding.

- iii) distribute surplus lands to peasants.
- iv) 75% waram to cultivators.
- v) stop evicting the tenants.
- vi) distribute barren lands to peasants.
- vii) extend debt relief for two years.
- viii) down with Police repression and ix) release the political prisoners.

Forcible Collection of Kist in Tirumangalam Taluk

In Tirumangalam taluk there was no proper yield for the previous four years. The peasants by and large revolted against the government fought for the remission of land revenue. Subsequently, the government sanctioned land revenue remission for the fasli 1362 (1952-53) to 74 villages of the district. Prior to land remission, the tax collectors forcibly recovered kist from the ailing peasants⁶. In Sathankudi, Pusalapuram, Puliyanikulam, Kannakulam and Villur, the village officers took harsh measures to collect tax with interest from the peasants. However, the peasants raised the question of tax collection in the course of remission. In response to this, the village officials were collecting tax where the out-turn was 4 annas and above. The village officers statement in fact, was false and baseless. Owing to drought, there was no cultivation operation in the region. The government as such sanctioned the remission of land revenue. The peasant organisation flared up against the activities of tax collectors.⁷ On the other hand, the tax collectors contended that they credited the tax amount for the forthcoming fasli 1363 (1953-54). In other words, on March 7, 1954⁸ the peasants reacted against the village officers to get their money back and to end tax collection.

Landlords Action Against Peasant in Allinagar in Periyakulam Taluk

When the peasant organisation of Allinagar in Periyakulam taluk was growing in momentum, the landlords on the other took deliberate attempt to nick it in the bud. However, with the instigation of landlords, the police were searching for arresting the leaders and members of Kisan

Sabha. Similarly, the peasants of Uttamapalayam were terrified by the police who threatened to close the organisation.⁹

The Peasants Demand for Equal Wages women

Women peasants of Chithaian Kottai and Athur in Madurai district revolted against land lords to get equal wage with that of men labourers. The women peasants with babies and pregnant women usually engaged in work from 6'o clock in the morning to late evening. The daily wages paid to women agricultural labour of the district in fact, was 9 annas 2 paise¹⁰ However, the women labourers who worked for more than 12 hours were hardly paid 6 Annas a day. As a result of this, the women peasants revolted against the landlords for minimum work hours and higher wages.¹¹

The Demand for Barren Lands for Cultivation Kombai, Uttamapalayam, Anumanthanpatti and Pudupatti

The Praja Socialist Party convened a meeting at Madurai to redress the grievances of peasants. It passed a resolution urging the government to distribute poramboke lands to landless peasants within 23rd May, 1954 ¹² The party reiterated that if the government failed to assign within the due date then the party in association with peasants would trespass and take possession of poramboke lands for cultivation.

The peasants of Kombai, Uttamapalayam, Anumanthanpatti and Pudupatti villages sent a petition to the District Collector of Madurai to distribute barren lands for cultivation.

Cultivation Works in Barren Lands of Pottipuram

As a matter of fact, the government owning about 10,000 acres of barren lands in Pottipuram in the west of Kombai failed to assign land for landless peasants. In other words, the peasants had been demanding these lands from the government for years. In the meantime, without getting any positive response from the government, the peasants started to initiate the cultivation works.

In his visit to Madurai, M.Bhaktavatsalan¹, the Minister for Agriculture assured that the government's willingness to distribute the barren lands to landless peasants within a short period of time¹⁴ On the other hand, D.G.Krishnamoorthy, the local Congress leader objected to the government's move to hand over barren lands to the peasants particularly the Kisan Sabha members. Subsequently, the leaders of the Congress Party threatened the peasants that if the forest lands were taken for cultivation then there would not be rainfall in the near future. Meanwhile, the police force was installed to prevent the use of land for cultivation.

Conclusion

B.Srinivasa Rao, the Secretary of Tamil Nadu Kisan Sabha and P.Ramamoorthy, the leader of opposition party gathered with 50,000 peasants to protest against the charges upon the peasant community. On seeing the nature of barren lands on the one hand and the condition of peasants at the other, M.Bhaktavatsalam, the Minister for Agriculture assured to issue lands to the needful. The issues of debt relief, barren lands for cultivation and land revenue remission was temporarily resolved under able leadership of the Communist.

End Notes

1. K.C.Alexander, **Agrarian Tension in Tanjore, Hyderabad**, 1973, p.73.
2. R.Nallakannu, **Thozhar Srinivasa Rao Vazhkhal Varalaru (Tamil)**, Chennai, 2002, p.47.
3. Jana Sakthi, Mad ras, March 14, 1954
4. Ibid., August 8, 1954
5. Ibid., March 21, 1954
6. FNR, Second Half of April, 1954, p.2
7. Jana Sakthi, Mad ras, March 21, 1954

8. Ibid., April 4, 1954
9. FNR, Second Half of April, 1954, p.2
10. Jana Sakthi, Madras, May 30, 1954
11. Ibid., February 27, 1954
12. Jana Sakthi, Madras, May 30, 1954
13. Ibid., September 5, 1954
14. Season and Crop Report of the Madras State for the Agricultural Year 1953-54, (Fasli 1363), p.62

COLONIAL INITIATIVES AND THE INDIGENOUS RESPONSES: A STUDY OF TRANSFORMED DYNAMICS OF TEXTILE TRADE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EASTERN INDIA

Santosh Kumar Malua

On the 19th Jamadee-ul-awal 1170 (9th February 1757), the English East India Company made a formal commitment, through an official agreement, with the eastern region of the Mughal Empire. It volunteered to abide by the trading regulations established by the law of the land while conducting trade in the province,

We, the East India Company, in the presence of His Excellency the Nobob Monsoor-ul-Mulek Serajah Dowlah Shah Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung, Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, by the hands of seal of the Council, and by firm agreement and solemn attestation, do declare, that the business of the Company's factory, within the jurisdiction of the Nabob, shall go in its former course... that we will carry on our business as formerly, and will never, in any respect, deviate from this Agreement.¹

In response to the above, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula of Bengal, issued a decree on 9th Rajeb Moon (31st March 1757):

The English Company's goods have been carried backward and forward by land and water, always through the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, by the *dustuck* and seal of the said Company, by virtue of the King's Firmaund, which is also now confirmed by me. Take care, on no pretence to interrupt their carrying their goods backwards and forwards through all the chokeys whatsoever, and not to demand any katbarra, manjor, etc., according to the King's Firmaund. Let them pass and repass without receiving a single cowrie from any of their people; and interfere not with the English Company's Gomastahs on any account, but rather take care that through all your districts their business be not obstructed in any way.²

These treaties, however, were the expression of acceptance and recognition of the

Nawab's authority and the Company's trading behaviour in the region. Ironically, after three months these agreements on paper proved false and the victory of the East India Company at Plassey on 23rd June 1757 changed the whole future course of commerce and conquest. The setting of the political stage in the year 1757 at the battle-field of Plassey was not an isolated eighteenth century event. It was the logical culmination of some deep seated aspirations of the British Empire manifesting itself through its long distance trade and commerce in the region spread over centuries, to take the shape of an empire in the eastern seas.³

Though, the process of political decline had already set in during the last days of Aurangzeb, there was 'little decline in material production and affluence'. The commercial activities initiated by the Europeans in the seventeenth century had provided the impetus to intense economic activities in eighteenth century Bihar.⁴ These activities encouraged urban growth in this province on a scale which is said to have surpassed Bengal.⁵ Notably, decline of the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century could not cause any disruption in the network of trade and commerce which had already developed through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶

These changes did not occur exclusively in the later part of the century, contrary to what many think. Rather, one can trace the strings of transition from the early decades of the eighteenth century when in the sphere of the export market Europeans outclassed the Iranian and central Asian merchants and reached the helm of all affairs in course of time.⁷

The dynamism of eighteenth century has been mapped through various parameters of political, economic and social aspects of European trade and commerce. It has been interpreted and reinterpreted in a variety of ways but scholars seem to agree on the point that it was an era of optimization in political, economic and social transaction. The core of these developments was basically the growth and

autonomy of distinct economic and political formation at the regional level.⁸ This feature induced a tangible connection between commerce and conquest in the Indian sub-continent, largely characterised by 'adaptation and resilience' against the numbers of inroads into its economic as well as social life.⁹ India, too, experienced a 'multitude of changes in quick succession' with other Asian countries during the eighteenth century. Traditional centres of trade like Surat, Calicut, Hugli and Masulipatam which had been in existence for a long time, gradually declined and gave way to new towns like Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.¹⁰ Eventually, it culminated in bringing changes in production, distribution and in the volume of trade besides, the relationship between overseas and local markets, and in the 'mechanics of supply within India'.¹¹ Easy access to money and credit facilitated their further growth.¹²

To unravel the economic transition in eighteenth century Bihar this paper investigates the commercial behaviour of eighteenth century Bihar with specific study on the textile trade. Textile was one among the principal items of trade from Bihar in the eighteenth century, other articles were saltpetre and opium. It proposes to enquire into how colonial intervention transformed the regional dynamics of trade through its policy and prerogatives. What were the colonial initiatives and the indigenous responses to this development?

Textile Trade

Since the very beginning of English trade in Bihar, Patna was one of the renowned centres of textiles. Hugh and Parker had arrived there to purchase calicoes in 1621.¹³ There were many varieties of textiles produced in Bihar, the main types being baftas, chintz, cowtars, elatches, calicoes, emerty, khasas, lakhwary and mahmoody. The main centres of production were Patna, Arwal, Jehanabad, Saidabad, Ekanagar, Magrah and Lakhwar etc. There were different families who supplied cotton piece-goods to the Company and prominent among them were Radhakissen, Meer Ashroff, Mohanlal, Bhagwandas, Bhagwant Rai and Santoke Mal. Unlike other items of trade, textile trade was free from any monopolistic control; the English company had to rely on Indian agents for purchasing cotton textiles. One of the most distinctive features of this trade was the hold of

certain families in the business as native agents.¹⁴ The English East India Company generally got its supply from the house of Meer Ashroff.¹⁵

Unlike saltpetre and opium, trade in textiles was different in its form and consequences. Despite the high demand for cotton textiles the European companies could not impose any direct control on either the textile market or on the artisans who manufactured these commodities. The Company had to get its supplies from native agents.

Quantity and Price

The English cloth investment at Patna in early 1744 included 18,000 pieces of coarse Baftas and 15,000 pieces of Lakhwaris.¹⁶ From 1774 onwards the Company's annual purchase averaged around 64,000 pieces. There was frequent fluctuation in the price range but it varied from variety to variety. For example, price of Baftas between 1774 and 1780 increased from Rs. 77.08–88.08 to Rs. 82.08–117 per piece, likewise the price of Emerty too saw an increase during 1774 to 1776 from Rs. 68–98 to Rs.84–98 but it could not hold that for long and decreased from Rs. 68–71 to 68–92 in 1777. Similarly, Calicoes too experienced decrease in 1777 from Rs. 85 to Rs. 79, and prices of Khasas also declined in 1776 from a price band of Rs. 107–120 to Rs. 101–120 and Rs. 101–117. Mahmoody, between 1774 and 1780, decreased from Rs. 75–106 to Rs. 60–100, but the price of Lakhwary remained constant between 1774 and 1780 at the range of Rs. 53–57.¹⁷

Table: 1 - Procurement of Cotton Piece-goods from Bihar 1774–1790

YEAR	QUANTITY (in bales: 1 bale = 100 pieces of cloth)
1774	545
1775	832
1776	787.3
1777	545.7
1778	1135
1779	920
1780	1825

1781	810
1782	457
1783	240
1784	70
1785	250
1786	131
1787	67
1790	103

Sources: *Home Public Proceedings, Board of Trade Commercial, Board of Revenue and Governor-General in Council.*

Organisation of the Trade

In the trade of textile similar to saltpetre and opium the provision of advance payment for the supply of a stipulated quantity of piece-goods was the standard practice. Earlier weavers accepted any order and delivered the manufactured cloths to clients at their convenience but in the eighteenth century things did not remain the same and the system of advance virtually bound them to the client. In the mid 1770s the *Kistbundee* advance was introduced in this sector to procure goods in installments. But these advances were, in fact, used as a deliberate tool to bind weavers to the East India Company and to force them to manufacture larger quantities of cloths than they were capable of, or willing to manufacture. These changes affected the nature of the system which in turn brought about important changes in the whole nature of the textiles business.

The most important change in this business was the fact that European companies replaced merchants from Central Asia, Iran and other places as the chief buyers of Patna's cotton textiles. By the 1770s, the English East India Company had complete control over the market as well as the manufacturers. Besides being the main buyers of cloth from Patna, after acquiring Diwani, they were also the ruling power of the land which created an advantageous position in favour of the Company against other European companies trading in the region. On the other hand Indian merchants also became easily dedicated suppliers in the cotton textiles market by serving the enormous English demand. Unlike the monopolisation of opium and

saltpetre trades, the textiles business became the only branch of the region's traditional export trade that remained open to the Patna merchants. By the mid-eighteenth century not only did Patna textiles constitute an important item in the trade, they were also in great demand by European private traders, many of whom were officials of these companies. By 1780 Bihar piece-goods had become so important for British investment that a failure to procure the right amount of these textiles produced serious problems for the Board of trade in Calcutta.¹⁸ The Dutch and the French were equally anxious to purchase cotton textiles from Patna, but after 1757 they were in no position to offer serious competition to the English. Thus, by the late eighteenth century the Patna piece-goods became a major investment item for the English Company. Although, Patna was one of the major centres of its textiles investment, Bengal remained the main centre for cotton textiles. The other centres for this item were Dacca, Lakhipur and Shantipur, to mention only a few from where the company bought equally large quantities of cotton piece-goods for export.¹⁹

'Backward' State of Textile Trade

The textile trade in Bihar had, however, not proved to be that successful as the trade in saltpetre and opium did. There were continuous failures faced by the Company agents in getting proper consignments ready in time; they in fact remained silent spectators due to their helplessness. The Chief of Patna in one of his communications to the Board of Trade reported that there was regular 'Flight of the Contractors' and 'the advantage taken in consequence by the weavers of debasing the fabrics'. Besides, there was opposition by the manufacturers to make Mahmoodies.²⁰ He further disclosed his inability to repair the loss and revealed that he had tried 'to fulfil [the Board's] commands respecting...provision of ... Cloth Investment but in vain'.²¹

The cloth business of the Company was beset with problems; the Chief of Patna expressed his helplessness due to the prevailing bad condition. He reported to the Board about it that he did everything he could '...except that of going [to] the circuit of the *aurungs* where cloths are [were] made, to superintended every minute part of the business'.²² There was large balance amounting to Rs. 190,000, to be recovered from

weavers as well as contractors. He clarified that this balance was due to the change of nature of trade particularly in Gaya and Jahanabad. Weavers from this area preferred to 'sell to the public or private purchaser' who paid higher prices than the Company. Hence, private purchasers received the best product and the Company had to lose.²³ Besides, the Chief also reasoned that agents of Meer Ashroff's house were 'possibly discontented with the loss of great part of the right' and were no more loyal to the Company. But, he refrained from making any negative comment of the business house in view of its being the oldest and most credible with which the Company had been doing business since long.²⁴

Quality of Cloths

The Company was worried about the falling standard of few varieties of cloth which had led to considerable loss to returns as well as the Company's reputation. The Chief of Patna while reporting this deficiency to the Board explained that the silk of France was very popular in Europe and maintained its reputation of being best in the market, and this was because it always retained its quality. The Company, however, failed due to the fall of standard in maintaining its quality. For instance, the Baftas were found 'deficient in breadth and quality and many in length'. It was generally used for printing and making gowns in Europe. One piece of Bafta measuring 12 to 12 ½ yards was sufficient to

make two gowns, each gown being six yards in length. It became difficult when the length of the Bafta was less than 12 yards. Consequently, 'the price of sale is not only lowered but when either breadth or length [of] the original quantity of cloth is diminished, the price is not in proportion to the quantity wanting'.²⁵ Hence, the Chief suggested that 'all goods should be scrupulously kept up to their standard of breadth, length and quality [and] it [should] avoid heavy unnecessary expences to the Company[.]'²⁶

Conclusion

The Company reasoned that due to apathy of native agents weavers of Bihar lost faith in the Company and it incurred heavy loss.²⁷ The temporary characteristic of the Company's employment was thought to be the main reason by authorities and they tried to convince *aurungs* about the permanency of requirement by the Company but it could not brought any relief to the already torn out fabric of the textile trade in the region.²⁸ In fact weavers knew that Company was paying less than the other private players in the trade and the Company too was convinced of the crunch of the situation but it was not ready to compromised much on the front of the cost and it too had serious apprehension on the loyalty of the weaver for being the Company's client supplier. Hence, the Company suggested there should be contract with the weaver or the agent on fixed salary.²⁹ But again it couldn't bring any good to the Company reputation in the textile trade in Bihar.³⁰

End Notes

1. C. U. Aitchinson, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 198–9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
3. It was primarily English trade and commerce which forced the Company to plunge into politics in a bid to protect its trade, as alleged by the Company, and getting more benefits for its growth. P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires*, New York, 2005, p. 134.
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6. Rajat Datta, 'Commercialisation, Tribute and the Transition from late Mughal to Early Colonial in India' in *MHJ*, 6, 2, 2003, p. 260.
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9. S. Arasaratanam, 'Indian Commercial Group and European Traders, 1600–1800: Changing Relationships in Southeastern India', in *JSAS*, Vol. I, 2, September 1989, p. 42.
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11. S. Arasaratanam, 'Indian Commercial Group and European Traders', pp. 42–3.
12. Ashin Das Gupta, 'Trade and Politics in 18th Century India', p. 183.
13. William Foster, *English Factories in India*, Vol. I, 1618–1621, pp. 88–9.
14. A Letter from Patna to Board of Trade—Commercial reads, The Company Cloth Investment here has been for a long series of (I believe above twenty years) provided by an Old Family of native Merchants either as agents or sub-Contractors the firm of their House is 'Meer Ashroff' tho' the person of that name died many years ago, and the seal of business, the only one which

- the present Managers will use, is inscribed as follows "Meer Moneer and Ramchurn Pundit, the agents of Meer Ashroff". Letter from Patna to Board of Trade–Commercial (hereafter *BT–C*), 3rd May 1787
15. I still continue to employ that house on the Company's account to provide cloths; and their agents, Rigonaut [Raghunath] Sing and Davradge [Devraj] Doss [Das], assured me it was their opinion that ... the quantities you ordered might be procured; my own opinion was the same, formed partly on their experience, and partly on a certainty that I could give a higher price than any One had before done for Company's cloths. Letter from Patna to Board of Trade–Commercial, 3rd May 1787.
 16. Kunkum Chatterjee, *Merchants, Politics and Society*, pp. 152-54.
 17. The analyses is based on the data available in West Bengal State Archives (hereafter *WBSA*), *BT–C*, from 1774–80.
 18. In one of its correspondence it records in one of its correspondences to the Council that if appropriate care would not be applied in procurement of the consignments then it would lower their position in the market, *WBSA, BT–C*, 27th May to 11th June 1780, Letter from Patna to Calcutta 30th May 1780.
 19. N. K. Sinha, *The Economic History of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 24–5.
 20. He informed the Board about certain Ramchund Pundit, principal agent of the house of Meer Ashroff, who had left the cloth business and fled to Benares when the Company tried to ask him about the misappropriation in the trade. *WBSA, BT–C*, 3rd February to 14th February 1780, Letter from Chief of Patna to Board of Trade–Commercial, 8th February 1780.
 21. [he] could not take a Comptroull [sic, control] over the weavers under the predicament of a contract [and] the continual want of money during the season as the contractors strongly urge the necessity of a half advance of cash agreeable to the total of last year which could not be complied with from the arrangement of your expected funds from the Governor–General and Council. *Ibid.*
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. *WBSA, BT–C*, 2nd May to 12th May 1787, Letter from Patna to the Board of Trade–Commercial, 3rd May 1787.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *WBSA, BT–C*, 4th May to 17th May 1776, Letter from Patna to Board of Trade–Commercial, 7th May 1776.
 26. *Ibid.*
 27. *WBSA, BT–C*, 2nd May to 12th May 1787, Letter from Board of Trade to Resident at Patna, 4th May 1787.
 28. *WBSA, BT–C*, 15th December to 31st December 1790, Letter from Board of Trade–Commercial to Patna, 29th December 1790.
 29. *WBSA, BT–C*, 11th January to 31st January 1776, Letter from Chief of Patna to Board of Trade–Commercial, 25th January 1776.
 30. See the Table no.1 and Chart no. 1

COLONIALISM; EXPLORING REALITIES AND REASONS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF RAILWAYS IN INDIA

S.R. Saritha

Introduction

The progress of a country depends upon the availability of a viable system of transport facilities. Without proper means of transport and communications it may not be possible for any government to administer a vast country like India. Indian Railways played a vital role in the economic development and national integration of our country. It has brought about remarkable changes in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country. The Indian Railway system today is the largest state owned enterprise in Asia and the second largest state owned Railway system in the world. The introduction of Railways, which is one of the legacies of the British rule in India, has not only caused remarkable increase in the quick communication between different parts of India but also brought about profound changes in the habits and outlook of the people.

The political condition and the economic trend of the 19th century India induced the British to construct railways all over India. Railways, it was believed, would assist the economic development of India and provide both a market for British goods and a source of raw materials. It would also be helpful in the administration and protection of India by facilitating the movement of troops within the subcontinent.

I. The British Commercial Interest

Till the last decade of the 18th Century India had been a source of luxury trade goods for Britain. But by the 19th Century the situation was completely reversed. The rapid industrialization and the introduction of factory system in Europe compelled the British to find market for their finished products. They also wanted to get an uninterrupted supply of raw materials for their factories. So they penetrated to the Indian life through infrastructural developments, which

were meant only to sub serve their interest. India became a source of raw materials for the British textile industries and a profitable market for their factory goods. British took interest to develop the hinter lands as raw material producing areas for British industries, mainly due to the pressure created by the Manchester and Lancashire textile mills. It became important to link these hinter lands with the ports – Madras, Beypore, Cochin, Quilon and Mangalore.

The importance of Railways over other means of transport from the economic point of view came to be realised during the middle of the 19th century. Their main objectives were exploitation of the natural resources in India and the consolidation of the British empire. Certain kinds of goods like salt and sugar could not be carried in wet seasons because of the inconvenience of transport. Considering the greatest extent of India's vast plains, the low value of land, cheapness of labour and general facilities for producing buildings, the Railway promoters in England brought political and economic pressures on The East India Company to introduce railways in India.

The British decided to construct the light railways of tramways just to carry the forest wealth to the nearly main lines. These were introduced as a temporary means of transport which would be given up after their purpose was served. However the condition prevalent in India and the adaptability of the people to the tramways with its slow speed paved the ways for the British companies to convert those temporary narrow gauge links into permanent ways.

To establish the Railways, the British Residents tactfully projected the importance of railway in the princely states of Cochin and Travancore. They said that these states did not raise enough food for their population, which largely depended on the grain imported by sea at Cochin. If the Railway was constructed, these places could be in direct connection with the large grain producing districts of Tanjore and Trichinappalli and be able to meet their demands at greater advantage than from distant ports.

II. Military Motives

The early rail road policy of the British seems to have been largely dictated by military needs. The need for a railway system was felt

because of the need for the improvement in commerce and troop movements, which was of primary concern to the British government in India. Lord Dalhousie pointed out the importance of railways both for maintaining internal order and for defense against external aggression. Being an imperialist he rightly wanted to perpetuate the British domination over India.

Before the construction of any railway bridge, whether a new one or the replacement of an existing one, the wishes of local governments and the military department were considered. It was the army of Madras Presidency that the British had chiefly looked for services beyond sea. By railway investment in India, the government had to reduce military expenditure, through quicker military transport and better internal administration.

III. Capital investment interest

The railway was one of the protected monopolies sponsored by the British mostly to provide scope for the fruitful investment of their capital in India. The successful running of the first train in England and the opportunities and profits which accompanied it attracted the attention of the capitalists and moneyed men who were searching for new areas for investments.

IV. Political Interest

The British realised the importance of cheap means of transport for the progress of the country materially and for the efficiency of the administration. The administration both of the East India Company and of the Crown was subjected to a continuous pressure to extend and multiply railway lines in India. The central elements of Dalhousie's planned Railway lines in India were the Trunk lines connecting the major administrative centres of the presidencies and provinces. At a later stage the government was compelled to seek financial assistance of the Indian princes in the construction of railways within their territories.

The moving cause in the development of Indian Railways was the restless activities of the railway agents and managers. The railway promoters in India wanted rapid expansion of railways because it would provide political stability to India.

V. Other Reasons

The Press repeatedly advocated the desirability of rail roads in India emphasizing their superiority over other means of transport. The British were however lukewarm in their response to all the proposals as they anticipated the failure of railway projects in India. Merchants of different places in South India submitted several petitions to their authorities for the extension of railway lines. They said that the transmission of goods through canal was not safe. Therefore they continuously submitted petitions to open new railway lines. There was a strong felt need for the establishment of railways by the second half of the 19th century.

The security concerns in the post mutiny years was so high that the construction of railways became a top most priority for political consolidation and economic exploitation of the British in India. That is why they constructed

national railway network connecting the major centres of the country. The need for a series of in-lets and out-lets for exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods was another compelling factor to construct the railways. Similarly, the public demand also played an important role in the extension and expansion of railways in India.

Conclusion

Inshort, the constuction of railways in India was undertaken by the Britihers to achieve a number of objectives both commercial and political. The basic purpose was to collect raw materials from different parts to export to Britian. It was also used to sell British manufactures in every part of the country. Though the British constructed railways for their own benefit later it became a boon to our country.

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LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BRITISH IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY

M. Senthilkumar

Introduction

The British rule, in India, witnessed radical changes in political, social and economic life of the people. Madras, the birth place of British Rule in India, became one of the centers for their economic experimentation. Their administration led to the emergence of new institutions and agencies for revenue administration. Since the rulers of India were foreigners, they did not take any step for the upliftment of the native people. At the same time, they concentrated on increasing the revenue in all possible measures and collect maximum revenue from India with minimum expenditure. In order to achieve a maximum revenue collection from India, the Britishers introduced new techniques in revenue administration. Hence, a new mode of revenue system, popularly known as the Permanent Revenue Settlement which was introduced by the Governor General Lord Cornwallis, and it was implemented in the Madras Presidency in 1802.¹

Permanent Settlement in the Madras Presidency

The first quarter of the 19th century was the formative period in the history of the revenue administration in Madras Presidency. During this period, three types of land settlement were experimented by the British government; they were the Village Settlement; the Permanent Settlement; and the ryotwari settlement. Among these, the Village System was replaced by the ryotwari settlement.²

In Madras Presidency the land revenue reforms were introduced by Cornwallis in 1793. During that time, the company's officials were more interested in trade and commerce than in revenue administration.³ The Governor and his council were not equipped to administer the land revenue in the Presidency of Madras. The Board of Revenue, the Provincial Council and the Collector were appointed to draft a Permanent Settlement with the Zamindars as in Bengal.⁴ After a few years of trial, the experience had showed that Madras and Bengal were different attitude in revenue administration. The method which was successful in Bengal was unfortunately a failure in Madras. The zamindari

lands held by certain chiefs as their hereditary estates paying tribute to the government and collecting the land revenue from the ryots. As in the case of Bengal, the land tenures and revenue settlements made them leave the collection of land revenue to the Indian administrators.⁵

They were allowed to collect it from the farmers and the renters, who were the successful bidders, usually strangers to the country, but not interested in the welfare of the people and cultivation. To ensure better control over the zamindars, "Provincial Councils" were formed in 1769, like the Bengal model to supervise the revenue settlement. These councils were set up in Ganjam, Vizakhapatnam and Masulipatam.⁶

In 1775, the court of Directors formed a special commission, with the Committee of Circuit, including certain members from the Madras Council, to ascertain the population, the produce, as well as the gross revenues and the customary rights of the zamindars and cultivators. In 1794, the East India Company decided to introduce the permanent settlement in the region.⁷

This system was adopted to ensure the happiness of the cultivators of the soil who had received any encouragement from their land owners. It was noted that the landholders themselves to make indefinite demands due to arbitrary assessment. In order to regulate the demands of the land-holders over their tenants, the first step was taken solve the demands of Government. There is a need to outline the principles for the assessment of the zamindari lands. In this scheme, all the expenses of Government Revenue officers, except Karnams, were to be paid by the land holders. The extensive tracts of uncultivated drain and waste lands forming part of a zamindari were "to be given up in perpetuity to the zamindar free from additional assessment."⁸ When the zamindar faced the effects of famine or mismanagement, he was unable to bear the full amount of the assessment then a gradual rise of assessment was to be adopted. Several progressive demands which were specified in the proposal related to zamindars proprietary right in the soil.

The special commission

In 1802, the company government appointed a special commission consisting of William Petrie, a member of the council, Cockburn, a member of the Board of Revenue, and Hodgson, the secretary of Revenue Department. This commission made a thorough study about the settlement measures implemented in the Districts.⁹

When the Settlement was introduced in the districts, the Court of Directors had the view that the districts which faced the war and internal problems were not fit for the experimentation of permanency. They stated that the land tax being the primary source of public revenue, the restriction was not necessary. They were afraid of the fixed money rents would be affected by the depreciation of currency.

The Settlement ensured permanency of tenure to the zamindars and other land holders. It provided the right to hold their lands forever with fixed revenue, including the right of inheritance and transfer. To secure the rights of the ryots, during the time of Sir Thomas Munroe, the Regulation IV was passed in the year 1820.¹⁰ These regulations were added to the part of the documents in the history of the zamindari system in Tamilnadu.

Lord William Bentinck (1803-1807) believed that the zamindari tenure was not suitable to the major portion of territories on the East Coast.¹¹ The creation of zamindars, in new areas, was neither economically suited to improve the conditions of people nor gained any future security of the government.

William Bentack favoured the ryotwari settlement and as he believed it alone could form the basis of any arrangement for setting them in perpetuity. The permanent settlement led to the creation of middle-men viz. zamindars. They were not paid rent for their estates, but enjoyed the responsibility of collecting the tax from the ryots.¹²

The public opinion, in India, was also in favour of the abolition of the Permanent Settlement. Socialists condemned the Zamindars under the permanent settlement and the ryot were considered as the keystone of its permanency. On the failure of the Zamindari System (1801-1808), the proposed "Village

settlement" survived for a few years and finally the Ryotwari assessment was introduced.¹³

The Village Settlement or Village Lease System

The British administration attained an agreement with the mirasidars, in each village, for the collection of taxes, from the ryots which was fixed on the basis of the price of the produce, from the cultivation of lands.

The village was leased to the mirasidars for a period of three to five years. In his report, Hodgson, a member of the Board of Revenue urged the necessity of adopting the Village Settlement. The Board was strongly in favour of the village system. Accordingly, the circar and the ryots were the joint proprietors of the land. The share of the circar from the nanjai lands, paddy lands, was to be collected in kind.¹⁴

The village system was familiar to the people which were known from ancient times. The Government felt that this system may reduce the charges of revenue collection and the burden of the collector. Moreover, it avoided the dispute between the ryots and mirasidars.¹⁵ Further, the ryots would be protected by the courts against the exactions of the mirasidars of the village.

According to this system, the assessment was fixed for three years on the basis of the cultivation of the actual lands as well as the collections of the rent for the previous years, which was fixed, to be paid in all circumstances except some extraordinary situations such as cyclones, drought, etc. In such a situation, where the government allowed a remission.¹⁶ Also, the renters were expected to issue pattas to the cultivating ryots.

All these efforts have paved the way for the formulation of new regulations and the restoration of ryotwari system. The despatch of the 16th December 1812 insisted the Madras Government to reintroduce the ryotwari settlement. To execute these orders, Munro was sent to India as the chief of a special commission.¹⁷

The ryotwari system of revenue administration consisted of five stages, such as demarcation of boundaries, survey, inspection and classification of soil, assessment and record of rights. Sir Thomas Munroe, the architect of the ryotwari system of the company in Madras,

assumed the Governorship of Madras in 1819. The credit goes to him to the implementation of the ryotwari system throughout the Madras Presidency.¹⁸

Revenues

Government revenues are broadly divided into tax and non-revenue. Even at the turn of the present century, taxation was viewed with suspicion, which was a hangover of the gospel of *laissez-faire*, preached in Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. "Taxation for revenue only" and "Revenue for defence and justice only" formed the twin mottos that guided and governed fiscal policy. But, today, after the two World Wars and the Great Depression, except for the lone voice of Abba Lerner in his doctrine of Functional Finance, taxation, viewed as a multi-purpose instrument, is resorted to on an ever increasing scale, by Governments to discharge the duties enjoined on a Welfare State. To quote a former British Chancellor of Exchequer, "the job of taxation is not merely to balance government's expenditure. Taxation is, nowadays, devised to reduce consumption, increase savings and investment, to mop up surplus money and curb inflationary pressure, to reallocate and deploy factors and inputs, to recast the productive pattern and refashion the consumption path."¹⁹ If most of these functions are more applicable to the federal than to the State governments, with the expansion of social services and welfare activities, States will be constrained to devise new taxes in addition to enhancing the rates and broadening the bases of existing old taxes.

Land Revenue

Land revenue, the main stay of the Indian revenue system till the World War II, accounted for 43.75% of the total revenue of Rs. 16 crores in the undivided State of Madras in 1938-1939. Falling to 11% in 1957-1958, it has reached a low of 1.8% in the current year. The Taxation Enquiry Commission observed that the incidence of land revenue, considered by and large, has ceased to be appreciable. The actual burden at present on agriculture is light mainly because of the large increases in the price of agricultural produce that have taken place since the settlements were made and the basis of settlement was fixed. Since this observation, made nearly 20 years ago, the prices of

agricultural produce have scaled to unprecedented peaks. The case for raising the rates is strong. During the Second and Third plan periods, although the State Governments fought shy of a straight forward increase, levy of surcharges, cess for local bodies, taxes on Commercial crops, enhancement of irrigation rates were resorted to indirectly enhance the tax on land. But of late, the policy has veered towards its ultimate extinction.²⁰ In 1970-1971, Tamilnadu Government abolished the basic assessment on dry lands costing an estimated loss of Rs. 1.6 crores in 1969-1970 and Rs. 8.30 crores in IV Plan period."²¹ Remission of land revenue, for holdings below 2 acres in Kerala, below 5 acres in Punjab and Haryana and upto 7.5 acres in Madhya Pradesh, have been granted.

Again, compared with Rs. 1084 crores being the value of agricultural produce in the Net State Domestic Product, land revenue has declined to 0.5% in 1970-71 and, in the current year it must have gone down still lower. Even this light impost was paid by about five million farmers as most of them paying less than Rs. 10 each. It is an old saying in public finance that an old tax is no tax. In this milieu, the abolition of land revenue would never be hailed as the emancipation of an oppressive yoke. None of the economic criteria would warrant its abolition. A sound fiscal policy would be to retain it and distribute its proceeds to panchayats, sorely in need- of funds for development or earmark it for rural development.²²

Agricultural Income Tax

Agricultural income tax, first levied in 1955-56 in Tamilnadu, yielded Rs. 142 lakhs, the plantations accounting for the bulk of it. Its yield has crawled at snail's pace from Rs. 1.3 crores to Rs. 3.2 crores in the past 16 years. It forms a negligible fraction of 1.5% of the total-tax revenue in the current year. It is argued that, due to the lowering of ceilings on land, it would be futile to expect any sizeable increase in its yield in the future, particularly in the long run after the present day larger holdings get divided and subdivided through inheritance. This is too gloomy a foreboding.²³ With the onset and rising tempo of the Green Revolution, even the holdings of 5 to 7½ acres wet or garden land, atleast in the favourably situated regions, were bound to yield incomes above an exemption limit of Rs. 4,000. As the number of tax payers will increase, the tax

revenue is likely to increase, albeit mildly. Administrative difficulties will not be too stiff to be overcome. Alternatively if the gloomy prognostication of its steady and eventual shrinkages materialized, the promised abolition of land revenue would prove to be a step in the wrong direction. Since it would accentuate still further the already existing urban-rural disparity in the incidence of taxation.²⁴

Land Revenue administration

The Department of Revenue was the third in the order to be organised in 1774, with a Board of Revenue at Madras. The Commissioner in-charge of Revenue Administration Department dealt with some 49 subjects policy matters, bifurcation of districts, creation and administration of revenue divisions and taluks, Jamabandi Administration Report, grant of dry

remissions, Revenue Establishment matters, drought relief, floods, cyclone relief, etc.²⁵

The functions of the Commissioner of Land Administration were 46 in number - Irrigation, *Kudi-maramath*, evaluation of irrigation schemes, surveys, food production, registry of lands, land acquisition, etc.

In the beginning, the Tamil kings collected taxes from the land on the basis of its fertility and income. When the British established their administration in Tamilnadu, they collected taxes and the enhancement of revenue was their main objective; they introduced different types of tenure systems in land revenue administration. Later, the independent governments changed the tenure systems and introduced the reform method of revenue administration.

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THE EFFECTS OF COLONIAL RULE ON FOREST LIFE INSOUTH INDIA

G. Somasekhara & Chanamala Narendra

Introduction

The natural vegetation is rich in earlier years in India, over the time they have been declining. Until the British Colonial period in

India, a large number of people (mostly indigenous tribal communities used to live in or around forest areas depending entirely on forest products.¹ Ritual, cultural as well as social

celebrations were strongly interrelated with the forest environment. For those people, the entire forest area was their home. They used to move from one area to another to collect food, fodder, firewood, wild game and many other products for their subsistence purposes. They used to sell or barter very little to outsiders to get non-forest products. Before the East India Company's rule (1757-1857), there was no restriction on forest and forest products collection for forest people in India apart from forest reserved for hunting for rulers.²

The British administration main target is to strengthen their rule over India and to increase their revenue from forest products. Earlier administrators of English had no proper policy on conservation of forests.³ The British colonial government was leading the large-scale deforestation of forests for commercial and strategic purposes necessary for the expansion of their empire.⁴ In other words, exploiting the forest wealth while denying the natural rights of the tribal without any purpose.⁵

According to the study of the hilly areas of the Madras Presidency, colonial rulers did not give importance to the environment, and their main purpose was to generate income from the forests in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁶ In fact, colonial forestry has destroyed not only subsistence farming but also the traditional methods of forest management.⁷ It should be noted that income requirements, the expansion of commercial crops, the development of the mining industry and the construction of railways contributed to the deforestation in the nineteenth century.⁸ Any earlier attempt towards conservation was intended to meet the future requirements of the imperial power.⁹

Forest became an important resource

Earlier forests were treated unimportant to the mankind. As long as man's desires are limited and nature is rich in forest resources, it is not important to consider how to treat forests. Even at the time of Dravidian Civilization the people were not destroyed forests at any more. But the Aryans who were migrated to India have been destroyed forests for agriculture purpose. The ancient culture of Hindus had its origin in the Aranyas and Ashrams. There is great respect for the vans (forests) and

plantations near the temples, even if no effort is made on the part of the rulers or the people of the land for any permanent maintenance of the forest.¹⁰

When kingdoms became strong enough, the rulers began using forests to manage them. The rulers of the Magadha Empire set up a separate department to manage the forests. At the time of Chandragupta, the royal buildings were probably constructed to a large extent of wood, like the Burmese palace at Mandalay; but from the reign of his grandson, Asoka, brick and stone were generally substituted for timber.¹¹

At the time of the Muslim invasion started, they were cut down the forests for conquering other places in India. The invaders did not have any special interest in the conservation of forests either, they cleared them either for strategic reasons or even for other purposes. With the fall of Moghul Empire, the country was divided into a number of small kingdoms that were frequently fighting among themselves, as a result of which many people abandoned cultivation in disturbed areas and resorted to remote forest areas. That was continued to the British period.¹²

The British themselves were new to ideas of systematic forestry, as they had no developed forest organization then in Britain. So government used forests for governmental purposes and people used according to their requirements. As supplies of first class oak timber became short in England, they started to get the information of Indian Forests. It is observed that Teak is the substitute for oak timber. So Britishers started to find out the teak forests in India. It has been said that the most immediate object of the Forest Department is to meet the present demand for timber and fuel. But this demand is always increasing. The population itself increases, requiring more fuel. There is already a large demand for railway sleepers, and for railway and steam ship fuel. Internal trade also takes a greater quantity of teak, sandal wood, jungle wood and other forest produce.¹³

A Strategic Increase of Forest Cover and Systematic Reduce of the Forests

According to the Siva Ramakrishnan in his book, "Colonialism and Forestry in India," the British administration main target was to get income from the forests and utilized them for the Colonial State development. The Britishers were

forced to find timber resources from India, since scarcity cropped up for timber from the construction of the fleet in England, during the latter part of the eighteenth century.¹⁴ So colonial rule mainly focused on extracting teak timber to meet the demand of King's Navy in England in the early nineteenth century.¹⁵ That's why they wanted to increase the forest area under their jurisdiction.

For that purpose, in 1806 the post of 'Conservator of Forests' was created and Captain Watson from the East India Company Police Service was appointed as first holder of this position, vested with wide-ranging powers.¹⁶ Within two years he controlled over the jungles in Malabar coast, people not to enter into them for cutting trees. His main purpose was to preserve the forest for the commercial benefit of the state.¹⁷ In 1855 Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General, outlined a permanent policy for forest conservation. It laid down that all teak timber was State property, all benefit from it accruing to the government.¹⁸ His memorandum, known as The Charter of Indian Forest, has upheld the rights of natives and tribes over forests.¹⁹

Dietrich Brandis, a German Forester, the then Inspector General of Forests to the Government of India, introduced for the first time the method of what he called 'linear valuation survey's' and framed on the data obtained what was virtually the first working plan, with an estimate of the growing stock and a calculation of the annual sustained yield.²⁰ That means the number of trees to be felled should never exceed their annual production by natural or artificial means. Subsequently, the British administration proclaimed that the royalty right of the teak trees belonged to the Company, and also prohibited unauthorized felling of these trees.²¹

In 1863, the necessity for early demarcation of the government and village forests in Madras was pointed out by Brandis and Cleghorne. And also in September 1869, the government of India, urged upon the Government of Madras the necessity of early demarcation and efficient protection of extensive forest reserves.²² Mr. Beddome then conservator of forests in the Cuddapah District, collected systematically all information relating to the working of the forests at that time and produced

the first 'Manual of Forest operations' in Madras.²³

The Indian Forest Act 1865, was enacted by the British to create a state monopoly in the forests and to ensure proper forest management. The revised Indian Forest Act, 1878, which classified forests into Reserved, Protected and Village forests. The Madras Forests Act, 1882, was enacted by the Madras Government as the Indian Forest Act 1865 prohibits the establishment of the rights of the villagers, over forests and the entire state forest property. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, most of the forest areas of the country were constituted either into reserved forests or protected forests.²⁴ The attention of the local governments was invited to the need of constituting more areas into reserved forests and for speeding up settlements and demarcation work.²⁵

Any attempt to protect the forest was not really to conserve it but to ensure the future supply, particularly to meet the demand in England.²⁶ By the end of 1881-82 there were 46,213 square miles of Reserved and 8,612 square miles of Protected forests. At the end of 1897-98 the area had increased to 81,414 square miles of Reserves and had decreased to 8,845 square miles of protected forests. Reserved and protected forests constitute permanent forest estates, maintained for the purpose of producing timber and other produce and for protective reasons as such, they fall within the Category of "permanent forests".

The extent of protected forests is constantly changing, as new areas are identified and incorporated into the reserve's classroom, after final settlement.²⁷ The total extent of permanent forests in India as per present available data, is 607,340 sq km (231,493 sq miles), forming 77.4 per cent of the total forest area.²⁸ At the end of the year 1874, the Madras Presidency contained 1,01,202 acres of firewood reserves.²⁹ Within the duration of 6 1/2 years only from Cuddapah District, 86,662 tons of fuel was cut for the Railways.³⁰ In 1888, fuel and Timber was collected from Cuddapah District forests more than they required.³¹

The table below shows how the forests were cut down for British commercial benefit.

Value of Timber and Wood Exports from Madras Presidency: 1855/56 – 1875/76

S.No	Year	Value (in Rupees)
1	1855-56	736117
2	1860-61	931317
3	1865-66	1654166
4	1870-71	1013878
5	1875-76	1045109

Source: Maclean, C.D (1885), Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, p.344.

Earlier forest is a natural resource and supported to the people in different ways directly or indirectly. But at the time of British rule it is converted onto commercial enterprise. They treated forests as their one of the best revenue source in India.

Effects on Traditional Methods of Forest Management

Shifting cultivation

There is a traditional belief that forests are reserves of land for the extension of cultivation and that conversion of 'jungle' lands into crop lands. Shifting cultivation is one of the most ancient system of farming. It is practiced in different parts of the world. It is primarily practiced in all the North Eastern States and practiced partially in North India and Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. Shifting cultivation basically consists of clearing of plot of forest land by burning the vegetation and cultivating the plot of land for one or two years. After this, the old cultivated land is then left fallow so that to regain the vegetation cover.³²

Due to population growth, those who adopt ancient farming practices rely heavily on forests. The tribes have been burning the forest for livestock welfare, clearing it for temporary cultivation, and destroying it to create lasting cultivation. And wherever the government has the good, it has not intervened to ban such practices.³³ But the British government has decided to ban certain activities, that are harmful to the forest in these areas. Carefully consider whether to enforce more stringent rules; In later times, the rights of local communities were completely suppressed.³⁴

The Indian Forest Act, The Madras Forest Act and other forest conservative methods enacted by the British government, prohibited on certain lands the breaking up for clearing for cultivation. So that villages those were depend on shifting cultivation have faced shortage of food grains. But the important thing is that once upon a time the land used for agriculture could be seen growing in forests without the involvement of human beings.³⁵ However, the tribal way of life was disrupted by the British declaring this ancient tribal farming system a threat to the forests.

Effects on collection of Minor Forest Produce, Grazing, Firewood

British forest policy mainly emphasized the conservation and procurement of timber products. Minor forest products are less important than most other forest products. But, Forests in India have therefore a value to the state far value of in excess of their mere financial profits. Forests provide the forage needed to protect the country's agricultural livestock and starvation. Forests supply ready-made materials for housing and roofing, fuel and small forest products to villagers to their enjoyment of life. The use of forest manure for farmer farms was already in use.

In 1886-87 the collection of minor forest produce was 6,705 Mds, in 1887-88, MFP was 2,992 Mds, and in 1888-89, MFP was 9,978 Mds.³⁶ Once the British start their forest conservation efforts, the restrictions brought forward on the villagers to enter into forests. Only the villagers authorized by the forest department can collect minor forest products from the reserved forests. Other local people used to collect forest products for their subsistence or commercial purposes from protected or unclassed state forests.³⁷

Tribal Revolts

The tribals are living in the forests away from civilized society and they were concentrated near the hills and peaks in the forests. This is because their social and economic life is intertwined with seasonal forest products. The tribes who, like the Khonds and Sauras in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, the Koyas and Reddis in the Godavari, the Chentzus in Kurnool and Kistna, the Yanadis in Nellore were lived in the Forest of Andhra Region.³⁸ The villages are

regularly identified as though they were forested. The British, however, for their selfish interests, made the lives of the tribals dependent on the forests worse. The forest laws were enacted to prevent tribals from freely entering the forests. In the name of forest protection, the forests were divided and those living in them were shifted to other place. Britishers were not recognized the natural birth right of the tribals over the jungles. Because of the above actions, for the freedom from British administration, the tribes fought against the British.

In 1786-87, a tribal zamindar namely Guragaballi Desureddy, a Konda Dora revolted against East India Company. In 1800, a tribal army led by Pandu Dora attacked the platoons of East India Company. In 1802, Koyas of Chodavaram rose against the British under the leadership of Rama Bhupathi. Rampa Pituri led by Dwarabandham Chandraiah in 1879. The

Lagaray Pituri against British led by Garagonda Manga Rajuin 1916-1918. In 1922 a Koya revolt started under the leadership of Alluri Sita Ramaraju.³⁹

Conclusion

Forests are abundant in the Madras Presidency, especially in the Andhra region. Before the arrival of the British, those who lived in these forests and depended on the forests were living with the help of forest products without any trouble. The British created forest laws and policies for the conservation of forests, but these were created problems to the tribals. The tribals have been deprived of all the common rights on the forests. The tribes revolted against the British because of interrupting their natural affiliation with the forests, in the way of life of the tribes.

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THE MODERNIZATION OF COMMUNICATIONS IN HYDERABAD STATE- POSTS, TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES

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Introduction

The erstwhile Hyderabad State owned his postal system which symbolizes the insignia of sovereignty. Till mid nineteenth century, different modes of postal communication were prevalent. The Mughal postal system which was in vogue in the Deccan during the times of Nizam-u i-Mulk was continued by his successors. But, as time passed, an improvement was introduced in the system and modifications were made from time to time. Both official and private posts of the public were conveyed during the early period by licensed carriers or postal contractors. A foreign mail service also existed. Further the Nizam co-operated with the Europeans the Deccan postal communication. The present paper intends to explore the modernization of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones in Hyderabad State.

Posts

A new era in the history of Hyderabad State's postal system dawned in the eventful year 1857, with the bill of Hyderabad State's Postal Department on a regular footing. Salar Jung, the first Diwan created a new postal organization under the direct control of Government and abolished the postal contract system. At this time, ordinary and express letter (Ghungru or Bell post) and parcels of both the Government and public were conveyed by collecting a nominal fee¹

Under reformation scheme of Salar Jung, the postal department received significant attention. Post offices were opened in important towns and cities of the State. Ghongro or express post service was abolished in 1802² Since 1869 onwards different types of stamps of different denominations were introduced which were continued till 1909. Book post, parcel and money order system in 1873, half Anna envelope in 1877, and signing of an agreement for mutual exchange of correspondence between the British and the Nizam's Government in 1882 were the main features during Salar Jung's Premiership.

In A.D. 1869, the State Government took over the control of the postal department and reorganized it on proper lines by establishing post-offices at the district and taluk headquarters as well as at some other important centers. With a view to affording the utmost convenience to the public and also to facilitate the smooth flow of trade and commerce, the Nizam's Postal Department not only carried but also transferred to the nearest British Indian post-office or railway mail service station all articles emanating from the State intended for delivery in British India. Similarly, it also delivered within the State postal or any other extra charges.

A postal Agreement was entered between the Government of India and Nizam Government in the year 1882. As per this agreement both Governments were given equal rights. In the year 1903, Director General of Postal India proposed to a malgamate with Imperial Postal Departments in the pretext of deficit in postal revenue. To consider this, a committee was appointed and submitted its report. However, indicating a malgamation, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad state gave a reply to Resident that the A malgamation proposal of Government of India would not only mean a loss to the state financially and politically but it would also effect the prestige, sovereign rights and cause public discontent and hence not agreeable. Later British Indian Government dropped this idea of united postal services. In order to popularize the postal services in the State, the Nizam's Postal Department introduced many improvements. Money Orders were introduced in 1910, the Value Payable Post (V.P.P) in 1914, unregistered parcels in 1921, savings bank facilities in 1923 and the system of express delivery of letters in 1943⁴

During second half of 19th century, the Postal system extended to every nook and corner of the State with Head Post Office in districts and Sub Post Offices in Taluq headquarters besides all the important towns and business centers. The office of Railway Mail was established and the Inspector Railway Mail was appointed. In 1888, the proposal by the Nizam's Government for the closure of certain

Imperial Post Offices was rejected by the British who asserted it as their Paramount right. Nizam to uphold his dignity and sovereignty by having an independent postal system refused to accede to the proposal of accepting British currency from the public at the Imperial Post Offices and the amalgamation of Postal System⁶.

However, Hyderabad state strongly pleaded for retaining the Native postal services, Akbar Hydari, the then Prime Minister in the memorandum submitted to Round Table Conferences made it quite clear that in no circumstances would Hyderabad ever agree to give up its separate Postal Department or its Currency. This was a matter of sentiment rather than of finance. In the matter of Post-offices, Hyderabad wanted a fuller measure of reciprocity with regard to further exchange of facilities between the British and Hyderabad postal services. In his opinion, letters bearing Hyderabad stamps should circulate and be delivered free of charge in British India by the British Postal Department.

Akbar Hydari said it was probable that Hyderabad would agree to an arrangement under which its Postal Department would act as sole agents for the carrying of letters in the state and under which letters bearing Hyderabad stamps would be delivered in other parts of India by British Post-offices without extra charge, the resulting postal revenue from the purchase of Hyderabad stamps being divided on some equitable basis between the British and Hyderabad Governments.

During 1911, summary of discussions between the Sub-Committee on "Privileges and Immunities" and the representatives of the Nizam's Government held at 11-30 a.m. on Monday, 15th February, 1932⁸

Important improvement and changes were brought in the then existing postal system when Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam VII assumed the reign of the Asafia Dynasty. Experienced officers from British India were appointed on deputation for fixed tenure in the past. Following the practice of his predecessors' Osman Ali Khan, availed the services of three British Post Master Generals on deputation during 1896-1921. Official registered articles and parcels bearing the service stamps of the British Government when made over to the State Post Office for delivery, parcel post,

registration, postal order, post cards and reply post card, money order, value payable, post office saving and cash certificates were introduced. The practice of obtaining the services of the British India Postal Officers on deputation was discontinued in 1921. Hence, under their supervision, the Postal Department progressed well.

There were 417 post offices and the number of letter boxes were 396 with an annual postal revenue of Rs.3,78,777. During 1911-1912, the number of postal articles carried totalled 13,333,618, the mileage over which mails were carried by rail was during that time 1,195 and the mileage by road was 4,976. The number of post offices in the State during 1921 was 667 which rose to 711 during the closing decade 1929-30. The number of letter boxes increased from 564 to 721 which worked out one post office for every 108 square mile or 16,345 persons in the State. The State authorized all the post offices to transact money order work. During the same period, 4,000 money orders worth Rs. 86,64,662 were issued⁹. The Saving Bank balance during 1931-1932 was Rs.1,05,85,903. But the rate of interest payable on such accounts was reduced from 3 to 2 percent per annum¹⁰. The number of saving banks was 83,000 during 1940's. The year 1939-1940, the number of insured letters and parcels issued rose to 14,452. The insurance fees increased to Rs. 6,57,812/-. Similarly, the number of money orders increased and the value amounted to Rs. 1,18,34,179 in 1939-1940.¹¹

The period of expansion also witnessed the compilation and enforcement of the post office manual. Mail motors were arranged to expedite the conveyance of mails. The system of express delivery and window delivery was introduced. The postal charges were raised in 1930. The Post Office Guaranteed Fund was created for the welfare of the postal staff. The city Head Post Office at Hyderabad was the only first class head post office in the Nizam's Dominions which was placed under the control and supervision of the Post Master General who enjoyed Superintendents Powers over the staff and offices under his jurisdiction. Under him there were Deputy Post Master. There were Inspectors of city postmen because the city peons and packers. Similarly, there were sub-post masters in town and their number was 31 throughout the

city. Postman was provided with an umbrella and yellow cloth bag for carrying Letters, Parcels and Registered letters etc. The Nizam's Government had great impact of British India. The Nizam's Government adopted some of their postal system but the services offered and the systems introduced in the Nizam's dominions were on par and were much better than those of the British India since they were all received by the people. The State adopted local languages like Urdu, Marathi and Telugu besides English on all the stamps and postal stationery.

The postal services of the Nizam's Dominions continued even after independence and the takeover of the State in 1948 by the Indian Union. The Hyderabad State stamps and postal stationery became invalid when the state was merged with Indian Union in 1950. However, the stamps and stationery were allowed to be exchanged for Indian items till July 31, 1950.

Telegraphs

The installation of electric Telegraph system in Indian dates back to the time of Lord Dalhousie. It was in 1857 when Hyderabad was connected with Bombay and later with Kurnool. Salar-Jung I took the initiative for availing the services of the Telegraphs for official purposes. Expansion of Telegraph lines in Hyderabad was made under the Act XIII of 1885, and thereafter all the Telegraph lines were opened by the Government of India were according to an Agreement in 1870.

In 1900, a line was established at Imperial Post Office, Chaderghat for the business facilities. Beside Railway stations the Telegraph lines were established in Residency, Secunderabad, Bolaram, Aurangabad, Aurangabad cantonment and Hingli. Beside these, telegraphs lines were installed in other places to facilitate trade and military needs. A petition was made for the opening of a Telegraph office at Yadagiri. On the request of the Resident permission was granted by the Nizam.¹² Similarly, a Farman was issued by the Nizam in 1932 for the establishment of British post office and a Telegraph office at Warangal on the move of the Resident.¹³

During 1939-1940 the Indian Post and Telegraph Department finally agreed with Nizam's Government for the linking up of the

Local Central Exchange with that of the Imperial Trimulgherry Exchange for access to the All India Trunk Line¹⁴. On February 20, 1944 the Trade Association of Hyderabad passed a resolution in their Fifth annual General Meeting for the introduction of phonogram facility to the merchants and trades to conduct business without side Hyderabad without loss of time and efforts¹⁵. Thereafter, the Telegraph lines were extended in many places throughout the Dominions.

A British Post Office in Hyderabad city (Chadarghat), and small British Government Post Offices are scattered throughout the State, and letters bearing English postage stamps are conveyed free from the State Post Offices to the nearest British Post Office or railway mail service section.

Postal Stamps

State Postage Stamps of different denominations are at present in circulation and can stand comparison with those of their kind in any other country both in excellence and artistic design. The post adhesive postal stamp of Hyderabad was issued on September 8, 1869 during the reign of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Asaf Jah VI. It had the inscription in Persian Sarkar-i-Asafia (Government of Asaf Jah) and the year 1866, and denomination one Anna. In the year 1866 the stamp was first designed during the reign of Afzaluddaula, Asaf Jah V. But due to delay in getting the die and plates manufactured in London and subsequently printing. It could not be issued in that year.

The design of the inscription is a masterpiece of calligraphy in architectural pattern and is unique in story. Several types of postal stamps, postal stationery, cards, covers etc., in various denominations were issued in numerous designs and values. The central theme of all the stamps and covers was Sarkar-i-Asafia either in the form of a monogram or inscription. The state's name Hyderabad was not incorporated in the stamps, except in one case. The first stamp to have 'Hyderabad' inscribed was Second World War victory communication stamp, Hyderabad was the first in the world to issue a victory stamp, while the inscription 'H.E.H. the Nizam's Government', appeared twice, first on the one rupee stamp of 1927 and on the set of three pictorial stamps of 1947. The unissued

stamps of self independence Hyderabad of 1947 had 'Hyderabad'¹⁷

On the occasion of the 47th birthday of Mir Osman Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII, a set of eight pictorial stamps were issued on 12th November 1931 through the designing was actually initiated much earlier during 1929-30. Subsequently they were modified and issued six of the set carry historical monuments of Hyderabad State. The lower values of four and eight pies has Tughra (Monogram) of Sarkar-i-Asafia. The one Anna value has Charminar, two Annas has High cowt, four Annas has Osman Sagar dam, the eight Annas has the ancient pre-Islamic period facade of the Chaitya Cave (No.XIX) of Ellora at Aurangabad, which is dated to 200 B.C. - 650 A.D. The twelve Anna value has the Madrassa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar, dated to the fifteenth century, and the rupee one has Chand Minar of Daulatabad in Aurangabad. The colour scheme of these stamps was adopted from the stamps of Morocco which were pasted against each artist drawing for colour matching¹⁸

Postal history was created on 13th February 1937, when Hyderabad for the first time issued commemorative as well as bi-colour stamps. The occasion was to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Nizam VII, who ascended the throne on 1st September 1911. But due to Ramazan the later King George V's death it was postponed twice. It was celebrated during 13 to 26 February 1937 and stamps were issued¹⁹ When the British rule was withdrawn from India in 1947, British unilaterally denounced their treaties with Hyderabad and her obligation under them. Thus, Nizam chose independence of Hyderabad state. However, due to critical political conditions, the commemorative issues were not issued²⁰.

For public convenience Hyderabad issued postal covers, postcards, regulation covers from 1878 onwards in various sizes bearing variety of embossed or printed stamps in monogram or in one case Charminar monument, special money order forms too were issued. For official use the ordinary postal stamps were over printed 'Sarkari' (Official). For use of the Nizam's private estate Sarf-i-Khas, the stamps were also over printed 'Sarf-i-Khas' Sir Sa'ad Jung I, Prime Minister of Hyderabad had stamps punctured 'S.J.E' for his estate' use²¹.

The Telephone Communications

The Telephone system was first introduced into Hyderabad in 1885 AD with a view to facilitate communication between the Officials of the various important departments and the staff of the Nizam's personal Secretariat²².

The Department was first worked for seven months by the Bombay Telephone Company and was then taken over by the Military Secretary then the late Major Percy Cough to the Nizam's Government. Subsequently it came under the control of the Public Works Department, when it was worked by Messrs. the Callender Cable Company, Limited. Mr. BalaPershad, Ph.B., M.A.I.E.E. has been the Superintendent of the Telephone Department²³.

In 1938, that is the year of the introduction of the Magnets single line earth return Telephone system, only one telephone exchange was there at the Baradari, with sixteen subscribers but in order to connect up all the important offices, another exchange at Narayanguda was opened and later, in order to cope with the public demand, a third exchange was opened at Secunderabad²⁴

As the magnet system was not satisfactorily owing to the increased number of subscribers, it was decided by the Government in that the existing system and most of the overhead lines be replaced by means of a Central Battery system and underground cables. The change in the system resulted in the removal of about 650 magneto telephone instruments, magneto switch boards and other apparatus. In order to make use of these discarded apparatus, the Nizam issued orders in that Telephones should be installed in Aurangabad, Jalna, Nanded, Gulburga, Raichur, Warangal, Latur, Parbhani and Nizamabad²⁵.

Accordingly, Telephones were installed in Raichur and Aurangabad, Jalna and Warangal; and trunk lines were installed connecting Aurangabad with Jalna and Hyderabad with Warangal. Proposals to connect up Bidar with Hyderabad by trunk lines and for the installation of Telephones at Nanded and Umri with trunk lines between them were submitted to Government. Connection of Raichur with Narayanpett via Saidapur is also made.

The Telephone Department made effort to popularize the system which met with increasing success and not only added to the income but also tend to lessen the rate of

subscription is prohibitive to persons of moderate means²⁷.

In the beginning, the Bombay Telephones managed the system which later came under public works department of Nizam's household. The subscribers were mainly the nobles, wealthy private individuals and important officials who paid Rs.15,000 towards annual maintenance. The cost for non-officials Rs.10,000. With the increasing demand a second exchange was opened at Narayanaguda. There were 202 lines in 1911²⁸.

A letter from the Secretary to Government Public Works Department in connection with providing a Telephone facility to the outlying police Secunderabad highlights that the charges of the Hyderabad Telephones were less compared to those of Imperial Telegraph Department. The total rental charges in Osmania Sicca were Rs.1 270 in 1913²⁹. In 1917, the Calendar Cable Company strongly recommended the Nizam's Government for automatic system instead of magnet system. Therefore, officials were deputed to Simla to study the advantages of the automatic system before the installation of these lines in the city and suburbs.³⁰

The Department was first worked for seven months by the Bombay Telephone Company. Later, Calendar Cable Company was granted permission for the installation of automatic system and its maintenance and supervision till 1918. In 1919, the Department of telephones came under the supervision of a Superintendent. In 1924, the Department set up a central exchange of 1200 lines which had the capacity of an additional 2000 lines.

The reign of Nazim VII witnessed the extension and expansion of Telephone facilities. The total number of exchange and extension at the end of 1928 was 651 and 173 respectively. Certain offices like Finance had the facility of Automatic telephones and special arrangements were also made in the Automatic Switch Board which facilitated conferences among the officers³¹. In 1929, the Central Battery System was established. Later, Trunk lines connected Warangal to Hyderabad and Jalna to Aurangabad. In 1931-32, the damaged underground cables were replaced with new cables which improved the services and there

was general satisfaction among the subscribers whose instruments were looked after with great care and rigid watch³². These improved services resulted in an increase in the number of subscribers from 848 in 1935 to 964 in 1937³³. In 1935, the Hyderabad City Telephones completely shifted over to Automatic System at a cost of about five lakhs of rupees³⁴.

Telephones exchanges were also established at Bhongir and Jangaon. Later, Aurangabad was connected with the all India Trunk System. With this the important commercial centers of the Nizam's Government were brought together Telephone connections. The year 1941-42 marked the connection of All the Trunk Line with Hyderabad State. Telephone which provided easy access to the subscribers to have contacts over Telephone with any part of India³⁵.

In order to extend the telephone facility to other Government offices in Hyderabad, exchange at Naryanaguda was started in A.D. 1899. Three years later in 1902-03 the Telephones were extended to the general public. Another exchange at Secunderabad started functioning from 1912. However, in 1923-24, when the central battery switchboard system was introduced all the public subscribers lines were connected to the central exchange at Gowliguda. Consequently, the exchanges located at Baradari and Secunderabad were closed. In 1927 Hyderabad city was connected with Warangal by trunk-lines. During the year 1934-35, the exchange at Narayanaguda was discontinued. The next important stage in the development of telephone system in the city was in 1938 when the automatic switchboard system with a capacity of about 2,5000 lines was introduced. Under this system three sub-exchanges, one at Secunderabad, another at Golconda and the third at the Osmania University were started. The State telephone system was connected to the all India trunk-lines in 1941. Since then, the progress made in this direction is impressive as it can be seen from the fact that the number of telephone connections in the city rose from 1,680 in 1940-41 to 1,908 in 1950-51.

Conclusions

The Hyderabad postal Division was one of the oldest divisions in the State with jurisdiction

over the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and the rural parts of the district. Several types of postal stamps, postal stationary, cards, covers etc., in various denominations were issued in numerous designs and values during the entire period of its history. The central theme of all the stamps and covers was Sarkar-i -Asafia either in the form of a monogram or inscription. And Salar-Jung I took the initiative for avai ling the services of the Telegraphs for official purposes. Telephones were first introduced in

Hyderabad city in A.D. 1884-85 when the Bombay Telephone Company started an exchange at Baradari with 16 connections intended only for the ruling family and high officials of the State. With effect from the 15th of April 1950, the administration of posts and telephones in the erstwhile Hyderabad State was taken over by the Government of India as a sequel to the integration of Hyderabad State with the Indian Union.

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AN OUTLINE OF TRIBAL CULTURE AND ECOLOGY IN DECCAN REGION - A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

T. Srinivas

The present paper is an attempt to locate material and non-material culture of tribes from ecological perception. The general perception

regarding study of ecology means dealing something related to nature and human world has nothing to do with nature but this is a narrow

concept. It has also something to do with those factors in natural environment that constantly work in shaping man and his culture.

It is difficult for one to give a satiable definition to culture. It is knowledge related to humanity, which is learned or acquired but not naturally gained. Here my point is not to argue whether man acquired knowledge naturally or not but how far it is correlated with nature or ecology. Culture is all that man learns and acquires by virtue of being a member of society that is conditioned by its surroundings. Here my area of observation lies i.e. how man responds to the conditioned circumstances of nature or ecology. It differs from society and each has its own hallmark of Uniqueness. It is acquired through struggles and sheer efforts of concerned society or tribe.

However, in human beings culture helps in adaptations to the environment more efficiently. Every community has its own cultural identity, one can identify them through their practices, tradition, customs and spiritual applications. Similarly, tribes too have their own culture, which stands out from the rest, mostly shaped by their surroundings (ecology in present context). Every tribe developed their own culture in correlation with their environment and it has brought them an identity. This cultural diversity is a kind of natural heritage given to man by nature in this district.

Economy in correlation with ecology:

General aim of this paper is to stress on cultural pluralism and egalitarianism that enables us to have broad outlook of multicultural societies. In the present age of globalization, cultural diversity is loosing ground which is the real nature or character of cosmopolitan world. Economic developments like domestication and cultivation of food crops occurred only some ten thousand years ago, and there can be little doubt that it was brought about by the invention of a type of agriculture still common in large parts of the less developed world, known as slash and burn or alternatively as 'shifting cultivation'. Even today shifting cultivation is practiced by very scanty number of tribal population in India. Agriculture, hunting and cattle rearing have always been basic to tribal economy since times immemorial. The wooded hills and range of this district are not only the home to many tribal

communities but also provided a suitable habitat for undertaking occupations like shifting cultivation, hunting and food gathering though most of the traditional occupations have been abandoned today. Relative isolation for many years gave them free hand to lead their own way of life without any disturbance. Rugged terrains of India helped tribes to retain many features of their archaic way of living till the interference of state and its agencies has happened. The foreign interference brought change in tribal economy and social life.

Today in India's mainland, nowhere we can find tribes completely depended on hunting and gathering for sustenance. That means they got extinct, if not to say their culture got extinct. No tribe in India today are an exemption to such transitions. It is said that by 19th century there were more than ten lakhs of people who depended on shifting cultivation and this dependency has dwindled to about few thousands today. The tribes who depended on shifting cultivation to some extent defended themselves and resisted against economic and cultural invaders by responding in form of revolts. But those tribes who depended completely on hunting and gathering failed to defend themselves. People who are naive regarding shifting cultivation defend their notion of anti shifting cultivation. According to this notion shifting cultivation will not only clear green cover but also leads to erosion of fertile soil and this eroded soil will collect in rivers as silt and result in manifold increase of floods during rainy days. The above notion was developed during colonial period. Why this entire problems not to be seen prior to the arrival of outside elements into forestlands is the argument made by present environmentalists. In contrast to the above said notion, some anthropologists argue that for effective and successful utilization of resources under shifting cultivation the growth rate of population should be either low or stable in growth. Haimendorf, a London based Anthropologist made extensive research on tribes of central and peninsular India. (See Haimendorf's "Tribal Hyderabad" 4 volumes) In his study on Hill Maria of central India he came to amazing conclusion that the thick forest today can be seen in the areas where shifting cultivation is practiced and in areas where plough/permanent cultivation is present there we find no forest. That is vigorous depletion of

forest cover or deforestation was recorded in the areas where shifting cultivation is absent. To Varier Elvin, an anthropologist on scientificity of shifting cultivation opined that it is not only an economic method with few environmental effects but it is also a way of life.

People who criticize shifting cultivation forget that it is the state after bringing most of the forest areas under their administration has immediately asked tribes to stop this method of cultivation by stating that it is not environmentally viable. On the other side, fast depletion of forests has been recorded in the state administered areas only that too purely for commercial/market purpose. Growth of population is shown as other important cause for not supporting of slash and burn method of cultivation. The question is why there were no problems before the intervention of forest department in the tribal way of life. Therefore, looking shifting cultivation from environmental and cultural point of view is necessary rather purely from economical angle. There was no recorded environmental problem created by tribes prior to the penetration of outsiders (state/forest department/contractors) into deep forest areas.

In the absence of scientific mode of cultivation, animal husbandry and organic manures, shifting cultivation proved good and sustainable with low inputs for cultivation on the infertile soils. This method of cultivation involves the rotation of fields rather than crops. This type of cultivation is good for rain fed and millet cultivation. In this method of agriculture the period of cultivation is not more than two years, since the production of crops falls drastically up to 50% in the second year. There are two main reasons for diminishing yields and hence abandoning the plot to a specific fallow period. Firstly, the fertility of soil reduced because the nutrients from the ashes are utilized by crops, and secondly there is a revival of weeds which have been partially killed by the initial firing. One can reuse the same field when its fertility is regained but for this it takes some time for nature to restore. Therefore as long as adequate fallow periods are maintained in this type of cultivation and it remained the most efficient and proven method of agriculture in many parts of the tropical world.

This slash and burn cultivation did not continued for long in modern days and situation underwent change from the beginning of 20th century as the state embarked upon the policy of forest reservation and allowed land hungry non tribal peasants and entrepreneurs to infiltrate into the tribal areas. Thus growing of population and commercialization of forest by state has not only created pressure on land but adversely affected fertility of soil. Under coppice, selected species of trees will be eliminated resulting in many social and ecological problems like decline in availability of humidity, reduction of rejuvenation of soils because of decrease in leaf fall, decrease in time for re-growth of forest after abandoning by tribes, bringing other type of imbalance in ecology.

Tribes like Gonds, Kolams and Naikpods of Godavari valley in Deccan region has practiced plough or shifting cultivation in more eco-friendly mode. They after clearing forest cover ploughed on hill slopes leaving tree stumps undisturbed and did their best to avoid tree stumps while cultivating. In this type of cultivation stumps that are left standing help against soil erosion and allow the sprouting of stumps leading to the re-growth of forest cover again with in short time. Such cultivation practices have been well adapted to suit the physical characteristics of the soils present in this region. It is well established known fact that broad leaf tropical forests help to store rain water, nutrients and regulate rainfall. But the grass varieties grown by tribes have multiple roots and keep upper soil intact and there is no need to have deep ploughing. Burning of fields after clearing forest too is an eco friendly act. The dried branches and leaves that are cut and stripped off are burnt to yield fertilizing ash which provides fertilizer for the crops. 'Konyak' tribes of northeastern India practiced traditional way of shifting cultivation and that was never of communal ownership. Unlike the above tribe shifting cultivation among other tribes of deccan was of both individual and communal ownership.

Shifting cultivation can be successful support in case of less population. Because of shortening or reducing of cycle of shifting cultivations time period, revival of lost forest cover is not taking place. For this there are two causes, one is increasing pressure on land

because of percolation of non-tribals with title deeds (*patta*) or ownership rights in their hands and occupying the land abandoned by tribes and doing intensive cultivation that gave no time for revival of forest cover. The other is because of the above percolation into tribal or forest areas making it difficult for tribes from moving around in large forest tracts that were at their disposal and now they are confined to limited area. The new arrivals led to increase in demand of wood. As a result of this new pressure the traditional values developed by man (tribes in particular) to preserve his natural environment began to lose ground. The general cause is arrival of new and powerful owner of forest i.e., state and its agencies.

Socio-religious aspects of tribes in correlation with ecology:

Here, the intention of presenting tribal socio-religious aspects from ecological point of view is to situate culture with in a concept of social production and specify the ways that cultural forms serve the concerned society in eco-friendly manner. As part of tribal cultural studies we have to assert value of popular culture even though they form minority group population wise. After all Culture is all that man learns and acquires as a member of society. In case of animals, their genes play important role and culture in the case of man. Man can transcend his biological needs to a certain extent for spiritual and religious reasons but animals can't as they are rooted in their organism needs. Thus, culture intervenes in the satisfaction of biological needs of every society that in turn guided by its surrounding. However, Culture helps in adaptation to the environment. As said in the beginning that there is much more to the relationship between man and environment, other than adaptation. There are certain element of non-material culture like knowledge, beliefs and values.

Ecology and ethno-medical issues:

Leading a simple life is different from leading a meaningful life because the latter one is an art. It refers to those forms of creative expression which are guided by principle of necessities and which involve imagination, skill and style in executing things. Tribes achieved this art of living every tribe in India has their own characteristic forms of creativity. Tribes through

their acquired experience, consciousness, knowledge, perceptions of reality express their values. These expressed values speak about their identity and their culture. Collection of a wide variety of items used by the community like food, fodder and medicine is one of the most important activities in the life of a tribe. As a larger part of it, tribes have developed their own ethnic medicine and learned to survive by using the nature in which they live. They gained knowledge of plants that exist in their surrounding for curing different ailments.

The history of ethno-medicine on which traditionally the human beings have depended dates back perhaps to the origin of the human race. As there is absence of any mode of recording events in tribal societies, studying their medicine is like visiting pre-historic days. As a part of ecological history, the history of the plant lore of the India was certainly well abreast of the times and gave much that the west has assimilated though not always gracefully acknowledged. Studies in the history of Indian plants on the strength of Indian source that influenced the life of people have convinced that so far this branch of ecology has been almost neglected by historians and consequently our indigenously acquired knowledge of nature is becoming extinct with vanishing cultures.

The knowledge about use of different parts of plants, their medicinal values, how and where to collect and store, the proportion of medicinal values and the processes of manufacturing medicines from the plant, the general therapeutic value of the different parts and the effects of medicine on different part of the human body can only be acquired through sheer experience, consciousness and awareness. Knowledge regarding ecology and ethno-medicine deserves for wider circulation, as medicine is not the preserve of one nation or one community but is for mankind as a whole. Tribes have this wealth to give for welfare of world. If the disease is concomitant with life, then science/knowledge to cure such diseases to preserve life provides remedies for disease. Wherever it may be the growth of knowledge, it is concern of the entire humanity and there is need to know about it. It is nothing but an effort to keep mankind moving forward in the path of civilization. Today dissemination of useful knowledge is a sacred obligation to be discharged by the scholars of the

whole world and any medium which effects the widest possible dissemination of this knowledge deserves to be used for this purpose without any pride or prejudice.

The purpose of the present paper is neither to prepare list of prescriptions for different diseases nor to investigate the exact medicinal values but it is an attempt to appreciate the knowledge of medicinal plants of remotely living tribes for treatment of ailments that they had inherited as hereditary knowledge from their ancestors.

Thus ecology became an integral part of tribal culture rather than an impersonal habitat of plants and animals. It is that harmony in man, plant and animal interaction that is universal phenomenon and the relationship is largely symbiotic. This can be clearly found among tribes in India. Each community of tribe inhabiting in a particular geographical area seem to have consciously applied this universal principle to construct a cultural device to ensure reasonable safety not only to their life but also to ecology (flora and fauna) in which they live. This significant element of bond between man and nature should be adhered.

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ECONOMICS OF DISSSENT: DR.P.PALPU AND THE ORIGIN OF SWADESI MOVEMENT IN KERALA

R. Sunilkumar

Dr.P.Palpu, a pioneer social reformer of Kerala and the founder of the SNDP Yogam strongly believed that the dissent/reform movement in Kerala would become a meaningless exercise if the socially backward classes were not economically empowered. He wanted to provide an economic solution to the social needs of socially backward communities who were suffering from want of labour and food. He supplemented the work of Sree Narayana

Guru and acted in accordance with Guru's advice: "educationalise and industrialize the masses"¹ as the panacea for all ills of the society. He was motivated by a strong *swadesi* sentiment: instead of exporting the raw materials, he wanted to collect and convert them in to finished products and sell them in foreign markets; revived the traditional industries and developed several new industries useful to the people; founded the Malabar Economic Union

for carrying internal and external trade; and held exhibitions to boost the economic activities of the people. This paper focuses on these aspects and enquires in to how Dr. Palpu emphasized on the economic aspect of social reform to make it more meaningful and sustainable.

The Ezhavas were the largest Hindu community in Kerala. They were a hardworking community and were engaged in most of the industries on the Coast. In the Census of 1901, 50% of their total population was returned as actual workers. There were great agriculturists and about one fifth of the entire cultivated area in Kerala were either owned or cultivated by members of this community. They were thus responsible for some of the main products of the country, e.g., coconuts, arecanuts, jackfruits, plantains, paddy, pepper, tapioca, pulses, yams, etc. In regard to manufactures, coir-making, weaving, toddy-drawing and distillation of liquor were among their traditional occupations.² They produced several kinds of cloth; made mats, tiles and ropes with remarkable skill. They were also the chief lemongrass and oil-distillers of Travancore. They were thus one the most industrious and prosperous communities on the West Coast.³

Dr.Palpu realised that for the social progress of the Ezhavas, economic regeneration was inevitable. One of the important aims by which he founded the SNDP Yogam was the industrial advancement of the community. Sree Narayana Guru also emphasized on this point, but it was Dr.Palpu who gave practical expression to this idea. He organized an Industrial Exhibition at Quilon in 1905 and another at Cannanore in 1907 for encouraging the industrial habits of the people.

Industrial Exhibition at Quilon, 1905

In Nov. 1904 the decision to hold an 'Industrial Exhibition and Literary competition' was publicized through the *Vivekodayam*. It was to coincide with the second annual meeting of the S.N.D.P Yogam to be held at Quilon in Jan.1905. Only those items made by the Ezhavas or Tiyas belonging to Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar were permitted for exhibition.⁴ Coconut and other agricultural products, items of weaving, carving, handicrafts, varieties of mats, coir, pottery and machines, book-binding, various food items such as coconut jaggery,

biscuit Jan Jelly, *Chatni*, butter, curd, cheese, etc., were the items invited for exhibition. They were to be sent to the exhibition committee office at Tamarakkulam in Kollam.⁵

The exhibition was a very great success. Dr. Palpu as president of the exhibition committee related the purpose of the exhibition. It was organized for the purpose of exhibiting the industrial talents of the Ezhavas or Tiyas of Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar. He claimed that it was the first of its kind not only in Kerala but in the whole of India. It was attended by Europeans, Christians, Nairs, Brahmin officers and ordinary people. Three thousand men, mostly Ezhavas from different parts of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar participated in the exhibition.⁶ Inaugurating the exhibition T.F.Bourdillon, Travancore's Conservator of Forests said: "You, Ezhavas had a great advantage in being accustomed to manual labour and trained in special Industries... You have the entire control of the coconut fibre industry in your hands, at all events in its early preparation".⁷

Cannanore Exhibition, 1907

The Industrial Exhibition held at Quilon in 1905 was an exhibition of those items made by the Tiyas of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. Dr.Palpu was aware of the limitations of such a 'caste exhibition'. His next move was to organize an exhibition entirely different from the one in 1905. He thought of an All India Exhibition embracing the different castes and communities. It was decided to be held at the fourth annual meeting of the SNDPYogam to be convened at Cannanore in 1907.⁸

The exhibition was held near the municipal school, east of Cannanore Railway Station. An old military barrack was used as the main stall. Four thousand items sent by 600 exhibitors from different parts of India, were neatly arranged in the rooms of the barracks. There were also several make-shifts used as stalls, tea shops, hotels, and as stages for performing arts, speeches and hall for audience.⁹ The items included agricultural tools (Peers Lesly Company) pottery (Fen Company) water pipes (Parry Company) sewing machines (Singer Company), copper utensils made in Tibet, cotton fabrics (Malabar Weaving Company), Indian Aluminum Company products, leather works

(Thrissavaperur Leather Company) Handicrafts (Basel Mission, Mangalore) Mats (Thiruvananthapuram) tea, coffee, rubber, cardamom, cinchona and pepper (Forest Department), items made by the prisoners of Central Jail, Cannanore etc.¹⁰ The organisers also did much to encourage the industrial skill and artistic taste of women by arranging a Ladies Section. The items in this Section were beautifully arranged and they included exhibits of weaving, embroidery, paintings, etc.¹¹

Castle Stuart, I.C.S inaugurated the exhibition. He remarked that the exhibition is illustrative of the progressive spirit of the Tiyas of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. He said of the industrial and agricultural aptitudes of the community who own or cultivate one fifth of the entire cultivated area in Travancore.¹² Castle Stuart was greatly impressed by the endeavours made by the SNDP Yogam for the economic and spiritual advancement of a large community as the Tiyas and requested all people to be sympathetic and cooperative to the movement. He appreciated Dr.Palpu and other organizers of the exhibition for making it a great success.¹³ All classes, official and non-official, European and Indian cheerfully co-operated with the exhibition committee.¹⁴

Development of Industries

Dr.Palpu made extensive experiments in connection with the existing industries in the South. He was successful in finding out cheap and satisfactory methods of improving these industries and making them profitable. ¹⁵ After years of painful investigations, at his own cost, he was able to find out large number of paying and useful industries such as the fibre industry, hat manufacture, manufacture of perfumes, dye stuff industry, leather buttons manufacture, making of paint and varnishes, weaving and calico printing, manufacture of gold and silver thread for weaving, and manufacture of coconut butter and cocotine. ¹⁶

Development of fibre industry

An unlimited supply of fibre, coconut, palmyra, bow string, Deccan-hemp, plantain, madder, fence-cotton, pineapple, aloe and a host of other varieties were available on the west coast from one end to the other. All of these, with the exception of coconut and palmyra fibres were then practically going to waste. After years of

patient research, Dr.Palpu investigated methods to exploit the potentialities of fibre industry.¹⁷ He had succeeded in making several useful articles out of coconut fibre and the canvas he had woven out of that, had, for excellence of texture and durability, stood comparison with the best imported variety. These samples had been very much appreciated by the agent to the Governor-General. He had also succeeded in making articles like canvas, belts etc. out of the ordinary plantain fibre which was so largely available everywhere. The inner stem which is left out in the process of extraction of fibre could also, after being dried, be used as packing material.¹⁸ The most signal achievement of Dr.Palpu in the direction of fibre industry was the production of a kind of cloth as good as Tussore, out of bow-string hemp which grows wild in very great abundance both in Travancore and Cochin.¹⁹

According to Dr.Palpu, the scope for utilizing these and several other varieties of fibre available on the west coast was unlimited. This potential wealth of the country which, if properly exploited, would add materially to the well being and prosperity of its inhabitants who lived in want and misery.²⁰ He presented a plan to the Cochin Govt. for the development of fibre industry in the State which was unfortunately turned down. ²¹

The Travancore Government was then following a trade policy which was harmful to the development of cottage industries in the State. The white coconut jaggery that was being manufactured by the Ezhavas throughout the country had been killed by the Government by misusing or abusing the excise rules. Instead, enormous quantities of foreign sugar were imported into the country at higher prices. Besides, the weaving industry practised by the Ezhavas had been destroyed due to lack of encouragement from the Government. The Ezhavas were ostracized and were not entitled to basic human rights with the result that the once prosperous and world-famous industry became practically died out.²²

Dr.Palpu developed a process by which the toddy could be used as a very nutritious drink. He called it non-alcoholic *madhu* champagne. The *nira* is collected fresh and is prevented from fermenting by means of an edible vegetable material instead of the usual lime which, being a strong alkali, deprives the juice of much of its

nutritive value, in addition to spoiling the valuable sugars therein. Coloured and flavoured suitably from beneficial vegetable sources, and pasteurized carefully, aerated and sealed in the usual way under aseptic conditions, Dr.Palpu says, the special champagne would keep for months and years. He sent samples of the champagne to Gandhiji who tasted it and appreciated it highly. The Congress Ministry in Bombay had got the three bottles he had sent them duly analysed by the Government chemical examiner and found them satisfactory.²³

Formation of the Malabar Economic Union

Malabar Economic Union was a commercial organization founded by Dr.Palpu in Cochin during the First World War for the development of trade and industry in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Its purpose was to liberate the Malabar Coast from foreign exploitation, to revive the traditional handicraft industries and to provide a strong economic basis to the socio- religious reform movement organized under the auspices of the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam. As there was no indigenous competition, the foreign firms established on the coast exploited the peasants who were paid a low price for their commodities. The peasants were also subjected to the exploitation of middlemen and money-lenders. The need for an indigenous agency which would do away with middleman and look after the interests of the peasants was highly felt. Such an agency would be able to undertake collection of goods at reasonable prices, transportation, export and supply of goods to foreign firms. It would give labour for the jobless, just wages for their labour and help improving the living conditions of the peasants and workers. It wanted to place the control of foreign trade in Indian hands and make it favourable to India. It also wanted to encourage the development of Indian handicraft industries and thus support the concept of Swadesi. Unlike many business organizations, it was not characterized by a profit motive to amass wealth by any unfair means but by a philanthropic attitude – to help the poor working and depressed classes and assist financially their social and educational uplift out of a share of its profits.²⁴

With the outbreak of the First World War, Malabar Coast was relieved from acute competition. The foreign firms on the Coast had

all closed down for want of shipping facilities. Thus coir, copra and other export goods became locked up in the country. It created considerable hardships to the people. They suffered from poverty and want of labour. The immediate conservation and control of these goods by an indigenous agency and their conversion into finished products in the country were matters very essential to the interests of the country and to the material benefits of the people.²⁵ In a scheme for conserving and developing trade and industries in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar presented to the Travancore Government, Palpu wrote: "When the war broke out, special endeavours were felt necessary by the promoters of the Yogam to conserve and develop trade and industries on the coast for the benefit of the people. A company was accordingly formed by them at the time, under the name of the Malabar Economic Union, and registered as a public limited liability company, with head office in Cochin with an initial capital of Rs.1,00,000".²⁶ Sree Narayana Guru was made one of the Directors of the Company. Tanu, Palpu's brother was the Managing Director. It was agreed that 25% of the net profits of the Company was to be set apart as an endowment in the name of the Swami (Sri Narayana Guru) for educational and charitable purpose and that 50% for financing the Union's branches and in developing trade and industries. Only the rest of the profits was available for distribution as bonus to workers and as dividend to share holders.²⁷ Thus it is clear that the main motive behind the formation of the Malabar Economic Union was not born out of any selfish economic interests but of a broader outlook, a feeling of self-help and philanthropy – the desire to help the people suffering from want of labour and food, and the economic, social and educational uplift of the poorer sections.

The foreign firms established on the Coast stood for safeguarding the interests of the European exporters, while the Indian farmers got meagre wages for their daily toil because the prices of their goods were cut down "beyond all bounds of equity and fairness". Dr. Palpu said that a congenial atmosphere prevailed for an indigenous initiative in trade. "India is now aspiring for Home Rule and speedy revival of its indigenous industries and trade. Any venture which has for its object the building up of an industry or business by the people and the profits

of which were meant for distribution among the people in India itself, will at this time appeal to all patriotic Indians including the captains of large industries and the enlightened ruling princes of feudatory states".²⁸

Palpu hoped of getting encouragement, concessions and privileges from the Travancore, Cochin, British and French Governments. "These concessions are of such great value for the success of enterprise and are calculated to give advantages which the investment of even several crores of rupees by foreign firms may fail to secure".²⁹

The Constitution of the Union provided for the formation of branches which would enter into partnership with the interior garden owners for the purchase and sale of goods. They would replace a series of money lenders and intermediaries who exploited the actual producers and assure the latter a much better price than they were hitherto getting.³⁰ The great advantage of the union was that it could collect large quantities of goods through its various branches. None of the foreign firms had such an advantage. The union would be able to provide qualitative goods and undertake large orders.³¹ Palpu claimed that with a complete network of branches all over the coast, adequate shipping and banking facilities and necessary foreign connections, the Union shall be able to control from the very outset at least goods worth Rs.2 crores per year.³²

The Malabar Economic Union started work in Cochin and Alleppey and had done some work in Calicut as well. It did export trade for some months in partnership with an English firm in Madras which was financing it then.³³ Neave, a friend of Dr. Palpu in London was authorized to make arrangements for export trade in Malabar.³⁴ The Union entered into trade with a foreign firm viz., Messers. Gordon Woodroffe and Co., and agreed to send a supply of goods to the value of £ 100,000/-.³⁵ The Company's London Office accepted the business proposition put forward by the Union and referred the matter to Sir Hugh Fraser, its representative in Madras. He called for the opinion of the existing firms on the coast who, in one voice, at once resolved to veto the combination. Sir Hugh Fraser therefore wrote strongly against the proposal from London.³⁶ All

the senior partners of the Company agreed to drop the idea and the Cochin Chamber of Commerce which included all the foreign firms on the coast including the banks and shipping agents, passed resolution unanimously to the effect that the M.E.U should receive no encouragement of any kind in its attempt to make direct export trade with foreign countries. The Union could not therefore get any loans from banks and could not send by steamer even samples of their goods to their agents in London.³⁷

The Union asked for a loan of Rs.10 lakhs from the Cochin Government and provided necessary safeguards and guarantees.³⁸ He also wrote to the Travancore Government requesting their financial assistance for implementing a scheme for the development of trade and commerce in the State.³⁹ But the Governments of Travancore and Cochin paid little heed to Palpu's genuine requests. He wrote to C. Krishnan, "...owing to the unsympathetic and perverse attitude still maintained by the Governments of Travancore and Cochin, I have been prevented from starting anything here".⁴⁰

The attempt of Dr. Palpu to develop trade and industry was met with opposition from different circles. The European firms existing on the coast whose main idea was to make maximum profits through all unfair methods were opposed to the rise and growth of the Malabar Economic Union which had a national and philanthropic character. They could easily influence the native Governments, banks and other agencies and dissuade them from encouraging the successful expansion of the Union. The savarna officials, out of resentment to the growth of the Ezhava movement, and the foreign traders, out of selfish economic interests, torpedoed the grand scheme put forward by Palpu for the industrial development of the country. ⁴¹ His request for money grants and loans were not considered by the Dewan of Travancore.⁴² Thus the selfish motives of the foreign firms on the coast and the narrow and short-sighted policies of the caste Hindu officials stood in the way of implementing a carefully thought-out plan for the economic development of Kerala.

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COLONIAL FOREST ACTS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF MALABAR FORESTS

P. Udayakumar

Introduction

The forest department, a brainchild of the imperial ambitions, functioned like an agent of the British and served the imperial purposes at different stages. Control over forest and its resource utilization was viewed by the British as a crucial factor maintaining their hold over India, for economic, political and military reasons. Forest resources of India were exploited at different stages and it had a crucial phase, an ecological watershed during the colonial period. The British in the course of dominating India, intensively felt the need for monopolising the

forest wealth as an exigency of the colonial government. Steps were taken by them to achieve this ambitious imperial need. Clear cut forest laws were made after invoking precedential legitimacy which the colonial government had drawn from the past history of the nation. Law was a coercive factor and the British government in India saw it as a strategy. Every region in India felt the impact of this colonial forest policy. This paper is an attempt to analyse the socio-ecological impact of the forest acts and the management of the colonial Malabar.

Forest Acts and Forest Policy

Forest policy was designed to cater to the needs of the army, navy and the railways. The introduction of colonial administrative structures, the destruction of forests continued in the form of contract system, smuggling of timber, and opening of the plantations, and the use of commercial interest of the forests. The forests of Malabar were divided into those of north and south Malabar. The forests of south Malabar were of greater commercial interests than the forests of north Malabar. The forests of north Malabar were divided into the Begur, Chedleth and Kanoth ranges. These forests comprised in an area of 164,928 acres or nearly, 259 square miles. The forests of south Malabar were divided into three ranges of Nilambur, Amarambalam and Mannarghat, These comprised in all an area of 170,351 acres or 266 square miles¹

The forest department is one of the branches of business made over to the Home Secretary and is in charge of the member council who holds the portfolio of the home and the revenue and agricultural departments. The inspector general of forests, besides acting as professional advisor of the government in all forests matters, fulfils the functions of undersecretary in the home department, submitting cases direct to the secretary.

Some progress has been made in the preparation of working plans and collection of statistics for future plans. The northern circle and southern circle. In north Malabar a rough working plan was prepared for the kurichiyath reserved forest on the basis of the measurements made line 5 1/2 miles long and 50 yards wide, 100 acres taken right through the forest. The sample plots have not been under observation long enough to arrive at any data of importance. In south Malabar the provisions of the working plan for the teak plantations and that for the natural forests of Nilambur valley were adhered to. The work done in the natural forests was successful financially. In the area of 80 acres planted up the planting after deducting the amount realised by the sale of the timber standing on the ground came to Rs 155 only. In the same tract 80 acres was cleared and prepared for at a cost of Rs 2388 and the produce removed realized Rs 5000 and odd. The Waalayar working scheme was again held in abeyance as the reserve required rest. In

southern circle the expenditure on roads amounted to Rs 18164. The principal works of repair in the north Malabar and the Niligiri were confined to the Chedleth –Sulthans battery road in former district. Departmental surveys was started in all districts for the forest department purposes. In south Malabar the work consisted of the swamps and portions unsuitable for planting in coupe 1 in the Karimpoya reserve. The area of reserved forests for which final maps were prepared up to 30th June 1899 amounts to 8518 square miles.²

The area of reserves in the madras Presidency is reported as 2870 square miles, but these figures represent the areas locally classed as reserves and not only those constituted reserves under Madras Forest Act No.V of 1882. Of these latter class, 683 square miles have been formed in the southern circle and proposals have been made for further extensions during the present year.³

The govt. of India has of late years taken an exceptionally large share in advancing forest conservancy in Madras. That presidency was among the first of the Indian provinces in which forest conservancy received attention indeed the well-known Nilambur Teak Plantations were commenced as early as 1844, though a regularly constituted forest department was apparently not organized until 1856. The development of the department was peculiar and towards the 1875 it had become apparent that its principal efforts were directed towards the establishment of plantations and groves scattered over the country, while the natural forests of the presidency were not under sufficient control. Then came the Famine Commission in 1877 who pointed out the necessity for more vigorous action in the protection and re stocking of the natural forests, more especially those situated within the catchment areas of the principal rivers used or diverted for irrigation of the low lying country.

A general Indian Forest Act was passed in 1878, which provides for the preservation and management of the forests, the control forest produce in transit, and the duty leviable on timber.⁴ The Burma and madras forest acts proceed on the same general lines as the Indian act, but besides certain minor improvements they differ on some important points, that the general Indian acts recognises two different

classes of state forests –reserved and protected forests-while the later enactments recognise only one class⁵.

The more immediate cause for the direct interference arose out of the introduction of the Indian Forest Act of the 1878. When the act was under consideration, the madras government declared it unsuitable for extension to madras because it was held by that government that the rights of the villages over the waste lands and jungles were of such a nature as to make it impossible to constitute forest estates under the provisions of Indian Forest Act, and after some discussion it was decided to pass a special act for the southern presidency. The first draft of a madras forest bill which was submitted to the government of India and found to be defective as regards both substance and form and was therefore not approved. After further correspondence a new Act was submitted to the assent of His Excellency of the Governor General in council, but it was found that both from a forest and legal point view the Act was unsuitable. Accordingly His Excellency of the Governor General in council vetoed the Act in September 1881 and deputed Mr.Brandis late inspector general of Forests to the govt of india to visit madras, with the view of his conferring with the Madras govt on the whole subject of the forest conservancy in the presidency. Mr .Brandis left for madras in October 1881 and remained there until January 1883. During that he visited nearly all important forest districts and submitted proposals to the madras govt. which now form of active forest conservancy in presidency.

The first step of importance was amalgamation of jungle conservancy fund with the provincial Forest Department and in connection therewith the localization of the Receipts and Charges of the department. Next the collector was appointed chief of the Forest department in each districts with a district forest officer as assistant, while the districts were arranged in two circles, the northern and southern, each presided over by a conservator of forests who is the consulting and inspecting officer, with authority in matters of finance and establishments. In order to provide the necessary staff a comprehensive reorganization of the superior and subordinate establishments worked out and received the sanction of the government of India and of her majesty's secretary of state for

India. Three experienced officers belonging to staffs under the govt. of India were at the request of the madras govt. transferred to the southern presidency. The long pending question of a Forest Law for the madras presidency was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the passing with effect from first January 1883, of the Madras Forest Act No. V of 1882.

Having thus been provided with the necessary and appropriate means of action, the department may be said to have started forest work on new lines towards the close of the year 1882. The subject which claims foremost attention is the demarcation and settlement of permanent forest estates, constituted under chapter II of the Act. The areas which have hitherto been considered as under the more special management of the department amount to 824 square miles to the northern circle and to 2046 square miles to the southern circle or a total area of 2870 square miles.⁶

Mr .Ross,Resident Engineer at Palakkad is working the 'chennat Nair " forest on contract ,where there is a large supply of well grown Errool,Venge,Karra-marda, he conducts the operations with energy and judgement. The work is occasionally inspected by cleghorn. Pyngda of Burma which Lt.Williamson recommended in his letter to the chief secretary as a superior wood and suitable for railway purposes is identical with errool of Malabar.

Teak plantations: the increasing demand for woods, available for government purposes renders it of the utmost that the various plantations should be carefully watched and conserved especially now that the Home Government is looking in this direction to supply her dockyards. The largest and most valuable forests are reserved for the purpose of govt.andmeasures have been adopted not only to prevent inroads upon with the axe and configuration, but to watch the growth of the plants and provide against being they choked by the undergrowth which springs up around them. The most important of these plantations are the 'connolly plantations'. These young forest have been specially referred and their value to the state will every year become more perceptible. The forest is of such importance and at such a critical period in its history –recommended for the conservator and the periodical visit of the collector.⁷

The constitution of forest reserves is as yet in a very backward state only 1628 square miles having been declared under the forest act at the end of the year under report, which amounts to only 1.15 percent of the whole area of the presidency. Later it enhanced area to 9500 square miles. In madras climatic conditions would appear to demand more liberal provision of wood land than is necessary in other parts of the empire. The area extended to 50000 square miles –place all extensive tracts of waste lands and forests. Which are not required cultivation or which in view of the insufficient area of pasture land available outside the forests that have been set aside for the special purpose of supplying timber and fuel, it will be better policy to preserve for the grazing requirements of the people- under chapter II of the forest Act, so that they can be permanently managed in a systematic and therefore the most profitable manner for the state, whether for the supply of the timber, fuel or fodder.⁸ In the southern circle work was confined to operations of minor importance. A detailed forecast of forest survey work was supplied to the government, and a scheme was drawn up in accordance with it by the madras survey department, for better supply of forest maps, the reserved and the village forests. And the village maps were also available.⁹

In madras area of the forest has been increased. The total area of forest under the control of the forest department has increased. In madras by 1903 square miles. The changes in the areas of reserved and protected forests shows the results of forest settlements, and the consequent transfer of one class to another. The respective rights of the government and private persons in and over any forests are finally settled only by the constitution of such property as reserve under the forest law in force.¹⁰ The opening up of the forests by means of new roads has met with considerable attention as may be seen by a reference to the extracts. The expenditure on roads, buildings, and other works was done R 59841 which is an increase on the average. Much to be done in the way of making of roads and building rest houses.¹¹ The remarks already made with regard to demarcation work and to forest settlements also apply to surveys.¹¹

The British occupation of Malabar and their control over forest affected the life and culture of the people, especially the tribes. By a

proclamation dated on 3rd July 1805, the administration of Malabar, forest was taken away from Madras Government to Bombay Government. Later, it given back to Madras Government in 1822¹² The Malabar forests were divided into two categories, viz. private and government forests. The government intervention on forest was with the introduction of state royalty in teak and other valuable trees in 1807¹³. The Forests Department and the Jungle Conservancy Department was formed in 1860. In 1882, these two departments were merged into one and it became new branch of the Revenue Department.

The forests policies and acts of British in Malabar were for the attainment of colonial purposes. The British colonial forest policies highlighted their commercial, military, economic and industrial imperatives. The British ascertained that, the forests of Malabar were the best source of raw materials for British industries and technological advancement. The industrial needs of Britain were the first requirements for colonial forest intervention in Malabar¹⁴. The British unscrupulously exploited the Indian subcontinent for the timber requirements of their industries. The Malabar Teak was very notable for its quality and thus it widely used for the ship building industry. In 1796, William Maconochie established a timber syndicate in Malabar¹⁵. For the Bombay dockyard, large quantity of teak was cut from Malabar forests. So it is explicit that, 10,000 teak trees were brought from the Baypore River in the year 1799 itself. ¹⁶. The timber export doubled in the coming years. 33,000 teak logs were exported from Malabar in 1837. Apart from the shipping industry, the timber of Malabar was widely used for other purposes also, notably in the Public Work Department for construction works. Company ascended the monopoly of felling of trees of Malabar in 1803. By appointing Colonel Watson, a police officer as the Conservator of Forest, the company fixed their sway over the resources. This was the beginning of the conservancy of the resources and the restriction and authoritarianism. Appointment of the police officer as the conservator of the forest shows the British imposition of power in the forest wealth as well as the enforcement of the law. This was a clear message, that the accumulation of power and wealth in every aspects of colonial rule.

The British were well planned and aware of the significance of the forest resources for strengthen the colonial empire. Thus they had well study on forests and brought many reports for the management of forests. Of such reports emphasise the forest conservancy and its importance. One such report highlights that; as regards the direct advantages of forest conservancy, it is of the greater importance to produce on the smallest area the largest quantity possible of useful timber, wood and other forest produce¹⁷. In a report regarding the Nilambur plantation S. Eardley, the Inspector general of Forest during his Inspection reported that: these are commercial success and are likely to pay such good returns on the capital expenditure. They had secured a gross revenue of about 60,000 in the last year in this way by introducing some new methods.¹⁸ These reports reveals that the colonial argument of forest conservancy was aimed to the availability of more products for commercial purpose and to make maximum revenue. The passing of Forest Acts in 1865, 1878 and the amendment of subsequent years once again concreted the colonial interest on forest. And it was very evident that, the colonial interests on forests didn't mean the protection of forest in its true sense. Really it was their plan of a systematic exploitation of the forest¹⁹. Under Section 35 and 36 of the Act of 1882, Under Section 35 and 36 of the Act of 1882, the government made rules to carry out the provisions of the act by restricting the natives to cut timber from the forest²⁰. So the tribes were not allowed to bring a felled timber from forest even for making hut or as firewood. Only a person who possess certificate of registration had the right to take timber from the forest. The tribal people were not aware of these legal formalities and therefore excluded from the forest.

The Act of 1865 guaranteed the government to declare any forest as government property. One of the provisions of the Act ensured the government to protect the existing rights and privileges of the natives in the forests. The argument over the provision of the Act prevented the passing of the Act in Madras Presidency. The Madras Forest Act (MFA) defined the rights of government over forest in 1882²¹. These arguments showed the colonial interests on forest. The forests were classified as reserved and protected. The British wanted a

clear cut control over the forests of Malabar for exploiting its resources by taking away of the natives from forests. The masters brought many interventions in the form of litigations in which they were tightens the hold over the resource. They kept the natives away from forests by asking the misuse of forest by the natives. But, in fact the Malabar forest was largely 'transformed' by the masters for making a colonial capitalist world.

The introduction of colonial forest policies altered the life world and the human ecology of Malabar in general and tribal community in particularly. For the better and effective working in forest, the Act of 1882 declared that the forest as reserved and state forest²². There were 13,428 acres of forest transformed as reserved forest in Palghat division and 15,558 acres of forest transformed as reserved forest in Nilambur division in respectively²³. State forest and Reserves under Forest Officers in Malabar includes 46,720 Acre in 1883²⁴. The Section 25 of the Forest Act (1882) declared that; if the rights of government and private persons in such lands have not been inquired into, settled and recorded, in a manner which the government thinks sufficient, the procedure prescribed by the act must be applied²⁵. The Act therefore ensured the settlement with the government over the claim of the forest land and its dependence.

Conclusion

The tribal people had only customary rights in forest and haven't any official or legal claim in forest. Their right over their land was completely taken away from their hand and they were unknown about to retain their right to engage in forest by the legal procedure provisioned by the government. The Rules under Section 21(h) of the Madras Forest Act (The Act V of 1882) empowered the Governor in Council to "make rules for the regulation of hunting, shooting and fishing and to prohibit the poisoning of water and the setting of traps or snares within the limits of all reserved forests situated in the Presidency Madras". The Act prohibited the entry of tribes in forest for hunting and fishing. In any case in which a person or persons had been violated of an offence against the forest laws, were convicted. As a first step the government strictly prohibited the collection of forest products. The 'forest products' were listed such as minerals, surface soil, trees, timber, plants, grass, canes,

peat, creepers, reeds, fibers, leaves, moss, flowers, fruits, seeds, roots, galls, spice, juices, catechu, bark, gum, wood oil, resin, varnish, lace, charcoal, honey and wax, skins, tusks, bones and horns. The government also prohibited trespasses or pasture cattle, or permit cattle to trespasses; fells,

girdles, marks, lops, taps, uproots or burns by any tree, or the strip off the bark or leaves from, or otherwise damage Fines were collected for the violation of these rules. Thus it changed the entire life and structure of the Malabar in all the way.

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ECONOMIC CONDITION AS REVEALED FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ERUMBESWARA TEMPLE AT THIRUVERUMBUR - A STUDY

S. Vanitha & B. Perundevi

Temples in all countries and at all times have exercised great influence upon the minds of the people. In India it has helped in the preservation of the best of Hindu traditions, in moulding the lives of the people, and in keeping the bond of unity in a country where there is a wide variation of climatic conditions and where there is a bewildering diversities of customs, dress, and languages.¹ Temples in India originated as places of worship or cult centre, in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era. They were systematically built up as institutions with a focus for all human activities² - social, economic and cultural.

The temple occupied a place of vital importance in the history of medieval South India. It constituted a powerful social and economic entity. There is no doubt that the temple served not only as a place of worship but also as the focus of the material life of the people. The temple became the center of social life. From the early hours of the morning to late hours of the night, *pujas*, festivals and special gatherings attracted the people. It held them in its fold heightened their sensory appreciation by the rendering of *Thiruppadiyam* by *Othuvans*, and music by the temple musicians, by the exotic colour of the paintings, by the scented perfumes around the place of worship, by the tasty

offerings (*Prasadams*) distributed. Verily all the five senses became cultivated in their fullness in a temple. In the development of temple many elements and their aspects have made the temple a vibrant living force even today. Above all, the temple became a cultural institution of a great eminence, namely, development of man and his environs through good education, assured health, and freedom from penury.³

The *Erumbeeswara* temple at Thiruverumbur has played an important role as a land holder, consumer of goods and services, employer, banker and the like. The inscriptions which are engraved on the walls of this temple and other temples found in and around Thiruverumbur provide a mine of information with regard to the socio-economic conditions of the locality.

History of Erumbeeswarar temple

Erumbeeswara temple is located in the distance about 2km from Thiruverumber and about 12kms from Trichy. It is one of the revenue villages in Thiruchirapalli district of India state, Tamil Nadu. Erumbeeswarar Temple is a Hindu temple dedicated to Lord Shiva. Hoisted on a 60-foot tall hill, the temple can be reached via a flight of granite steps. Since the temple is on a hill, it is colloquially called "Malai Kovil" or "hill temple". The temple is famous not only for its Dravidian architecture style but also its legend - Lord Shiva is believed to have morphed himself into an anthill and tilted his head at this place to allow other Gods who took the form of ants, to climb up and worship him.⁴ Erumbu means ant and Eswaran refers to Shiva.

One can see that that Shiva lingam is a slanting one along with the marks of ants creeping on the lingam. The temple is one in a long line of temples built by Aditya Chola, of the Chola dynasty, along the banks of the river Kaveri, to memorialize his victory in the Thirupurambiyam battle, over the Pandyas. Because of King Aditya and his Chola ancestry, we see that the temple has a number of inscriptions from the Chola Empire dating back to the 10th century. Because of its historical and religious importance, the temple has been declared a protected monument by the Archaeological Survey of India and is locally commemorated as the "Kailash of South India".⁵ While many festivals are celebrated with

full gusto at the temple, the annual festival of Brahmotsavam (May/June) is one of the grandest festivals that is celebrated by the temple and is attended by thousands of devotees from far and near. Along with the images and idols of Shiva and his consort Saurabhya Kudalaambal., one can find granite images of other Gods also, like Lord Ganesh, Lord Murugan, nandi and Navagraha, in the hall that leads to the sanctum.

Inscriptions of the temple

Erumbeeswara temple in its current form was built by the Cholas king Aditya I (871-907 CE). The temple has 49 inscriptions from the Cholas period (850-1280 CE). The inscriptions numbered 101, 104, 105, 127, 130 and 133 of 1914 are believed to be inscribed during the 5th to 7th year of the reign of Aditya and hence believed to be between 882 and 885 CE. Another set of inscriptions from the Sundara Chola (957-970 CE) period indicate gift of land to maintain four signs of *Tirupadigam*. One another inscription indicates the donation of ten *kalanchu* (a measure) of gold to the deity by a temple woman in the year 875 CE. A king by name Siruthavur Sembian Veithi Velan from iliyurnadu is believed to have constructed the vimana⁶ (structure over the sanctum); the temple was the only temple that Malik Kafur (1296-1316 CE) could not conquer in 1311 CE, during his South Indian expedition. The temple is a declared monument of the Archaeological Survey of India on account of the inscriptions in the temple.

Social life

A detailed and analytical study of the inscriptions from the temple throw light on the composition of various communities of the Thiruverumbur and reveal the nature of interaction that the temple had with the people of the town like Brahmins, Vellalars, Merchants, Potters, Goldsmiths, Carpenters and Mandradis. The caste was the basis of the social organization under the Cholas society was divided into number of social groups or castes. Each caste was hereditary and constituted an occupational group. Brahmanas occupied a privilege position in the society.⁷ They were exempted from taxes, owned and enjoyed land with full royal support. Their main duties included learning and teaching of the Vedas and performing rituals and ceremonies. Some of

them served as chief priests of the temple. The *vellalars* mentioned in an epigraph of this temple proves that they will be the backbone of the society. Their professions were not only cultivation but also cattle breeding, business, weaving and service to the twice born. They acted as high officials in the Chola administration, particularly, in revenue field. Next to the *vellalars*, the merchant class formed a vital link in the economic fabric of this place.⁸ There are inscriptions conveying news of endowments to the temples by the trading community. The position of women in the Chola society was of a special significance. They were experts in religious literature and *puranas*. Property right had been conferred on them. They liberally made endowments to the temple. The temple epigraphs show in detail the social condition of Tamilnadu during the time of Aditya I, the author of the Erumbeeswara temple at Thiruverumbur.

Economic Condition

The temple occupied the place of importance in the history of medieval South India. It constituted a powerful economic entity. The temples were not only the place of worship but also the focus of the material life of the people. The Erumbeeswara temple at Thiruverumbur has played an important role as landholder, consumer of goods, employer, banker and the like. The inscriptions which are engraved on the walls of this temple provide a lot of information with regard to the economic condition of the locality.

The temples were maintained with royal benefaction and public patronage. One can understand the economy of the place from the inscriptions relating to the sale and purchase of lands, provision of the irrigation facilities, conduct of *pujas* and festivals, protection of the property of the temples, the upkeep of the temple premises, the construction of the building and several other works. In short, the Erumbeeswara temple was the centre of economy of Thiruverumbur. The inscriptions in this temple reflects the economy of the town.⁹

More than 49 inscriptions from the temple refer to the land transactions such as purchase, sale, donation of land and laying new streets, designs, remission of taxes to the land attached to the temple, etc. From these one can

understand the main aspects of the economy of Thiruverumbur area.

Temple as Bank

Temple treasuries served as local banks. The temples lend money to private bodies and village assemblies for cultivation, with or without security. Parents in order to perform the marriage of their daughters drew as loan money from the temple treasury. In times of distress temples helped the people and the unrealisable debts were rounded up by the purchase of the debtor's land.¹⁰

Temple as a big consumer

The temples are big consumers of milk and milk products, flowers, rice and other consumer items for various services connected with worship. Since *pujas* and festivals in the temples have prospered in recent times, there is an ever increasing demand for coconuts, sandal wood, rice, turmeric, incense, leaves, flowers, lights, ghee, salt, pepper, *areca nut*, betel leaves, oil, mustard, pulses, sugar, plantain, curd, camphor etc., There have been donations for these articles to the temples by many philanthropists. The inscriptions of Erumbeeswara temple at Thiruverumbur mention that there have been generous endowments of paddy, rice, vegetables, edible oil and other articles for *nivethanam*, *Tirupallitamam*, *tirumanjanam*, and burning of lamps.¹¹

Taxation

Every Government has its revenue as its life line. The Government gets its revenue through several ways and sources. One of them is the various taxes collected from the people. There are sufficient evidences to show that the tax was collected in the Sangam Age.¹² Though the word tax is not directly mentioned the word, *Irai* denoted tax. In those times land tax was fixed on the basis of fertility of the land, irrigational facilities and the relationship of the tiller of the soil and the land owner. From an inscription of Erumbeeswara temple the various taxes prevalent during the Cholas period are learned. They were called *Nilavari*, *Piravari*, *minpattam*, *tari-irai*, *tattar pattam*, *kadi-ayam*, and *Arasuperu*.¹³

Units of Land Measurement

In order to collect the above mentioned taxes, the land, particularly, tax land was measured by different units called *vatika* or *veli*, *kani*, *kuli*, and *kol*. A basic measurement for measuring land was through *Adikol* which means rod of Adi (equal to the present day one foot) Inscription mentions the name *panniradikol* the rod of 12 feet length. One square of *panniradikol* form 1 *kuli* and hundred *kuli* formed one *ma*. Based on the one foot measurement, measurements of lands were made and different units were formed with a specific name for each unit. They are discussed one by one here under.

Vatika or Veli: *Vatika* is a Sanskrit term representing a unit measure of land. It corresponds to *veli*, a unit measure of length. *Veli* was divided into 1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/20, 1/80 and 1/320.

Kani: *Kani* is a unit. It is 1/80th of a *veli*. One *veli* is equal to 20 *ma* and one *ma* is equal to four *kani*. One hundred *kuli* also formed one *kani*.

Kuli: *Kuli* a popular term used even now in Tamilnadu, is a unit of measurement for measuring land. *Kuli* also means a pit but in this context it is to be taken only as a unit of measurement. It is generally considered that it is an area spreading over 10 feet by 2 ½ feet square or 10 feet by 2 feet.

In their period there were several units of measurement. They were,

16 <i>chan</i>	-	1 <i>kol</i>
18 <i>kol</i>	-	1 <i>kuli</i>
100 <i>kuli</i>	-	1 <i>ma</i>
1 <i>ma</i>	-	4 <i>kani</i>
1 <i>kani</i>	-	4 <i>mundrikai</i>
1 <i>mundrikai</i>	-	1/320 <i>veli</i>
240 <i>kuli</i>	-	1 <i>pataka</i>
20 <i>ma</i>	-	1 <i>veli</i>

The inscriptions of Erumbeeswara temple belonging to the Chola period describe land measurement as *Mukkal*, *Kani*, *Ma*, *Mundrikai*, *Kuli*, and *Veli*.¹⁴

Coins

The general terms to denote coins were *kasu*, *panam*, *achchu*, *tiraman*, *pon varadham*, *madai*, *kalanju*, *akkam* etc. They meant different denominations were also there in the above said designations. No specific difference has been noticed in respect of the metal of the coins in inscriptions. Some inscriptions specifically mention the denomination of the coins along with the metal which is invariably gold. However, copper coins were in circulation in large numbers during the Chola period. It appears that the general name for the copper coin was *Kasu*.¹⁵

It is not at all possible to know the correct weight of these coins with respect to their denominations. It is also not possible to identify and associate at present the available coins with their respective names and denominations. More important among the coins were their denominations which had a uniform system of weight and purity of metal. The main denomination was the *kalanju*. *Kalanju* was equal to twenty *manjadi* and one *manjadi* was equal to two *kurunis* and one *kuruni* was equal to two grains. Thus, a *Kalanju* consisted of eighty grains.

Weights and Measures

The standard weight systems seem to be the *manjadi*, *kalanju* and *palam* during the Chola period. The grain measures that were in vogue in the temple in various times were the *kalam*, *tuni*, *paddakku*, *kuruni* and *nali*. The Erumbeeswara temple enjoyed the privilege of receiving the regular supply of different things like milk, butter, ghee, oils, etc for daily use. The liquid measures that were in usage in the temple were *nali*, *uri*, *ullakku*, *allakku*, and *sevedu*.¹⁶ The *ullakku* was a vessel for measuring the oil.

Liquid and grain measures

2 <i>Sevidu</i>	=	1 <i>Pidi</i>
5 <i>Sevidu</i>	=	1 <i>Alakku</i>
2 <i>Alakku</i>	=	1 <i>Uri</i>
2 <i>Uri</i>	=	1 <i>Nali</i>
8 <i>Nali</i>	=	1 <i>Kuruni</i>
2 <i>Kuruni</i>	=	1 <i>Padakku</i>
2 <i>Padaku</i>	=	1 <i>Tuni</i> or <i>Kadi</i>
3 <i>Tuni</i>	=	1 <i>Kalam</i>

Thus, Erumbeeswara temple at Thiruverumbur has become an integral part of social and economic lives of the people. On account of the temple having economic production and irrigational rights, it was in a

position to dominate the life of the village. From the discussion, it can be seen that this temple became the centre of people's activities and the temple played a vital role in the growth of socio-economic aspects of their life.

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THE REVENUE SYSTEM IN DHARMAPURI DISTRICT: FROM 10TH CENTURY TO 16TH CENTURY CE

S. Vishvabharathi & K. Karuppasamy Pandian

Introduction

The revenue system of Dharmapuri district is better understood now with the help of inscriptions found in the district. They offer a major breakthrough in this subject. This paper focuses its attention on the nature of different aspects of revenue system in Dharmapuri district from 10th Century CE to 16th Century Current CE; the period represent the reign of Imperial Cholas to Vijayanagara. For want of the basic classification and forming a concordance of the names of the taxes inscriptions of former composite Dharmapuri district i.e., which includes present day Krishnagiri district are also considered into the study account.

Taxation

Inscriptions and literature show the taxes were called 'Kara' or 'Irai'; whereas the tributes were called 'Tirai' and the custom duties and tolls were 'Sungam'. All these were generally by the name 'Vari', and in later Tamil polity a department in charge of levying any variety of taxes were called 'Variam'.

State income was collected from various sources. Land revenue was prominent amongst all taxes. Agricultural products and trade goods were also taxed. Likewise professional tax and business taxes were also imposed. Copper plates reveal that, tax lands were donated in the name 'Iraieli lands'.

Reigns in Dharmapuri

After Sangam Era and Kalapirar reign; Kanchi Palavas established their supremacy in composite Dharmapuri district. Composite Dharmapuri district possessed inscriptions from 5th cen. CE to 19th cen. CE. Leaving the 17th and 19th cen. inscriptions they may be grouped in to:

- 1) 5th to 9th cen. CE- Period of Feudatory rule.
- 2) 10th to 12th cen. CE- Rule of Cholas,
- 3) 13th cen. CE- Rule of Hysolas
- 4) 14th to 16th cen. CE – Rule of Vijayanagara.

Levies in 10th to 12th Century CE

Cholas were the first direct rulers of this province in the medieval period. However, the inscriptions of either the Ganga, Bana, Nulamba

feudatories or Cholas did not reveal any revenue or levy names. The inscriptions inscribed in the reign of Hoysola and Vijayanagara show numerous kinds of taxes levied on various sectors. Some of them were never been understood and what for it was levied.

After Cholas the scenario of composite Dharmapuri district was no different with that of rest of Tamil Nadu. The taxes imposed at time and spaces were just comparable with that of Chola and Pandya country. However, only from 12th Cen CE onwards particularly from the reign of Hysola the detail and names of levies were obtainable from inscriptions.

Levies in 12th Cen. CE

From the earliest time trading activities were subjected to tax. They were in different names. The 12th Cen. CE inscriptions of Composite Dharmapuri district records two different kinds of taxes namely 'Sariyai' and 'Sungam'. 'Sungam' may be considered as the tax on goods handled by the business communities both imported from faraway countries and indigenous goods moved from one place to another place through a trade route.

Levies in 13th century CE - Reign of Hysola

However from 13th Cen. CE onwards we could see clear information of taxes from inscription. Primarily two different kinds of taxes namely the 'Kadamai' and 'Kudimai' were mentioned in this specified period inscription. It was understood that 'Kadamai' was a common name for tax. 'Kudimai' was a tax imposed particularly on 'agrarian' society.¹

The 13th cen. inscriptions further records 'Sithayam'², 'Payarugamam', 'Vichuppattam', 'Asuvamvetti', 'Amsaisarigai',³ 'Kuthirai Sarigai'⁴, 'Kalyanatham'⁵, 'Thattarpattam'⁶, 'Kadamai'⁷, 'Kelvi nivantham', 'Irasaya nivantham', 'Siththayap pon'⁸ 'Adimai Sarigai'⁹ 'Puraththaragu' and 'Kaiyadith tharagu'¹⁰, 'Manai thirai'¹¹, 'Thari irai'¹²

Besides above taxes, we came over the names of numerous in kinds of tax names imposed during the reign of Hysola's. About nineteen of them were noticed from the inscriptions. They are: 'Athigari jevetham'¹³, 'Alumaalum jevetham'¹⁴, 'Kanikkai'¹⁵,

'Kaniyayan', 'Kattukkuththagai', 'Karpura kanikkai', 'Keelthandu', 'Kuthirai usagai', 'Siththayam', 'Sillantharayankal', 'Mallu thinam', 'Puththirai', 'Pudukkanikkai', 'Thariyerai', 'Thigai ponvazhi', 'Melthandu', 'Adaimaniyam', 'Kutangai Maniyam'¹⁶, 'Kalyanathayam'.¹⁷ Some of above taxes the nature and basis of taxation were unclear.

Levies in 14th CE- Reign of Vijayanagara

The scenario in 14th century inscriptions are little different from that of earlier period. 'Kadamai', 'Kudimai'¹⁸, 'Sarigai', 'Sugam'¹⁹, 'Pattadai', 'Eruthu kolmaru' 'Vellayam',²⁰ 'Kanikkai'²¹, 'Thari yerai' 'Thattar pattam', 'Kuthirai Sarigai', 'Kuthirai sungam', 'Vandich sungam'²², 'Ina vari'²³ were recorded in this period.

Scenario in 15th century

'Magilmai' was mentioned as a tax in the 15th cen. CE inscriptions. as described earlier was a tax on trade. 'Magamai', 'Magammai' and 'Magazhalmal' were may be considered as same kind as Magilmai, however, there was a difference in opinion on its nature. S.Krshnamurthi & S.Selvaraj had noted that, the word 'Magamai' maybe derived from the word 'Maganmai'. Maganmai was considered to a levy for the sake of Temples and Catiram i.e., travellers inn.²⁴

The sandy shops were taxed in the name of 'Adikasu'. It first occurred in 15th cen. inscription. 'Allayam' was another kind of tax related with sandy. At the same time 'Vellayam' a kind of tax was also came in to the tax scene. It may a kind of tax imposed on agrarian society.

The existence of 'Pattadai' tax was exposed from 14th and 15th cen. CE inscriptions. Pattadai usually denotes the artisan group. Thus it may assume to be as imposed upon the artisan group named after them.

Besides all above said, the levies during the reign of Vijayanagara rule were also numerous in kinds, more than that of Hysolas. About thirty six of them were found in the inscriptions. They are: 'Anaithayangan'²⁵, 'Adimai Sarigai'²⁶, 'Amsai Sarigai'²⁷, 'Adikasu and Alukkasu'²⁸, 'Asuvam', 'Ayam' and 'Ulayam'²⁹ 'Kanam'³⁰, 'Kalyanathayam' and 'Kaliyanathayam'³¹, 'Kadamai', 'Kudimai'³², 'Kuthirai Sarigai'³³,

'Kuthirai Pathagam and Kuthirai kuzhi sungam'³⁴, 'Kuttuvadagai'³⁵, 'Sarigai', 'Sungam' and 'Magazhmai'³⁶, 'Pattadai'³⁷, 'Vellayam'³⁸, 'Vellaya Sungam'³⁹, 'Thattar pattam'⁴⁰, 'Payaruganam and Vichuppattam'⁴¹, 'Siththayam'⁴², 'Sarivaram'⁴³, 'Chettiyar magamai' and 'Allaya manyam'⁴⁴, 'Kudangai maniam'⁴⁵, 'Kavundu maniyam' and 'Peru sungam'⁴⁶, 'Vetti' and 'Vellappadi'⁴⁷, 'Naduthalavarikkai.'⁴⁸

The levy on Kudirai i.e., horse was mentioned as 'Kuthirai Sungam' in the 15th century; the same was called as 'Kuthirai usagai' in 16th Cen. CE inscriptions.

Scenario in 16th century-

Scenario from 16th CE onwards shows some unclear picture of taxation in this region. One important notice was the levy on Kudirai i.e., horse was mentioned as 'Kuthirai usagai' in the 16th cen. CE inscriptions. As said earlier the same was called as 'Kuthirai Sungam' in the 15th century. 'Karpura Kanikkai' a kind of tax was also existed in 16th CE too. Kanikkai in Tamil means to a 'donation'. Inscriptions from Chola-Pandiya countries show a tax in the name of 'Karpura vilai'; it was identified as "sale price paid for temple land; price paid for cultivation rights to temple lands and commutation of the taxes thereon."⁴⁹ Therefore the Karpura Kanikkai may be considered as the tax on the land or the crop donated to the temple. 'Kuthirai Sarigai' was another name to tax imposed on horses. were imposed by a tax called 'Kannalathayam', later inscriptions claims it as 'Kannalam' and 'Maduvai'. Maduvai is a Kannada word means to marriage.

General category

In general category, 'Ullayam', 'Naleruthu', 'Narpasu', 'Kolmaru', 'Sungam', 'Thalvarigai' were heard upon. 'Naleruthu', 'Narpasu', maybe taxes forced on the cattle growers such as Idaiyar, Kovers and Mandadiyars. The 16th cen. inscriptions mention the name of the taxes 'Keel Thandu', 'Mel Thandu'. Both theses may be compared with Pandya country's 'Keel Irai' and 'Mel Irai' taxes. The word 'Thandu' means to tax thus derived the word 'Thandam'. Besides theses 'Malluthanam', 'Thikkai', 'Alumaalu Jevitham', 'Athigari Jevitham', 'Pudukanikkai', 'Puththirai', 'Vadagai ayam', 'Rayasa nivantham', 'Kelvi nivantham' were also mentioned in the inscriptions. Amongst these 'Rayasa nivantham' was considered as registration fee.

Tax on Thevathana villages

'Siththayap pon', 'Rasaya nivantham', 'Kelvi nivantham' were kinds of taxes levied on Thevathana villages.⁵⁰ However it was not clear how they were imposed, they may be levied on artisan group working in these villages.

Collection of taxes

There was no clear reference is available on how the taxes were collected, and by home and how it was directed to the government treasury. However Ko.Ma. Ramachandran had described with the help of inscriptions from Kongu province that 'during the Ganga reign, each village had a village head and an accountant. They administered the village and were responsible for tax collection in the village. They collect taxes from the public and pay the king their rightful portion of tax.'⁵¹ The same may be considered for the composite Dharmapuri district too,

Harassment free collection of taxes might be used by the officiating persons. During the Viraramanathan reign, a royal order was issued for beheading as punishment for those officials and accountants misbehave public and demand food from the public while they were on their duty of collection of tax or on village duty.⁵² This may reveal the fact those who collect tax by torturing public were subjected to stringent punishment. One copper plate records, during the Nayaks rule, the Viramuttigals, tax collectors when officiate to collect tax from Vetkovers used violence on them, but, when they came to know about the exception of tax for the Vetkovers they, they turned back, devoid from tax collection from them.⁵³ This reveals the fact that some times the officials used violence in collection of tax.⁵⁴

Conclusion

The revenue system of Dharmapuri (Composite Dharmapuri district) district during the reign of Imperial Cholas, considering properly with inscription shows less names of levies; though it this region was in direct control of the Cholas. This scenario is quite contrast to the rest of Tamil Nadu. Thus we may conclude that the progress of economy of the district was very slow, and transformation into agrarian society from pastoral and Agro pastoral was that quickly happened. Dr.Y. Subrayalu's assessment⁵⁵ may be kindly noted and compared here, according to him "Though

nearly four hundred and twenty taxes are named during the four centuries of Chola state, only about five percent of them was significant, if we considered the frequency of their occurrence area-wise and time wise." The real economic development plans involving the common man was implemented in the reigns of from later Chola's and Hysolas; the development was set forth with agricultural development by means of

developing irrigation facilities and establishing lakes and ponds. There after the economy of Thagadoor province transformed in to an agro-pastoral economy. However it ever became a pure agro based; irrespective of hectic activity of Vijayanagara and Nayak rulers. However the business, professional class and trade activity was never witnessed a fall.

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FORT ST.GEORGE : A TRADING HUB OF COROMANDEL COAST IN BRITISH ERA

P. Arumugasamy & B. Hameed Basha

The purpose of the article is evaluating the potential of Fort St.Geroge as a trading hub of Coromandel Coast in British Era. The key question is whether the Coromandel was a great platform to the trade and commerce to the

Europeans. Fort St. Gorge was a vital and thriving trade center in colonial period in the Eastern coast of India, especially Coromandel Coast. Europeans were arrived India after the discovery of sea-route from Europe to India. They

came to India for main purpose to establish their trade activities. On the consequences, the British East India Company was informed in Britain for the specific purpose of pursuing trade with India and China. Fort St. Gorge was a vital and thriving trade centre in colonial period in the Eastern coast of India, especially Coromandel Coast. Europeans were arrived India after the discovery

of sea-route from Europe to India. They came to India for main purpose to establish their trade activities. On the consequences, the British East India Company was informed in Britain for the specific purpose of pursuing trade with India and China. This study mainly focused on the significance of Coromandel coast and how Fort St.Geroge acted as trading hub in colonial era.

FOREST MANAGEMENT IN KANYAKUMARI DISTRICT - A STUDY

P. Jeyabalakrishnan

Kanyakumari District is located at southern tip of Peninsular India and bordered by Thiruvananthapuram district of Kerala state to the west and Tirunelveli District of Tamilnadu to the north and east. The forest in Kanyakumari District is verdant and virgin Forests and said to be of 75 million years old of the total district area 167130 ha. Government Forests occupy an area of 50486 Hectares which comes to about 30.2% the total District geographical area. The forest of Kanyakumari District was transferred from Kerala to Tamilnadu on 1st November 1956 as a result of the State reorganization. The forests of this Divisions (Part) i.e.: Boothapandy and

Mahendragiri R.F were previously managed by the District Forest Officer, Tirunelveli south Division with Head Quarters at Tirunelveli consequent on the formation of Kalakadu and Mundanthurai sanctuary, Kanyakumari Division was formed exclusively to manage the forests of Kanyakumari District with Head quarters at Nagercoil from 1.4.1977. There are fourteen types of forest from luxuriant tropical wet evergreen to tropical thorn forests. In this paper an attempt has been made to reveal how the forests in Kanyakumari District had been administered and its intricacies sorted out systematically were analyzed.

ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN TAMIL NADU

A. Naresh Kumar & R. Sthanislas

The empowerment of women is very essential for a nation. The freedom of life of a women brings enlightening not only the family but also the entire nation. In the modern era, the women are achieving great level in all the fields. They do business, caring family, business, science and technology and what not? Though they earn money, most of them are not empowered economically yet. Earnings of a married women help to lead a family. Mostly middle class women earnings are contribution more in the family development. But in many occasions, they

are not able to take financial decision in their life. Hence, this article is an attempt to study the economic empowerment, economic empowerment in India, women empowerment, economic in Tamil Nadu. Vellore region is the top exporter of finished Leather goods in the county. Vellore leather accounts for more than 37% of the country's export of leather and leather related products. The Government of India has released the next round of smart cities project list. The Tamil Nadu state district Vellore also got a place of the list of 27 cities in the project.

SREE NARAYANA GURU'S IDEAS AND PRACTICE OF TECHNOLOGY, CRAFT AND EMPLOYMENT ORIENTED EDUCATION

S.K. Remya

Human life is the most sacred of all creations of God and it is significant to point out that humans misuse the gifted blessing of God through their

activities. Education has played an important role in moulding human life. In pre- modern society of Kerala, the backward sections of society were

deprived of the enlightenment of education. The right to get education was the privilege of high caste people. In this regard Sree Narayana Guru of Kerala protested against social evils which prevailed in society. Liberation of any society is incomplete without educating the lowest and the

submerged sections of society. Education is the only solution to solve these ills in society. This ideology of educating the illiterate and relegated sections of society formed the basis of Sree Narayana Guru's ideology of education.

SITUATING WOMEN LABOURERS IN THE INDUSTRIES IN COLONIAL MALABAR

K.P. Shapna

The dawn of the twentieth century witnessed the establishment of large-scale industries in major cities of India. Simultaneously, small-scale industry also developed in the peripheral regions such as Malabar in Madras presidency. Malabar already had few cottage industries and both kinds of industries were operational and employed substantially with men and women. Research in India on workers has mostly been a male-centric exercise. In the late Nineties with the processual approach to the writings of history a few works had come up with the gender

perspective; but very few for the Malabar region. Extensive Studies were done regarding women in agrarian work by scholars but very limited studies were reported in industrial sector. The present study seeks to fill this vacuum by situating women workers in the small scale industries of Malabar. It also focuses on the socio-economic condition of women in the existing cottage industries and the society of Malabar. An Attempt is also made to fix up the women workers under the missionaries and capitalist owned industries of Malabar.

RYOTWARI SYSTEM'S CONSEQUENCES ON NIZAM POWER AND ECONOMY IN THE HYDERABAD STATE

Thunga Rampandu

One of the major Reasons for the Colonial intervention into Hyderabad State was the Maratha–Nizam wars, these wars led Nizam to sign into the Subsidiary Alliance, because, at that time Nizam didn't have that much of army power to bear the attacks of the Maratha troops. After the intervention of Britishers many changes occurred in the Hyderabad State. The strike is Ryotwari system which Economically weakened the Nizam's State along with the Local Landlords,

Deshmukhs and Deshpandeys, As of we all knew this Ryotwari system created huge demand to the land, as a result, this encouraged non-cultivating dominant communities to grab vast land through money lending, then much of the state land was gone into the hands of money lenders, landlords and rich peasants these all have created the new waves towards Semi-feudal society and weakened Nizam power.

SOURCES OF LAND REVENUE, LAND TAXES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA: A CRITICAL REVIEW

L.C. Venkatachalapathi & N. Shaik Masthan

Land was the main source of revenue in medieval India as well as Karnataka and Agriculture was the source of wealth for State's and individuals. The early Indian works like Darmasatras, the Smritis, Abhilasitha-cintamani of Somesvara and Arthasasra of Kautilya give us

a complete picture of the land revenue and associated subjects. Inscriptions, being contemporary records, which constitute the most reliable source of information to write about the land revenue, differed with different dynasties at different times. Taxes which were existing in

medieval Karnataka were Land Taxes, Property Taxes, Profession Taxes, Commercial Taxes, Taxes on Industries, Social and Communal Taxes, Miscellaneous Taxes, Judicial Fines etc. Agriculture as a main occupation, prospered in the medieval life. In medieval Karnataka, it was as much a land of innumerable popular villages. They were more especially the Agraharas which were centres of economic activities, were richly endowed with natural vegetation, perennial water resources and fertile soil, and largely

utilized by the residents of the villages to ensure their economic prosperity. The revenue administration of the times still continues to be a fertile and virgin field of study for the scholars to explore the means and methods of the sources of revenue system, their collection, typology and its relation the state and the society. Hence, this paper is an attempt to make and analyze the land taxes in medieval Karnataka in its socio – economic and political way of life.

FISHERS SECTOR: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN THE GLOBALIZED SCENARIO

T. Vinayan

Fisheries sector one of the very important field of our economy faces many challenges in the present globalized world order. A very profound transformation took place in the field due to the ever excess capital investment. The Economic Life of Marine Fishers in Kerala presented a picture of great transformation due to several factors. In the early years of independence the condition of fisherfolk in the region is very pathetic. They lived in poor surroundings and they struggled to meet daily needs. The low earnings, absence of alternate jobs and exploitation of middle men brought their life deplorable. The faster involvement of both government and non-government agencies

helped a lot to improve the condition of fishers in the state. The various techniques adopted in the field of fishing side by side with the better price to the product helped them to stick on the field. The different schemes introduced for the fishermen also supported for their sustainable growth. The decreasing catch, climate change, increasing operating cost, etc. are the new challenges. At the same time attractive price for fish, excessive demand for marine products both in internal markets and abroad, new and advanced preservation techniques, product diversification, etc. gives new prospects to this sector.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ICTS AND ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION OF MANIPUR WOMEN FARMERS THROUGH EMA KEITHEL (MOTHERS' MARKET)

A.S. Worchipam

The paper analyses a distinctive market which is run only by the women named 'Ema Keithel' (Womens' Market) located at the heart of Imphal town, Manipur. Despite being a patriarchal society, the Ema Keithel has a unique position because of its function as controlling institution of women that affects and subsidises to the whole economy of the state. The market has been providing livelihood for the entire state from generation to generation. Being run only by

the women, this market play immeasurable role in empowering the women economically, politically and culturally. Although motivation for participating in agriculture and marketing is first to contribute to household food security and income, to withstand this productivity, it is necessary to understand women information need and importance of Information and communication Technologies (ICTs) as this will help close the resource access gap

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - CULTURAL HISTORY SECTION
TERRACOTTA TRADITION IN EARLY CULTURES OF ANDHRADESA

Prof. P. Bhaskar Reddy

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, I am grateful to the members of the executive committee of the South Indian History Congress for selecting me President of the Cultural History Section of its 40th annual session. Of all the academic honours that one could aspire for, nothing can be compared to the recognition of this kind coming from one's own co-workers. I would like to take this opportunity given to me to present before you my views and understanding of Terracotta Tradition in Early Cultures of Andhradesa.

Clay is the most easily pliable and versatile medium for preparing utilitarian objects such as pots and pans, as well as religious and aesthetic art objects. Man has experimented with the soft, plastic earthly material as medium of decoration or expression since hundreds of thousands years ago. However, the recorded usage of clay in potting varies between eight to ten thousand years in different parts of the world. Their utility and beauty of shapes go hand in hand and occupies a unique position by its distribution and characteristic features in different areas and periods. Thus pottery provides a rich data for understanding the past Cultures and studies on it attracted the attention of the Archaeologists.

In fine art, the word Terracotta (baked earth) is most commonly used to describe a type of sculpture, unglazed ceramic art, or decorative architecture, made from coarse, porous clay, which is noted for its versatility, cheapness and durability¹. Terracotta objects have been prepared and used by human beings from ancient time of human history in the form of household objects, ritual objects, aesthetic objects and sculptures along with pottery. The pottery and votive figurines found from Egypt and Mesopotamia are claimed to be among the earliest findings of terracotta. Terracotta art was prevalent in ancient Greece as early as 7th century BCE and throughout the Roman Empire². Terracotta antiquities represent unique repositories of information for archaeologists and art historians; they are excellent indicators of

cross-cultural exchange because they reflect the technical proficiency of artisans and the taste, trends, and orientations.

India too has a long antiquity of terracotta assemblages, reported from a large number of Pre-historic and Early Historic sites. The earliest evidence of clay modeling tradition of Indian sub-continent dates back to the ceramic Neolithic period of Mehrgarh in Baluchistan. Five unbaked clay figurines representing human and animal forms have been recovered from period I of Mehrgarh dated to end of 7th Millennium BCE³. The evidence of baked clay animal figurines occurs for the first time in the Indian subcontinent from Period III of Mehrgarh dated to c.4000 BCE. Terracotta or baked clay human figurines occur from Period IV onwards⁴. The stylistic evolution of these terracotta figurines has been noticed between Period IV and VII. The terracotta tradition was continued in good measures during the urban phase of Harappan civilization which flourished between 2700 BCE to 1750 BCE. The Indus valley sites at Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, Chanhudaro, Lothal, Kalibangan, Banawali and others have yielded a vast range of terracotta objects-toys of birds, animals, wheeled carts, men and women, cult figures, especially mother goddess, beside other utilitarian potteries in great abundance. After the Harappan Civilization several regional copper using agrarian cultures emerged in the Indian sub-continent. During the early historic period various forms of terracotta figurines were found in different parts of India. The tradition of making terracotta figures came to south India almost at the same time as it did in north India. The clay figurines of each period of India's long history share the characteristic feature of the art style prevailing in a particular period, but at the same time they are marked by regional distinctions both in style and type. Andhradesa is one of such states where rich terracotta tradition was found. A Systematic study of the clay figurines made on regional basis is likely to prove a fruitful source of crafts, Art tradition and Cultural History.

Terracotta in Andhra

Andhra region (present states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana) form a distinct territorial and Cultural unit on the southern side of the Vindhyan range in the Indian sub- continent. It has a rich fascinating range of art forms which are unique in style, theme concept form and expression. Terracotta tradition was one among them. The early agricultural and pastoral communities of the region had initiated the production of clay figurines for the ritualistic purposes from the Neolithic times. Archaeological excavations conducted by various organizations all over the Andhra region brought to light a variety of terracotta figurines in abundance in different forms and techniques belonged to different phases.

Terracotta in pre historic culture

The earliest datable terracotta specimens in Andhra region are reported from Veerapuram belonged to Neolithic period. Few fragments of terracotta bulls were recovered in the excavations conducted by Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad⁵. Variety of bull figures with projected horns without hump resembling the terracotta bull seal of Mohanjadaro and Harappa were noticed from Chinnamaruru⁶. The Neolithic habitation site at Palavoy has yielded 127 unbaked clay objects. All the specimens were found in the Neolithic levels of Palavoy excavations. They are irregular in shape. Several of them are elongated flattish; sometimes round with knob like projections. Some are even spherical but very small in size varying from 1.5 to 3.2 cm. in diameter. From the large number and amorphous nature of these objects they appear to be primitive play things for children. Besides a terracotta bull also recovered from the surface level of the site⁷. The terracotta bull bears red bands painted on the body and stylized animal heads probably attached to pots were noticed from Ramapuram⁸. It is interesting note here that Ramapuram is a vast prehistoric site and variety terracotta figurines consisted of Human figurines, animal figurines like dog, bull heads, humped bull were also noticed in 1981-82 excavations at Ramapuram. Crude and archaic forms of bulls were the earliest terracotta figurines recovered from the sites at Veerapuram, Ramapuram, Chinnamaruru and Palavoy etc. These clay forms were hand- modeled and undecorated.

Terracotta in early historic Culture

The early historic culture of Andhradesa can be divided into two phases. The first phase is marked by megalithic burials and iron usage and the second phase beginning from 300 BCE coincides with the presence of script, coinage, baked brick structures, maritime trade and phenomenal increase in trade activity and institutions.

Terracotta in Megalithic Culture

The utility of terracotta art objects appear to have been increased considerably in Andhra during the early Iron Age. The early Iron Age settlements in Andhra are characterized by the megalithic burials and distributed in wider region. Variety of terracotta figurines in large numbers were found in the Megalithic sites. It is evident that the megalithic builders of this region were producing and utilizing the terracotta objects of daily use. Lagged Sarcophagus in different forms and sizes were in use for disposal of the dead body. Terracotta sarcophagus with six legs in two rows and decorated with an appliqué band of finger impressions below the rim was noticed from the Megalithic burial at Peddamaruru. The practice of depositing or offering terracotta figurines of animals was also in vogue. The figurine of a buffalo, intended to be luted to one end of the Sarcophagus was recovered from Peddamaruru⁹. This is a unique example of artistic amplitude of clay modeling found in the Megalithic sites. The terracotta beads, pottery, shell, etched carnelian, animal bones and horns etc., were the other antiquities recovered from various levels. Long horned terracotta buffalo figure was reported from a Cist burial at Serupalli¹⁰. The figure of deer was obtained in the megalithic burial at Pochampadu along with several terracotta figurines of diminutive size and archaic features¹¹. Thus, the occurrence of terracotta bull in Neolithic-Chalcolithic sites, animal figurines in the megalithic burials and preparing the sarcophagi in animal form suggest the prevalence of some sort of cult worship/ belief among the Megalithic communities of the region. By about the 3rd century BCE, the megalithic settlements in the region had shown inter regional exchange and the impact of trade led to the greater extraction of 'surplus' of craft products in the localities for the purpose of trade.

Terracotta in pre- Satavahana age

The extension of Mauryan authority, introduction of Buddhism and opening up of the area for long distance trade, growth of agrarian settlements brought vital changes in Andhra region. The emergence of urban centers at Dhulikatta, Peddabankur, Kotilingala from pre – Satavahana times and their location on trade route connecting Vidarbha with the east coast were the main factors for commercial and artistic development and its exchanges. Terracotta craft became more popular in Andhra from 300 BCE in accordance with the aesthetic value of the society. A large number of terracotta figurines of human and animal forms belonged to pre-Satavahana age have been found from various excavations.

Terracotta in Satavahana age

The Satavahana period contributed immensely to the development of many artistic traditions culminating in adoption of new techniques and styles in various fields of art, architecture, sculpture and crafts. The new innovations in art forms were continued uninterrupted for the subsequent centuries. The terracottas of the Satavahana form a class of their own on account of their stylistic peculiarities and technique. Kondapur, Nagarjunakonda, Yeleswaram, Salihundam, Kotilingala, Peddabankur, Dhulikatta etc., were the important centers of terracotta craft during this period. The terracottas discovered in the above places were characterized by bold physiognomy and extremely sensitive modeling. Some of them are handmade and some are cast from single or double moulds. The terracotta making technique of Satavahana period was totally different from the earlier ones as it produced figurines in a free standing condition which were hollow inside. They mark a distinct technological advance when compared to the earlier ones¹². The technique of terracotta art of Andhradesa has followed a progressive course in different periods of history.

Archaic Terracotta

The hand-made figures modeling the clay to the desired shape found in various places of Andhra. These hand-made figures were made out of a single lump of clay pressed by hand into three parts. The top portion making the head is made into round mass without retouching.

Sometimes the nose was pinched and eyes executed in appliqué. The hands, legs, and breast were drawn out like pointed spikes¹³. They appear crude and show rough workmanship and look like totem symbols. These are generally designated by the archaeologists as “archaic” or “ageless” due to the fact that they cannot be ascribed to any particular period or style. This archaic terracotta category covers both human and animal forms found in the region from Megalithic to Satavahana periods.

It is interesting to mention here that female figurines were found more in the category of archaic human forms. These figures are characterized by featureless face and halo like dressing of hair locks. However, in some figures the hair is shown with incised lines. The hands are pinched and are in the form of pointed masses or horizontal tapering production without details. The breasts are protruding and pointed. The attenuated waist line with or without a navel has been broadened towards the hip. The back is flat. The similarity of the shape and sex (female) of many figures may indicate the fertility cult¹⁴. The archaic female figures which represent fertility cult recovered might be precursors of the later images of nude goddess popularly known as Lajjagauri¹⁵. These kinds of figures have a wide distribution in Andhra region found in many sites. The figures from Dhulikatta, Peddabankur and Nelakondapalli appear to have been cast out of the same mould. Apparently these figures were manufactured at one place and exported to other places¹⁶. There is one interesting hand-made terracotta figure of probably male wearing a head-gear recovered from Dhulikatta. The head-gear has a prominent brim with a jewel (rossete) attached to its right. The eyes and ears are made in appliqué. The mouth is open to simulate a laugh. The figure appears to be the mouth of a water jar. This may be a unique figure and without any parallel so far found in India¹⁷. Among the animal figures bulls occupy a prominent place which occur right from Neo-chalcolithic to early historic times, where as the figurines of buffalo, elephant, boar, ram, dog, deer, birds and others occur from the Megalithic period onwards. The crude figurines of bovine animals, such as bull, etc., are characteristic of the proto-historic period, but stylistically they cannot be attributed to any particular phase. Some of the archaic terracottas may be compared with those

found at Bhita, Kausambi, Pataliputra, Ahichatra, Mathura, Yeleswaram, Nagarjunakonda etc¹⁸.

Molded Terracotta in Andhra

The Satavahana terracottas mark a distinct technological advancement, for the technique employed in the fashioning the terracotta figurines is a highly specialized one, and marks a departure from that followed earlier in the north, especially in the Gangetic valley¹⁹. In the progress of terracotta manufacturing technology mould was initiated and used extensively in the region from around 2nd BCE. The earlier technique of hand-modeling and production of archaic forms were modified by the use of moulds. Single molded form of terracotta was the intermediate stage between the archaic form and double molded sumptuous figures. In the Mauryan terracottas, one notices that the head was produced from a mould and was attached to the body which was modeled by hand. Further development takes place in the Sunga period when the entire figurines was produced from a single mould, and hence had a flat back like a plaque²⁰. Such single molded human and animal figures were found in Andhra at Kondapur, Nagarjunakonda, Yeleswaram and Salihundam. It is evident that the production of terracotta in Andhra region was marked by distinct chronological periods with an emphasis on technical and stylistically peculiarities. However, regional variations are found in the proportions of the modeled forms and objects²¹.

The next stage of terracotta art of Andhra is marked by the use of double moulds. The Satavahana period is significant for the imitation and mastery of the double mould technique. It is the fact that the technique of double mould almost changed the concept of terracotta art and made easy for production in large scale.

A noteworthy advance was made in the Satavahana era when figurines in the round were produced by employing a novel technique. It was a specialized technique which produced terracotta figurines like free standing sculpture. For this, two different moulds, one for the front and the other for the back, were made. A thin layer of clay was pressed in each mould which resulted in producing two halves of a figure. They were then joined together by a thin ribbon of clay. The figure thus produced was hollow from inside. Some of the Satavahana terracotta has

holes in places which were apparently intended for letting out the hot expanded air resulting from firing. From a close examination of some specimens it appears that the two different moulds were placed in a master cover. This is evident from a thin line at the joint²². Regarding this technological advancement Deshpande M N observes "Technique employed in the making of double molded figurines is very interesting and highly specialized craft, which probably inspired by the western Artisans". He also stated that this technique was fully developed in about the 1st century BCE when the enterprising traders from the west were busy in exchanging their products with those from Deccan²³.

II

The other characteristic feature distinguishing from others is the material which they were made. The black cotton soil of the Deccan is not suitable for making terracottas, and Satavahana potters therefore used different but far superior clay- kaolin. It is creamish in colour and is of extremely fine quality and hence the smoothness and the luminosity that characterizes the Satavahana terracottas²⁴. Apart from kaolin, clay was also used for modeling other objects of daily use, including those with utilitarian value.

III

Double molded figurines made of both levigated clay as well as kaolin have been noticed in the entire Andhra region. The terracottas produced by this technique are diverse and specific. These figurines include male and figurines with elaborate head dress, amorous couples, females in alluring posture, female with a child (ankadhatri), yakshas and yakshinis in various standing postures, mother Goddess, figures seated on animals, bulls, horses, elephants, rams and birds like cocks, sparrows, parrots etc,. Finest specimens of human and animal forms cast out of double moulds of the Satavahana period are recorded from Peddabankur, Dhulikatta, Kotilingala, Kondapur, Nagarjunakonda, Yeleswaram etc,.

Yeleswaram was one of the important centers for this craft and hundreds of terracotta objects were recovered. Most of the figurines belonged to the cult images such as nude Goddess, Mithunas or Dampati, Yaksha-Yakshini group. The secular figures include male or female

figurines, animals, birds, ornaments, lamps, toy-carts, seals and sealing etc²⁵. It is very important to note here that at Yeleswaram the entire technique of manufacturing terracotta figurines was revealed by the presence of hand modeled figurines and moulds used for taking casts. Fine terracotta double moulds of mother Goddess, a Scythian soldier, ram, and mould for making designed miniature pots, mould for stamping on bigger pots were recovered from Yeleswaram. The double mould of ram at Yeleswaram is hollow at the base. The two moulds of the rear and front portions must have been tied with a thread outside and wet clay was pressed in through the hollow which is wide enough to allow the thumb inside to press the clay over the negative. The moulds of human figure also have holes at the base but are narrow for the insertion of clay with fingers²⁶.

The terracotta figurines recovered from Kondapur show highly developed skill in modeling, a keen sense for realistic effect and lively imagination for inner expression and artistic detail. Female figurines in different forms and style, Yaksha and yakshini, mother goddess, animal and birds were found plenty²⁷. The terracotta specimens noticed from Kotilingala includes, human figurines such as heads of male (one figure with head gear comprises of turban, and other represented by low, wide open eyes, blunt nose and thick lips, bald head without hair), and animal figurines of pig, elephant, doll, bull, horse, and other objects include circular cart wheel with spokes, rim, hub and a hole, dabbers etc²⁸.

Thousands of terracotta objects consisted of human, cult figurines, yaksha and yakshi, animal, bird, decorative and utilitarian in different forms and technique, besides moulds, belonged to Satavahana and Ikshvaku periods were noticed from Nagarjunakonda. The terracotta figurines of Nagarjunakonda have a distinctive place in its technological and artistic features²⁹. The *yakshis* belonged to Ikshvaku period were even more dexterously molded with interesting head-gear, hair style etc., which are also paralleled in stone sculpture with similar facial features. It is very important to note here that thousands of figurines were discovered from Yeleswaram and Nagarjunakonda excavations, which now submerged under the waters of the Nagarjunasagar dam.

IV

It is evident from above that there was a spectacular growth of terracotta art in Andhra during the first three centuries of Christian era. One notable development is the art features of human and animal figures. They are robust with prominent features and the modeling is quite realistic. Some characteristics are distinguishing them from others. Foremost among them are the figurines of the mother goddess. There are three types of mother goddesses cast-out of double moulds. The first one is modeled with outstretched hands and arms lifted. She wears a *makara* type of head-dress and ornamented with a necklace, waist-band, *kankanas*, etc. The face and hair style are quite typical of local style. The flowing hair is beautifully made into a black-knot at the end.

The second type is made of kaolin which appears to have universal distribution found among the early historical sites of South India. The left hand of the goddess simply rests on her thigh, while her right hand holds on a fruit bunch. A parrot perching on her right arm is nudging her breast with its bill. She is profusely decorated with a broad necklace ending in a locket above the prominent navel, the bangles, a beaded waist-band of double rows and Keyura above the feet. In some figures she wears *yajnopavita* and a beaded necklace with a leaf pendant.

The third type of Mother Goddess is made of finely levigated clay found at Dhulikatta. The goddess holds her breasts with her hands below. She wears a beaded *yajnopavita*, ornaments and beautifully combed hairs towards right. The ornaments such as the *kankanas*, *keyuras*, and the *lalatika* (crest jewel) are in a pleasing harmony with the smiling expression of a benign Goddess, depicted with parted lips, narrow eyes and bulbous cheeks³⁰.

Another noteworthy class of female figure is mother and child found at Nagarjunakonda and Yeleswaram. The lady is shown standing with right arm at rest and left supporting the child (*Ankadhatri*). Some male and female figurines have elaborated coiffure, costumes, head dresses and exquisite jewellery³¹.

Animal and bird forms in double molded terracotta appeared in a considerable number in various places. Satavahana artists also specialized in modeling the animal figures which

are realistically and sensitively portrayed³². Some of them are considered classic and superior to any of those produced later. Extreme care was taken to model the features and special types were introduced, such as sculptural group compositions, which have parallels in the contemporary art that was popular in western Deccan rock-cut architecture³³. Among the animals Horses were noticed in large numbers and bulls occupy the next place. The Elephants, rams, boars, monkeys, certain hybrid types with bodies of animals and birds such as cocks, sparrows etc., were also found. Apart from above, terracotta ornaments like ear-rings, bangles, pendants and armlets and others in various designs were recovered. The most interesting example is a beautiful modeled Chaitya window motif in terracotta recovered from Nagarjunakonda excavations³⁴. It is important note here that along with terracotta during the Vishnukundin period stucco objects of human, animal, and decorative objects were noticed from Kesaragutta and the figure of life size Buddha recovered from Phanigiri.

SUMMARY AND REMARKS

Thus Andhradesa is a lucrative region for studying terracottas as it has a long, rich and continuous presence of terracotta art from Neolithic time upto Vishnukundin period with so many forms, style and technique. Nearly 54 find spots distributed all over the Andhra and Telangana regions in the domain of Satavahanas, Ikshvakus and Vishnukundins have yielded terracottas in profusion. The artisans of Andhra were successful in the terracotta craft to produce highly skilled and sumptuous figurines with elaborate typology and advanced technology. This tradition even flourished in contemporary society in several forms and design.

Despite the profuse occurrence of terracotta objects from various archeological sites of Andhra, systematic attempts to catalogue and classify the findings have been very limited. The excavation reports mostly contain the description of the findings with short analysis with respect to a particular issue. Further reports were not published regularly to incorporate the new findings. Moreover, several finds collected both from surface as well as excavations do not contain full details of the locations at which they were found or any information about the cultural

context. In the museums of Andhra and Telangana only selected terracotta figurines are in display and some figurines are in their possession of reserve collection. Thus, the terracotta are either not put into proper documenting or classification method or the data is not synthesized meaningfully in order to understand the life style of the people, socio-economic condition, traditions, technology, production, marketing and exchange etc.. Thus in this presentation I have taken the face value of the excavator's interpretations and reluctant to question the inferences of the excavator assuming the fact that the excavator's observance should not be questioned much.

Due to inadequate recorded information the researchers mostly concentrated on terracotta production technology and the art features of some selected objects by using the different ways of clubbing the available information. The most concentrated areas of descriptive studies are that of concept fertility, mother goddess, stylistic analysis, classification, and technological aspects of terracotta art. Art historians depended primarily on stylistic analogy "a method where an object's temporal position is determined by comparing it with stylistically similar objects recovered from excavated sites of North India". The terracotta tradition in Andhra has not yet been studied scientifically the background of the cultural sequences. Explorations and Excavations at the sites mentioned above seem to indicate that terracotta as a form of social, religious and aesthetic articulation in the regions south of the Vindhya was associated with the growth of urban culture in the region of Satavahana and Ikshvaku domain. The studies so far are very limited in Andhra and required to see the comprehensive account and also the presence of non-material aspects of society and culture linked to the apparent material presence of terracotta. More research on multidimensional aspects of terracotta is needed for deeper understanding of the rich terracotta traditions and its interrelated facets of culture and institutions.

The terracotta materials recorded so far from various excavated sites of Andhradesa are given in Appendix which may serve as consolidated base for further research in the said field.

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Appendix

S.No	Name of the Site	Reference
1	Annangi hill near Annangi, Krishna, Andhra Pradesh.	IAR-1977-78 Exploration
2	Pondugula, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1973-74 Exploration
3	Dharanikota (Amaravathi)	IAR 1961-62 ; IAR 1962-63; IAR 1963-64 IAR 1964-65;Amaravati Hand book, ASI
4	Amlapuram or Arampuram, Vishakapatnam, Andhra Pradesh	APAR 1994-95, p. 59
5	Kyetur, Mahaboobnagar, Telangana	APAR 1981-82 p. 23

6	Pratyadevalampadu mound, Kyetur, Mahabubnagar, Telangana	APAR 1981-82, p. 23 & 25
7	Burgupalli, Ranga Reddy, Telangana.	APAR 1994-95, p. 56-57.
8	Chagatur, Mahaboobnagar, Telangana	IAR-1977-78 APAR 1977-78, pp. 8-11.
9	Chandavaram, Prakasam, Andhra Pradesh	APAR 1996-97, p.67.
10	Chebrolu, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1962-63, Murali Mohan 2002
11	Dantapuram, Srikakulam , Andhra Pradesh	APAR 1998-99, p. 71 Dantapuram – An early Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh- Dept. of A&M – Hyderabad, 2002
12	Dhulikatta, Karimnagar, Telangana	IAR-1976-77 ;APAR 1975-76, pp. 06-08 APAR 1976-77, pp.13-17
13	Geesukonda, Warangal, Telangana	IAR- 1999-2000, p. 78
14	Jujjuru, Krishna, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1995-96
15	Kandi, Medak, Telangana	APAR 1982-83, pp.28-29.
16	Kohir, Sangareddy, Telangana	IAR-1987-88; APAR 1987-88, p. 25.
17	Kondapur, Sangareddy, Telangana	1941-43,Annul Report of the-Archaeological-Department-of His Exalted Highness The Nizams Dominions
18	Mallipadu, Tenali, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1987-88; APAR / 1987-88 /p.22 APAR1988-89, p. 28.
19	Indoor, Sanga Reddy, Telangana	APAR 1982-83, p. 43
20	Nirzappla, Medak, Telangana	APAR 1982-83, p. 44
21	Rekulapadu, Medak, Telangana	APAR 1983-84, p. 03
22	Mantoor, Medak, Telangana	APAR 1983-84, p. 4-5
23	Nagarjunakonda, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1955-56; IAR-1957-58, IAR-1959-60
24	Nelakondapalli, Khammam, Telangana	IAR-1993-94; APAR 1984-85, pp.16-18. APAR 1993-94,p.52; IAR-1992-93 IAR-1976-77; APAR 1982-83, p. 44
25	Bairagi Gutta, Nelakondapalli, Khammam, Telangana	APAR 1976-77, p. 34.

26	Muggigudem, Nelakondapalli, Khammam, Telangana	APAR 1983-84, pp. 28-29
27	Pavurallakonda or Pavurallabodu, Vishakapatnam, Andhra Pradesh.	APAR 1993-94, p.55
28	Peddabankur, Peddapalli Telangana	IAR-1968-69; IAR-1970-71; IAR-1974-75 APAR1970-71, p.02; APAR1971-72, p.02 APAR1972-73, p.05; APAR1973-74, p.03
29	Pedavegi, West Godavari, Andhra Pradesh	1984-85
30	Pulimamidi, Ranga Reddy, Telangana	APAR 1992-93,p.48.
31	Salihundam, Srikakulam Andhra Pradesh	IAR 1953-54 Salihundam – A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh- Dr. R. Subrahmanyam
32	Sasanikota, Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-2000-01
33	Thallapaka, YSR Kadapa, Andhra Pradesh.	1999-2000, p. 71
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40	Peddamarur, Mahaboobnagar, Telangana	IAR-1977-78 APAR 1977-78, p. 19.
41	Pochampadu, Adilabad, Telangana	IAR-1964-65
42	Ramapuram, Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1981-82; IAR-1982-83; IAR-1983-84

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48	Duvvaru, SPSR Nellore, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1988-89, Exploration
49	Elchuru, Prakasam, Andhra Pradesh	IAR-1988-89
50	Kotilingala, Jagityala, Telangana	IAR-1980-81; APAR 1980-81, p.13 APAR 1983-84, pp. 32-33.
51	Kesaragutta, Malkajgiri, Telangana	APAR1978-79, pp. 12-14; APAR 1981-82, p. 17-18 ; APAR 1982-83, pp. 26-27
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ARABI-MALAYALAM POETRY AND FOLKLORE LITERATURE

P.A. Ajmal

INTRODUCTION

Origin and development of Arabi-Malayalam

Arabi-Malayalam is a system of writing Malayalam language in a variant form of Arabic script. It is a blend of Malayalam grammatical base, Arabic script with special orthographic features, and vocabulary from Malayalam, Arabic, Tamil, Urdu and Persian (Ali, 1995). This language was originated in the South Indian region of the Malabar; today the script is mainly

used in Malasiya and Singapore by the migrant Muslim community. It is also used to teach Malayalam in Madrassas of Kerala and Lakshadweep. Until the twentieth century, the script was widely taught to all Muslims in Kerala, including the women. Most of the Mappila songs were written in Arabi-Malayalam script. The earliest known such work is the '*Muhyadheen Mala*'; written in 1607. Over the centuries, almost 3000 Arabic words used in Arabi-Malayalam came to be assimilated to the Malayalam

language. Many of them relate to law, administration, and commerce, indicating the areas where the Muslim influenced, especially in the lands under Zamorin (Rolland E. Miller, 1992).

Arabi-Malayalam becomes relevant because of the cultural originality in their tunes which came from generations to generations. The creativity in the tunes is of importance because it is known to even the illiterate. Folk songs reflect life in them unlike the short-lived instrumental music in films. A scientific research is necessary in the field of Mappila songs in which magical realism flows through the veins. To the Muslim women to whom education was prohibited, Mappila songs, especially Mappila songs in Arabi-Malayalam were a rising song given by the invasive Muslim civilization. It is not different in other societies also (Ali, 1995).

Significance of the language

It was the presence of a Semitic society which came to Kasargode along with the ship of Malik-ibn-Dinar. Sermons did not establish the presence of that society and stand the test of time. They successfully got mixed with the native culture of Kerala. It is a result of that kind of unification that a Mappila song culture is prevalent for generations in the Mogral village in Kasargode district of Kerala (Ibrahim Kuju A.P, 1998).

Mappila songs were raising songs and declaration of freedom for Muslim women who were denied education by the vested interests of priesthood and the male domination. The acceptance to Mappila songs in which Allah (God), Prophet, and Caliphates were the characters were beyond what their authors had thought. The '*malas*' (songs) are rich with hero worship and there are heroines also like '*Mohiyatheen Mala*' and '*Nafeesth Mala*'. Music is used medical treatments now. It is not so long before that to console a woman giving pregnancy women sat around sang Nafeesath Mala. There were songs to give spirit to the warrior going for battle also. There are lullabies and funny songs in Arabi-Malayalam which still people sing.

Arabi-Malayalam songs are influenced by magical realism a lot. The message from the immortal art forms, and even the doubts which they arise influence people's minds. Theatre and

music have an integral part of the social changes in Kerala. Literacy was the guiding light for renaissance. Art can shed light in people's mind and trigger revolution. Even though there are Mappila songs in Arabi-Malayalam and pure Malayalam which influence people irrespective of their age, beyond entertainment its influence spreads on the background of God worship and hero worship. Therefore Mappila songs in Arabi-Malayalam are treasures in language and culture. Art and music forms are symbols of a live society. Arabi-Malayalam songs could be seen as agents of indirect woman empowerment (Balakrishnan V, 2006).

There are songs for every occasion like birth, death, marriage, and feast, offerings to God, football, agriculture, battles and love not only in Malayalam but also in Kannada. There are set rules and grammar for this range of music also. The works of T. Ubaid and Moyinkutty Vaidyar, a new generation of Mappila song writers and instant poets are a unique experience in the village of Morgal in Kasargode. A generation in whose veins the sweet tunes of Mappila songs dissolve will make anyone wonder. The style of their singing underlines the humanitarian face of music. It is not only language but also the culture which is being transferred with the songs. Arabi-Malayalam which shed the light of informal education for the Muslim woman who was denied literacy and education could only be seen as a streak of light in the dark cloudy sky when viewed through the rear view mirror of time. Mappila songs written on the fourth Khalifa Ali radiating hero worship could be read on the grounds of Shiaism (Ibid, p.28).

Mappila songs shouldn't be rated on the basis of new trends and popularity. This poetic stream of self-expression should be read on the basis of literary values as well as its influence on social and cultural space. For the people of '*Holy Book*' which called its people to read, Mappila songs are iron swords. Like the '*ishlas*' which doesn't stop raining and changes night to day, centuries ago it was the Islamic invasion that gave magical realism. The mala genre of Mappila songs, generally written in Arabi-Malayalam script are praises of pious personalities of Islam who were supposed to have gained high spiritual status. Generally, though most such works were themed on the lives of Sufi Saints (Auliya). Most of these songs narrate, "*Superhuman*" deeds of

these saints. Popular among these are the '*Muhyidheen Mala*', '*Rifai Mala*', '*Shaduli Mala*', '*Ajmeer Mala*', and the '*Nafeesath Mala*'.

Arabi-Malayalam became the language of choice for Mappilas. It wasn't until recently that they began to learn Malayalam in its original script. Mappila literature was written in this new language, and was taken to new heights in both poetry and prose. Mappila Pattu is the folklore songs in Arabi-Malayalam language and is generally devotional in nature. This continues to be a popular art form in Malabar. The oldest poetry in Arabi-Malayalam is probably 'Muhiyaddin Mala' that tells the miraculous tales of Muhiyaddin Shaikh of Jilan. The long struggle that Mappilas led against the invading Portuguese explains why a number of their poetry is actually marital songs. In style, Mappila songs start with a slow beat then picks up pace gradually and ends in a climax (The Hindu, 2007).

In prose, Arabi-Malayalam is mostly translation of the original books. Even though Mappilas have now started learning the language in Malayalam script, Arabi-Malayalam survives. Mappilas dances are group dances that involve complex movements and coordination. Kolkali is performed by men with sticks. Aravanamuttu involves a Duff like instrument which is performed by a group of men. It is as much a feast for the eyes as for the ears (Mohammad Koya, S.M, 1983).

A huge volume of literary works written in Arabi-Malayalam have not been translated to Malayalam, and some estimates put the number at almost 90 percent. These works contain the greatest literary achievements by Mappilas over the centuries. Romantic ballads, folk tales and battle songs have found a place in Arabi-Malayalam literature. While Arabi-Malayalam literally denotes Arabic influence in Malayalam, the vocabulary used in Arabi-Malayalam works often included Sanskrit, Persian and Tamil.

The first Arabi-Malayalam novel, '*Chahar Dervesh*', a translation of a Persian work, was published in 1883, six years before O. Chandu Menon's '*Indulekha*' (Ibid, p.29). Moyinkutty Vaidyar and others translated important works of Sanskrit into Arabi-Malayalam. Major works translated thus were '*Astangahridaya*', '*Amarakosha*', '*Panchathanta*' and even stories

about King Vikramadithya. Sanskrit medical texts were also translated into Arabi-Malayalam by authors like Abdu Rahman Musaliyar of Ponnani Puthiyakath. These included the '*Upakarasara*', '*Yogarambha*' and '*Mahasara*'. Arabi-Malayalam periodicals played an important role in the social reform movements of the Mappilas in the early 20th century. '*Al-Irshad*', published in 1923 by the Muslim Aikya Sanghom played an important role in explaining the tents of Islam to the common man and distinguishing between religious practices and superstitions (Menon, Gangadhara. M, 1989).

Different types of Arabi-Malayalam poetry and folklore literature

Malappattu

The '*Mala*' genre of Mappila song, generally written in Arabi-Malayalam script are praises of pious personalities of Islam who were supposed to have gained high spiritual status. Generally, through most such works were themed on the lives of Sufi Saints (Auliya). Each mala often corresponded to the leader of a Sufi order called '*Thareeqath*', who was abundantly showered praises in the poetry, often well-exceeding the limits of human capabilities. The 17th century also witnessed the composition of other popular works in the Malappattu genre, namely the '*Rifai Mala*' (1623) by Ahammadul Kabeer, '*Uswath Mala*' (1628) and '*Valiya Naseehath Mala*' (1674) by Manantakath Kunhi Koya Thangal.

Songs of the 18th century were primarily of the '*Qissa*' genre, narrating stories of the Prophets of Islam or Sufi Saints. An example of such songs includes the Ibrahim Nabi Qissa and the Ibrahim ibn Adham Qissa. Songs like Kappapattu and Safala Mala by Shujayi Moidu Musliyar conveyed ideological message to the community in the era of post-Portuguese years when the identity and existence of the Mappilas were in a shattered state (Rolland E. Miller, 1992).

Padappattu

The first dated work in this genre was the '*Zaqqoom Padappattu*' dated 1836. This song was actually an Arabi-Malayalam translation of the Tamil work '*Zakkoon Padayappor*' composed by Varishay Muhiyadheen Poolavar of Madurai in 1686. Alim Umar Labba, a Mappila religious scholar from Kayalpattanam translated it into Arabi-Malayalam. Many of the tunes

(Ishals) of Zakkoon Padayappor have been largely utilized by famous Arabi-Malayalam poet, Moinkutty Vaidhyar, especially in his master pieces work, '*Badar Padappattu*' (Ibid, p.201).

The songs of the Padappattu genre can be classified into four different types:

1. Islamic folk tales

These songs have no relation to actual historic events but either from a folk tale, a legend or simply an imaginary story related to Islamic traditions. Songs of this category includes the Zaqqoom Padappattu and the Jinn Padappattu. The former is a story about an imaginary confrontation of King Zaqqoom of Iraq and Prophet Muhammad of Arabia while the latter is the story about the Jinns, the other creation parallel to human beings as taught by the holy Quran.

2. Islamic History

These songs narrated events from the early years of Islam, and in particular the early battles of Islam. The '*Badar Padappatu*', the '*Hunayn Padappattu*' and the '*Karbala Padappattu*' are characteristics of this category.

3. Mappila History

Songs of this type typically narrated the heroic deeds of the Muslims of Kerala and eulogize the martyrs among them, especially in their battles against Portuguese and the British colonial powers and the local Jenmi landlords. Typical among these are the '*Kotturpalli Mala*', Moyinkutty Vaidyar's '*Malappuram Padappattu*' (1883), '*Cherur Padappattu*', etc.

The first depicts the heroism of Veliyankode Marakkar, a warrior who saves a seventeen year old Mappila girl from the hands of Portuguese kidnapers but is martyred at the end of the battle. The other two narrate stories of Mappila attacks on the British and the Jenmi landlords during the 19th century. The Cherur Padappattu, composed by two poets named Mammad Kutty and Muhiyadheen in 1841, refers to a battle between Mappila rebels and the army of the East India Company. The rebels had assassinated Kaprat Krishna Panikkar, the Adhikari of Tirurangadi and sought refuge in a deserted house. The soldier's later surrounded them and in the ensuing battle, seven Mappilas and 20 of the Company army lost their lives. The

Cherur Padappattu narrates this story praising the 'martyrs' among the Mappilas in this battle.

4. Fictional Song

These songs were about purely imaginary subjects. The '*elippada*' which narrates a three-day imaginary battle between rats and cats based on a Panchatantra story falls under this category (Ibrahim Kunju A.P. 1992).

The common features of all these songs were their pattern of narration of the bravery of the heroes depicted. While the battle songs roused the feelings of the community against the authorities, this era also witnessed the popularization of romantic ballads like Moyinkutty Vaidhyar's '*Badarul Muneer*' '*Husanul Jamal*' and Chettuvayi Pareekutty's '*Soubhagya Sundari*'. One of the notable aspects of both these works was the age of the authors at the time of the composition; Vaidyar was said to have been 17 or (by some reports) 20 at the time and so was Pareekutty (Malayalam Literary Survey, 1994).

Malappuram Padappattu

The Malappuram Padappattu (1883), also known as the '*Madhinidhi Mala*' describes the undercurrents of peasants' life and struggles in Malappuram in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1763 a local landlord named Para Nambi had a dispute with one of his officers named Ali Marakkar. The dispute escalated to a major battle between the landlord's men and the Mappila and the lower caste Hindus amongst the tenants. 44 Mappilas and a lower caste Hindu of the Thattan (goldsmith) caste lost their lives in the battle. They were eulogized later by the Mappilas. Sometimes later, the Nambi felt remorse at his deed and decided to make up with the Mappilas. This was the theme of the Malappuram Padappattu. The work was composed with 68 Ishals, four Vambus and a Kuthirachaattam. It also makes references to the story of the King Cheraman Perumal who is said to have journeyed to Makkah and converted to Islam (Miller E. Roland, 1992).

Conclusion

Arabi-Malayalam was one of the most important medium of teaching process across the Muslims of Kerala especially in Malabar region. Once it was a medium for Kerala Muslims

from their illiterate ignorant as well as backward of their daily retain. Its contribution in the field of women education was scarcely mentioned. The special Mappila literary achievement was Arabi-Malayalam, which was the vehicle of religious materials and Mappila songs. Ulama played prominent role in keeping away from modern education because these Ulama were the part of their daily life. They were also contributes associate with the clutches of that learning programme, because their livelihood had depended on their activities and performance. In short, once Arabi-Malayalam played a significant role in the everyday life of the Muslim in Kerala.

The literature of Mappila songs represents the aspirations of the Mappila community, its frustrations, struggles, love and affection over the ages and these Mappila songs are known as the "cultural fountains of a bygone age". Today, increasing "cacophony" trends in newer Mappila songs and the lack of poets with a sense of imagination have attracted criticism from many concerns. A large number of songs released in the last decades under the label of Mappila songs, have been criticized for deviating from the original nature of the folk idiom and tunes, provoking a call for a preservation of the original identity of Mappila songs.

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DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE IN MEDIEVAL KERALA: A STUDY OF THEKKUMKOOR KINGDOM

Albin Jose

Introduction

There are a number of studies on the history of trade in medieval Kerala. In such studies minute details are ignored and major questions and problems not adequately attended. Therefore, even attempts to conceptualize the whole problem of medieval trade and formations of wider networks fail to understand the specific regional features. From the ancient time onwards Kerala was known to other part of the world.¹ Trade is believed to have taken place throughout much of the recorded human history. The foreign traders came to Kerala from different countries and make trade contact with the native kingdoms.² The studies on trade in medieval Kerala

generally follow a trend of atomistic and compartmental perspectives. The growth and development of trade in medieval Kerala was a long process.³ The paper focuses on the development of trade in native kingdoms and the development of regional market centres.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE IN THEKKUMKOOR KINGDOM

The Dutch priest Canter wisher in 1723 declaimed that Thekkumkooor was the more beautiful province in Malabar region.⁴ Thekkumkooor was a local kingdom which spans across the present Kottayam, Pathanamthitta and some regions of Alappuzha, and Idukki districts of Kerala⁵ Thekkumkooor emerged as the result of administrative changes

in the princely states at the end of the 12th century.⁶ The northern part of the Venpolinad was transformed into Vadakkumkooor, and southern parts as Thekkumkooor.⁷ The royal house hold of Thekkumkooor Kovilakam were at Vennimala and Manikandapuram later it shifted to Changanassery and Thazhathangadi in Kottayam. Thekkumkooor lies between the Meenachil and Pamba river which flows to Vembanad lake.⁸

Even though there is little evidence of local documented history, it is believed that this region was a major trade centre in the early centuries after Christ. During the Chera reign, this region used to be the trade zone for Eastern spices. This region also used to be the braking house for overseas spice trade from other Kerala towns like Bakkare (Purakkad), Semna, Koraiyoor (Kodiyoor), Nelkinda (Niranam).⁹ It is well known that the best quality pepper, ginger and other scented spices were grown in Vemboolinad and nearby kingdoms.¹⁰

Spices from Kanjirapally and Kothamangalam were transported through Meenachil and Muvattupuzha rivers respectively before being traded in Chemmanakari and Thazhathangadi later capital of Thekkumkooor royal family.¹¹ Geographical peculiarities and climatic conditions of Thekkumkooor is very helpful in the development of trade.¹² The natural products of the region are as varied as its climates and landscapes. Availability of spices is the crucial factor contributed to the trade development in Kekkumkooor.¹³ The markets of Thekkumkooor were once bustling with the export and import of goods from places in Dutch, Portuguese, Central Asia and China.

Lieutenants Ward and Connor of the British anny refer about this trade centre having contact with busy ports and ships setting sail to various Asian countries.¹⁴ Dutch records also show the evidence of 10 lakh ton of pepper exported from Thekkumkooor in a year.¹⁵

Early trade relations which centred with Egypt and Rome later shifted to traders from Syria, Persia and the Arab lands. History recalls that in the fifteenth century when Portuguese became the superpower, the trade domination of other countries ended. This change became evidently visible in the trade in Thazhathangadi also.¹⁶ The Thekkumkooor and the

Vadakkumkooor royal families were against the Portuguese and did not allow the European dominance of Thazhathangadi.¹⁷ A system of trading through brokers commenced with transporting goods by local vessels to areas like Purakkad, Kudavechoor, and Cherthala. This system not only helped to solve the crisis here, but also enabled financial growth as well. Heavy exports from Thazhathangadi reduced and Purakkad developed as an excellent port¹⁸ Portuguese had their dominance in Purakkad and later when the Dutch influence grew, there were trade contracts established between Thekkunkooor and the Dutch East India Company. Thazhathangadi experienced a long tenn presence by the Dutch. It was during this time that various communities who excelled in trade were brought to live here.¹⁹

Members of Knanaya community who resided in Kaduthuruthy (from Kodungalloor) were invited to stay here and were given residential places in Valiyangadi. Land was given for establishment of the Valiya Palli. It was in 1550 that the ruling king, Adithya Varma paved the way for this Christian immigration. This community was the main traders of spices like pepper, ginger, jaggery and cooking oil.²⁰ The Gowda Saraswat Brahmins who excelled in trade in Purakkad and Cochin were brought in and offered place to live and also place to construct a temple for worship. They were mainly traders in scented spices and medicines. Even today this community has not forgotten their family profession. Many shops in Kottayam town belong to this community.²¹

IMPACT OF TRADE

Trade played a vital role in the history of medieval Kerala. It was a centre of various kinds of activities, large scale cultural exchanges, diffusion of different religious ideas, spread of technologies, rise of market centers etc.²² It had from early time onwards scene of intense commercial trade. It provides highway linking to a great variety of people, culture and economics.

Demand of the spices and other products help Kerala to achieve high position in local and foreign trade. Agricultural growth in the hinterland, the availability of surplus, the amount of importance given to commerce and overseas trade in the development of commodity production and exchange in the hinterland are

certain necessary pre-conditions to urban growth.²³ Due to the availability of ample surplus in agricultural production active rural markets and trade centres developed in medieval Kerala. The process of urbanization was gradually taking place in major trade centres and market places.²⁴

In medieval times trade was the major source of income in Thekkumkooor kingdom. We can understand that the details of trade in medieval period from the local records and foreign accounts. During that period Thekkumkooor rulers developed a trade contract with Dutch because of the antagonist approach of Portuguese.²⁵ We got inevitable evidence from the Dutch accounts for the trade relationships.

Thekkumkooor region at present includes Kottayam. The economic and social status highly developed in Thekkumkooor from the trade relationship with foreigners. A number of trade markets, school and other education institutions developed in this region due to foreign contact. The main trade centre is known as Thazhathangadi, the later capital of Thekkumkooor.²⁶

A number of people came to Thekkumkooor from different religious communities and administer the trade with the support of administration of the Thekkumkooor kingdom. The traders lived in Thekkumkooor kingdom with their own religious beliefs. The social, political, economic, and cultural status of the present Kottayam district developed from the local and foreign trade relationships with the Thekkumkooor kingdom.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis is aimed at bringing to light certain important aspects of trade and commerce in medieval Kerala. The available data and information show that the climatic and geophysical features of the region played a decisive role in shaping the contours of the economic life and activities of the people. It can be concluded that with the available evidence it can be clearly shown that several far-reaching changes were occurring in almost all walks of life including trade and trading centers of Thekkumkooor kingdom.

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MEMORY AND HISTORY: A STUDY OF DALAVAKULAM MASSACRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Anjana Menon

*Societies relate to their own pasts through the mechanisms of memory.*¹ Collective memory, as a source of social and personal identity, may be considered as a kind of history (amateur) appropriated by the different groups of contemporary society.² Thus, over the years, people have woven an incredibly complex network of stories.³ Within this network, fictions not only exist, but also accumulate immense power.⁴ Therefore, interpreting a memory can be most treacherous for an historian, as they can be the most puzzling source of information.

In the recent centuries, 'the past' too has become a commodity, and it has acquired a new valence as a source of collective and personal identity.⁵ Modern business magnets, political groups or social groups have all weaved complex stories which may also be called as 'imagined realities'.⁶ An imagined reality is something that everyone believes in, and as long as this communal belief persists, it exerts force in the world.⁷ At this juncture, the potential role of academic history as a critical receives emphasis. The lores and controversies enmeshing the putative massacre of Ezhavas at Dalavakulam in the opening decade of nineteenth century, which is now much a part of the cultural memory is the point under consideration in this paper. The story is elusive and plastic: no two narratives fully agree on its time, space, intention or structure. All writings, which are mainly produced by subaltern writers, are based on hearsay, speculations and tangential evidence, never on conclusive resources or contemporary documents. This paper is an attempt to analyse how '*Dalavakulam massacre of the nineteenth century*' - a popular memory is used in articulating the connections between the cultural, the social, and the political, between representation and social experience.

The story revolves around Vaikom Siva temple, which received national attention during the Vaikom Satyagraha. Though every version of the story is different from each other generally. *Dalavakkulam* massacre which is said to have happened in the first decade of the nineteenth

century is believed to be an organised movement to enter the Vaikom Siva temple by the Ezhava youth during the reign of Velu Thampi Dhalava in Travancore. The story retorts at the state led army for having mercilessly butchered the unarmed youth who tried to enter the temple. Dhalava himself along with Kutirapakky, Kunjukutti Pilla and Vaikom Pappanava Pilla, leaders of the royal army are held culprit by the story tellers. The bodies of these young men are said to have been thrown in to pond in the eastern gateway of the temple. This pond called the Dalavakulam, which is now the bus stand of the municipality, which can be recognised as the rich site of the memory.

Memories and histories, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition⁸, as memories remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived.⁹ The memory of human actions and history is said to presuppose a temporal gap or distance between the time of occurrence of an event or action and the time of its recollection.¹⁰ Just as the case, the said massacre was brought to wider attention through a short write up by K. R. Narayanan (former secretary of the SNDP Yogam) in the Vaikom Satyagraha Special edition of *Vivekodayam* in 1975. He describes the *dalavakulam* incident as an attempt by about hundred Ezhavas to enter the Vaikom Siva temple and conduct worship, during the reign of Balarama Varma (1798-1810).¹¹ He marks the encounter on a *pradosham*¹² day and also points out that these efforts were efficiently prevented by the caste Hindus using an iron hand. In his version, Kujikutti and Kuthirapakki mercilessly massacred the youths who wanted to enter the shrine and had reached the northern entrance of the temple.¹³ He adds that, after the incident, the soldiers of Kunjukutti and Kuthirapakki went from door to door slaughtering and harassing Ezhavas, even chopping of ears of some¹⁴. Narayanan mentions two write ups that

appeared in *desabhimani* of 1099 (1924) and a folksong that was popular in Vaikom that described the incidents. However, he admits not being able to recover any of them.

There are two points that demands further elaboration here. Primarily, *Vivekodayam* is a literary journal that was established to serve as the voice of underprivileged communities especially the Ezhavas. It is opined that *Memory is blind to all but the group it binds*¹⁵ hence we the views presented in this work can be only critically analysed. Maurice Halbwachs has pointed out that, there are as many memories as there are groups, that memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual.¹⁶ In this case, the inability to identify a memory with a counter narrative questions the originality of the memory.

Secondly, though the original text is yet to be discovered, the premise on which *desabhimani* was grounded also needed discussion. Most noteworthy factor is the period of the first publication of the article in *desabhimani*. 1924 was the time when the nation struggles against untouchability was in its full swing. In a newspaper with rich nationalist tradition the publication may have been intended to ideologically enrich the Vaikom Satyagraha. It was founded by T K Madhavan, who was a good example of the Ezhava educated elite¹⁷. He was influenced by Narayana Guru and the SNDP Yogam, and worked for the same from 1914.¹⁸ *Deshabhimani* was founded in 1915, with the aim of publicising Ezhava grievances and achievements¹⁹. When a story succeeds in entering the consciousness of a society, it is said to give Sapiens immense power that enables millions of strangers to cooperate and work towards common goals²⁰. Madhavan had raised the question of temple entry in an editorial in *Deshabhimani* in December 1917.²¹ The issue was discussed at meetings of the SNDP Yogam and the Travancore assembly over the next three years, and Madhavan himself had introduced resolutions calling for temple entry and recognition of Ezhavas' status as respectable caste-Hindus.²² It is noted that in November 1920, that he himself went beyond the restrictive notice boards and later announced this to the district magistrate²³. The publication of such a story, an emotionally charged memory, may be seen as an attempt to steer emotions, to motivate

people to act, and prepare the people to receive the new ideas. The revival and portrayal of this 'collective memory' in the *desabhimani* when the *Vaikom satyagraha* was brewing in the background may be viewed an exploration of a shared identity to unite the Ezhava community towards a common goal. It may also be identified as part of larger agenda of identity formation among the Ezhavas. Such an identity formation means utilisation and intensification of every cleavage between communities. Thus, through the intensification and propagation of the 'story' of Dalavakulam incident the purpose placing of other communities at binaries was also satisfied.

K R Narayanan has also noted that a grand meeting was organised under the presidency of Kumaranasan in 1098 (1922) at Vadayattu in which Adv. Tharayil Krishna Pillai recounted this particular incident. In his concluding note to the meeting, Kumaranasan is said to have referred to the incident as "a horripilating heroic episode"²⁴. In Narayanan's views, Asan seems to be of the opinion that those martyrs were meritorious enough for their mortal remains be unearthed and worshipped.²⁵ But it is questionable why Kumaranasan who was a strong critic of caste, himself did not mention anything in any text he produced.

The task of remembering has made everyone their own historian.²⁶ The demand for history has thus largely overflowed the circle of professional historians.²⁷ 'The past' is being used to affirm identities, to claim legacies, to celebrate collective bonds, and to traduce rivals and 'the past' so used or misused, is clearly dictated by the present²⁸.

Later, it was N K Jose who popularised the event through his aggressive polemic writing. He calls the *Dalavakulam*, the memorial of the incident which according to him marked the struggle against untouchability.²⁹ According to him,

"...a few Ezhavas from Kulasekharangalam, Vadakkemuri, Maravanthuruth and Vadayar regions belonging to the taluk of Vaikam attempted to enter Sivakshetram and conduct worship. The upper caste men under the leadership of Kunjikuttipillai and Kuthirapakki slaughtered these Ezhavas who had reached the northern entrance of the temple. He too identifies Dalavakulam as the burial site of the victims.

Jose notes that, not satisfied with this, the revengeful caste men entered houses of even the innocent Ezhavas and attacked them. The carnage boisterous dance that was performed in Vaikom that day shocked the warriors and many ran in fear to regions like Kozha, Kurivilangad, Neendur. It is believed that those people known as Kurachekonmar in these regions is perhaps the next generation of those who fled from Vaikom during the incident.³⁰

Jose who later took up the pen name *Dalit bandhu*³¹ in his work, *Vaikom Sathyagraham oru prahelika* concludes his observations criticising that the followers of M K Gandhi with the ng the tool of ahimsa cheated the people and succeeded in supressing the Vaikom Satyagraha a century back.³² This book does not provide any new interpretations but the language is highly charged. Jose's another *Dalavakulam Vaikothe Krishthavarum* (Dalavakulam and the Christains of Vaikom) contains an essay with primary focus on the delavakulam massacre. It is the longest analysis of the matter so far. In this essay, the author tries to view the event in the mirror of continuing suppression of the Ezhavas was by the upper-caste Hindus. Strongly putting Veluthampi Dhalava at the position of the accused and draws a picture of bloody caste rivalry. He even puts the intentions Vaikom Muncipilaty at question and believes that they promote the perspectives of high caste Hindus.³³ However, he neither succeeded in recovering the original article of 1924 nor was he able to ascertain the historicity of the events by the means of other contemporary sources. Mary E King mentions this historiographic slip.

Mary Elizabeth King, is the most recent academician to speak about the incident .She mentions the *dalavakulam* massacre in her work *Gandhian Nonviolent Struggle And Untouchability In South India : The 1924-25 Vaikom Satyagraha And The Mechanisms Of Change* .She views this attempted entry as the first assertion of the rights of the untouchables and thus considers it an antecedent to the Vaikom Satyagraha³⁴. She nullifies the views of N K Jose, by calling him a 'local folk historian' and alternately presenting the views of historian Vasu Thillari which provides altogether a different perspective. In the version of Thillari, just four or five members of the backward caste tried to enter the temple whereupon, upper caste

men killed them and threw their corpses in the pond adjacent to the temple.³⁵

Very recently the above said massacre has been subjected to much thought and the nescient article work as an intellectual/ideological adhesive for subaltern caste groups. Recent observations note that new technologies and changes in the politics of representation have encouraged individuals and groups to see themselves as the most legitimate curators of their own memory³⁶. In the case under consideration, apart from blogs, websites of caste groups and YouTube videos, Wikipedia also discusses this incident. Though academic historians do not consider Wikipedia as a trustworthy source, as Pierre Nora points out, its historical entries serve as virtual "sites of memory" and play a great influence in codifying the meaning of past events for the people.³⁷ Apart from a page that describes Dalavakulam massacre³⁸ Wikipedia page on Vaikom satyagraha³⁹ credits this incident for paving the intellectual ground for the Satyagraha that happened in the twentieth century. At this point, deconstructing this memory becomes important.

Collective memory often has physical sites associated with it.⁴⁰ In the developed world, ownership of these sites is occasionally contested, although more often contestation concerns how they are used to represent the past and the cultures to which they refer. ⁴¹ The memories of the pond exist as a rich site not only to enrich the dalit arguments about their subversion and the role of the state, but also helps in sustaining caste rivalries. The ability to influence memories, their putative behavioural and policy implications, is one means of achieving influence in the present over the future⁴². This contestation is fought and sustained to definitely in this regard. future.

Another point that needs to be critiqued is the claim that Hindu elitism removed remnants of this incident. The lack of evidence cannot be discarded that easily. Travancore state is found to have had relatively better spread of literacy in the nineteenth century owing to the enlightened policies of the monarchical regime and the activities of the Christian missionaries.⁴³ Vaikom has a rich non-elite literacy tradition and social reforms in Kerala have represented the plights of the downtrodden through literature. In such a background, massive violence and the 'fear' it

could have produced, must have been a subject upon which such reforms and their literature must have definitely pondered upon. During the first quarter of the 19th century, Chattambi Swamikal and Narayana Guru, actively engages in intellectual discourses towards initiating reforms in the existing society in Travancore.⁴⁴ If the haunting memories of the massacre at the *dalavakulam* was alive during their period, it why it did not find a space in their discourses.

Just a decade after the said incident is memorised to occur, Channar revolt took place in Travancore which received missionary support and was much discussed. However, the faithful writers of this memory are unable to cite neither any records of the British records or communications nor any comments made by the missionaries present here at the time in the state. By the very beginning of the 19th century Christian missionaries such as C. M.S., L.M.S. and Salvation Army began their activities in Travancore. Chances are high that if such a massive killing had actually taken place, missionaries might have used it as an opportunity for conversion. Nor does it find a place the records of the British resident.

It is argued that though attempts were begun by the dalit castes from the late 19th century to organise themselves, the various sections of the 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 penetrating the middle-

caste peasantry and the national movement which was beginning to develop a genuine mass base.⁴⁵ Much before the first census taking place it is questionable how as claimed two hundred young men became conscious of their identity as Ezhavas must be questioned too.

Rabindranath Tagore who became disillusioned with European claims to civilization after the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh in 1919, had renounced his knighthood.⁴⁶ No mention of any reaction of public figures, which is inevitable if such a massacre, is provided even by any popular narratives. Many states have shown no hesitation to employ the 'politics of fear' through bloodshed towards attaining their goals, while the Travancore has no such tradition. The fear of mass killing is haunting and can last for centuries. If we observe deeply, we can notice that such sites have never again been the epicentre of another mass struggle or social movement. Wagon tragedy silenced the people, on the contrary, Vaikom became the centre stage for a social reform movement whose vibration was felt across the nation

The much alive and discussed memory of the Dalavakulam massacre in the nineteenth century thus may be considered as a cultural production and consumption which underlines the persistence of vested interests of the memory makers and acknowledges the tastes and preferences of the memory consumers

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ROLE OF PORTS IN MALABAR: DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND RELIGION

P. Anjumon

The south western coast of India was known as 'Malabar' to the foreigners from early times. A number of ports flourished in the Malabar Coast from very beginning. Important among these ports were Muziris, Tyndis, Barace, Nelcynda, Naura, Ezhimala, etc. The Phoenicians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Sumerians, the Egyptians, the Romans and the Greeks were the foreigners who established contacts with Malabar from ancient time onwards. In the medieval period Malabar trade came into the hands of Chinese and Arabians. With the landing of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in 1498, the region became the site for the colonial rivalry involving major European powers. As a result, the region

was frequented by foreign vessels helping to emerge it as major trading centre of the world.

The ancient Egyptians also used spices from Malabar to make perfumes and holy oils and to preserve the dead bodies of their kings and other highly placed persons by a system of Mummification. Alexandria in Egypt became very prosperous due to profitable trade with Malabar during the reign of Ptolemy. It was centre of the East and West trade. In the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, teak of Malabar was used. All these references from various sources justify the existence of our maritime relations with Sumerians and Babylonians in the last millennium before Christ. Herodotus, who lived

about 500 years before Christ, states that goods were carried by the Arabs, in small ships from the Malabar coasts up to Aden, and from there, the Phoenicians and the Egyptians carried them to the coasts of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. With the conquest of Egypt by Rome the contact between South India and Rome became direct and the trade between Rome and Malabar ports became strong.

There was great increase in the volume of trade with Rome after 45 A.D. The Greek navigator Hippalus found that ships could travel from Ocelis near the mouth of the Red Sea and reach Malabar Coast in 40 days with the help of the monsoon.

There are some significant historical works that deals with Greco-Roman trade in Malabar. The earliest accounts are those of Greek and Roman writers. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of anonymous author, *Natural History* of Pliny, and *Geography* written by Ptolemy are the most important sources of Greco-Roman trade on the Malabar Coast. The Sangam works are the earliest indigenous accounts that provide information required for the reconstruction of trade relations of Malabar Coast with the Greco-Roman world. The Sangam works like *Akananooru*, *Purananooru*, *Pattitpathu*, etc. give details of these trade relations. The Romans listed pepper among the most precious things along with metals. Several hoards of Roman coins have been discovered from India including South India. Most of them belong to reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero and Claudius. According to Pliny, pepper was sold at as high a price as 15 Denari a pound. Pliny bitterly reproaches Romans for their extravagance, which caused a great drain on Roman finance. The decline of the Roman Empire in the third century adversely affected the trade between Rome and Malabar.

Malabar had trade relations with Chinese from early times. It grew through the fifth to fifteenth centuries. Some scholars have suggested that Chinese trade relations with Malabar began long before Greek and Roman ships were called at Chera ports and a Chinese colony had been established here. But trade between China and Malabar Coast was flourished during the medieval period. The Kollam, Kozhikode and the Pathalayani Kollam are important Chinese trading centre on the Malabar Coast. Medieval Arab traveller

Sulayman says that "Chinese ships came to Kollam and that one thousand Dirhams were collected from each of them." Besides this, many Chinese travellers came to Malabar Coast and left behind travelogues of their journeys. The most important among them were Pancou, Fahian, Chau-Ju-Kuwa, Wang Ta Yuan, Ma-Huan. Chau Ju Kua mentioned the trade in the Quilon and its trade link with Indonesian ports.

Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller of 13th century, mentioned ports of Cape Comorin, Quilon, Kozhikode and Ezhimala. These are important commercial centres at that time. The spices of the Malabar Coast noted by him during his voyage were pepper, ginger and cinnamon. He also gives an interesting account of pepper trade with China. Wang-Ta-Yuan visited Malabar in the 14th century AD. His book *Tao-i-chi-liao* contains the description of the important ports and markets of Malabar. He mentioned Kayamkulam, Elimala, Cochin and Kozhikode. He noted that "Many things exported from China through Kozhikode." Ma Huan's account *Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan* (1433) mentioned "the country of the Kollam, Kochi, Kozhikode, etc. and presents a lot of interesting information which includes several ethnographic details. The indigenous sources also refer to the Chinese contacts of Malabar Coast. *Unnunilandesam* mentions the Chinese junks which came to the Kollam port. *Unniyaticharitam* is another account that mentioned Chinese contact with Malabar.

In addition to the western countries, the Chinese and the Arabs also entered into trade relations with Malabar from the very beginning. During the early period, the Arabs played the role of middlemen and raised considerable profit out of the trade between the western world and the South India. But the period between 9th century A.D. to 15th century A.D., is considered as an era of Arabian trade in Malabar Coast. The word 'Malabar' is first used by medieval Arab travellers. They referred to this land as 'Biladun Ful Ful', which means the land of pepper. Arabian travellers like Sulaiman, Al-Idrisi, Al-Qazwini, Abdul Razak, etc. refer to the trade and ports of Malabar.

The important Malabar ports mentioned in these travel accounts are Ezhimala, Valapattanam, Pantalayani Kollam, Kozhikode, Kodungallur, Kochi and Kollam. The Arab traders arrived at Malabar ports from Zanzibar,

Ethiopia, Morocco, Tunis and Trippoli brought the goods from Malabar and sold them in western countries. The important goods exported from Malabar Coast were pepper, ginger, cardamom, sandalwood, etc. Marco Polo and Ibn Batutha, two eminent medieval travellers also refer to the brisk trade between Malabar and the Arabs. When Ibn Batutha reached Malabar in the 14th century, the Arab community was well established and prosperous. He mentioned that "The greater part of Muslim merchants of this place are so wealthy that anyone of them can buy the whole cargo of such vessels as put in here and fit up others like them." During the time of the establishment of European power in Malabar coast, the Arab trade declined.

Ports of Malabar had contact with the countries of the outside world from time immemorial; but we have no recorded evidence related with Malabar ports. The earliest recorded evidence on Malabar port comes from the Books of Kings in Old Testament. According to it, "And King Solomon made a navy of ship in Ezion-geber, which is beside Elath on the shore of the Red Sea in the land of Edom; and Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon." Among the items taken by the fleet of Solomon all except silver are native to Malabar, they brought ivory, apes, peacocks and timber for the famous temple of King Solomon about 1000 B.C. Most of the scholars, identified Ophir as Beppur, situated on the mouth of the river of the same name. The Beppur River was reputed in ancient times to have brought down auriferous sands from the Wayanad Hills. It has been identified by some other scholars with Puvar in Trivandrum district.

The classical writers give details of ancient ports of Malabar Coast, which were the commercial centres that developed contact between Malabar and foreign countries. The forest resources of Malabar were brought to these ports and exported to the countries abroad. During the time of Romans, pepper was an important item of export from ports of Malabar.

Among the ports of ancient Malabar Coast mentioned by the classical writers, Muziris was considered as the most important seaport. Pliny in his *Natural History* had mentioned Muziris as

the capital of the Cheras. After stating that Muziris was "the first emporium of India", he said: "the station for ships is at a distance from the shore, and cargoes have to be landed and shipped by means of little boats." Periplus considered "Muziris as a city at the height of prosperity". A verse in the *Akananooru* refers to "the beautiful large ships of 'Yavanas' laying at Muziris to receive the cargoes of pepper paid for Roman Gold." Parinar recorded the brisk trade in pepper carried out at the port of Muziris. He refers to the "sacks of pepper that are brought from the houses to the market; the gold, received from ships in exchange for articles sold is brought on shore in barges at Muziris, where the music of the surging sea never ceases and where Kottuvan (the Chera King) presents to visitors the rare products of the seas and mountains."

Another important ancient port of Malabar was Tyndis. The Periplus refers to it as "a large village close to the shore, situated 500 stadia north of Muziris." It lay on the navigable river Ponnani which would bring down the pepper of the Anamalai hills. The *Purananooru*, referred as "It was bounded by groves of coconut trees bearing heavy bunches of fruits, a wide expanse of rice fields, verdant hills, bright sandy tracts and a salt river whose glassy waters are covered with flowers of brilliant colours. It has been identified by scholars alternatively with Kadalundi, Ponnani and Panthalayani Kollam. Barace (Bacare) was next important trade centre situated in the mouth of river 'Baris' to the south of Muziris. Barace has been identified by scholars as Purakkad, and the river 'Baris' has been identified as 'Pamba'. Pliny mentioned Barace, it was a more convenient port for foreign ships to call as, unlike Muziris, it was free from Pirates. The author of Periplus refers that "large quantities of pepper were brought down to Barace from interior which is called Kottanara."

Nelcynda was another important port mentioned in the early accounts; it was situated 500 stadia south of Muziris. Pliny recorded that Nelcynda at that time belonged to the Pandyan Kingdom and the Greeks regularly visited here for pepper. It has been argued by some scholars as Niranam and some others believed it was Neendakara. Another port referred by classical accounts was 'Naura', which was identified as Kannur. Balita, mentioned by the Periplus as the harbour and village on the shore, situated

between Barace and Cape Comerin. Some scholars identified it was Varkala.

Eli port, the port of Eli Kingdom (Ezhimala) was the ancient port of international trade. The territory of Ezhimala was located to the northern part of the Chera territory. It was mentioned by Tamil songs as land of high mountains. The geographical condition of Ezhimala influenced to the growing of its condition of trading activities. This region was blessed with a very resourceful hinterland supplying hill products like ginger, wild cinnamon and pepper, and these goods were flowed to the ports of Eli, Matayi and Valapattanam.

Eli was an important medieval commercial centre of Malabar, mentioned by medieval travellers. Both Dimishqi and Abdul Fida mentioned Ezhimala. Abdul Fida recorded that Ezhimala is "a big mountain projecting into the sea and is visible to the navigators from a distance. It is called Ra's Hayli." Marco Polo emphasised that "the Eli Kingdom had no port, only river mouths and fairly unsafe beaches." Fifty years later Ibn Batutha noted the existence of Eli port. According to him, "Hili is large and well built, situated on big inlet which is navigable for large vessels. This is the farthest town reached by ships from China." Like Calicut and Kollam, the port received customers from China. Wang-Ta-Yuan, a contemporary of Ibn Batutha, provides further details about the area; "the ground was poor but provided the best pepper in Malabar; the houses were separated by small gardens; the inhabitants, who were aggressive people, carried arms." In the beginning of Portuguese period, vessels from the Persian Gulf used the Eli waters as a port of call and ships from Kollam and Calicut gathered there to collect fresh water and wood before setting sail for the west. Four rivers start from the Eli mountains, which helped it to develop as a busy port. In the north, there were the Kavaï and the Elimala, and to the south the Taliparamba and the Valapattanam. The hill resources of Elimala flowed through these rivers to the port and it was exported to the foreign countries.

Matayi was the early trading centre of north Malabar, which was mentioned by the author of *Periplus* as Mandagara. It was one of the important trading centres of Eli Kingdom. The major medieval port town known as 'Marahipatanam' in the *Mushikavamsa* was

identified as Matayi. It was a royal city of Ezhimala. The foreign travellers have pointed out that the region was infested with pirates and it shows the prosperity and the frequent visits of mercantile ships. Ibn Batutha recorded this region as a "large and well built town situated on a bay navigable for large ships."

Matayi is described by Duarte Barbosa as a Mappila centre and there were, however, Jewish and Hindu merchants engaged in various business. Matayi is situated on the bank of a large river, the Taliparamba (Killa), whose direct access to the sea is blocked by a strip of sand which diverts the flow of the river into the Valapattanam estuary in the south and to the north links up with the swamps of the Elimala, blocking the whole of the harbour area. There is nothing to be gained by listing the countries references made by the Portuguese to the maritime activity of Matayi since they do not describing the harbour site. Matayi was a busy trading centre in the medieval period, but since the coming of Portuguese they had neglected Matayi and selected Cannanore as the main commercial centre.

Valapattanam or Balipattanam was the royal city and was also one of the early port of Ezhimala dynasty, situated on the south bank of Valapattanam River. The formation of Valapattanam port was related with tradition of Ezhimala dynasty. According to tradition, "Vallabha Perumal, the eleventh of the Perumal built a shrine and a fort to protect it on the banks of the 'Neytara', as river was then called River Valapattanam. The Valapattanam, navigable in all seasons, gave access to the hinterland as far as the foothills of the Ghats and was connected with the Coorg road. This network of communications had stimulated the growth of the towns and found favour with the sovereigns.

During the medieval period it became a major trading centre of North Malabar. It was a thriving Mappila town, frequented by Arabs and Chinese. It was mentioned by a number of medieval travellers. Dimishqi and Ibn Batutha mentioned it as Buddfattan. Ibn Batutha noted that it was under Raja Kawayl (Kolathiri). Ibn Khurdadheen mentioned it as 'Babattan' and he says that "Rice is produced here and exported to Sarandib" (Ceylon). Ibn-Hawqal mentioned it as 'Bani-batan', perhaps it was Valapattanam. During the time of Portuguese, the importance of twin port, Matayi lost and it for Valapattanam.

William Logan noted it as "this port has a fair amount of coastal trade."

Kannur or Cannanore was an important port of North Malabar which attracted the attention of the European traders on various accounts. Some scholars argued that it was an ancient port. Wilfred H. Scoff says that it was 'Naura', mentioned by the Anonymous author of Periplus. It was an active port during the time of Roman trade. The most important evidence is explored through Roman coins of the time of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero from Kottayam near Cannanore. During the medieval period it had no importance because the presence of Valapattanam and Matayi. During the time of Portuguese it became a major trading centre of Malabar. In 1663, it came into the hands of Dutch and later under English. Due to the formation of English port at Tellicherry, its importance again decreased.

In 1505, the Portuguese built a fort called St. Angelo at Cannanore. The Cannanore warehouses could provide up to six thousand candies of ordinary ginger each year, whereas the pepper, formerly so highly valued by the Chinese customers. During this period, it became a busy port, which imported the horses which were exported from Ormuz and Arabia. They were then taken by road to the Ghats and up to the Kottayam market where the Vijayanagar merchants paid gold pardaos for them. It was estimated that approximately two hundred foreign vessels visited the port of Kannur every year. This port was linked by road to the hinterlands of Kolathunadu. According to Tome Pires' "the Kingdom of Cannanore is large and has a large city and much trade and many people. The port of Cannanore is important but other ports under Kingdom of Cannanore is unimportant, they are Kumbala, Kottakulam, Nileswaram, Hyeri, Balipattanam, Madayi and Dharmapattanam. William Logan report that the average tonnage was Rupees 459253 per annum. The imports average was of Rupees 2144726 and export was of Rupees 1387749. He also noted that Cannanore was the principal port of the group composed of Kavvyi, Ettikkulam, Putiyangadi, Valapattanam.

Dharmapattanam was an island formed by the junction of Tellicherry and Anjarakkandy rivers just north of Tellicherry town. It was port city of Kottayam. The word 'Dharmapattanam'

had been used as a synonym of 'pepper' in the 5th century *Amarakosam* because it was a land of pepper. Another opinion is that, the word 'Dharmapattanam' means "the place of charity". It was also related to the legend of Cheraman Perumal. It was a place where Cheraman Perumal took his last farewell of Malabar and sailed for Mecca. Here according to *Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin*, Malik Ibn Dinar founded one of his nine mosques, but not a trace of building remains. Ibn Batutha gives a different account. At Dahfattan, he says "there is a great well and a cathedral mosque, which were built by Kuwaly's (Kolathiri) grandfather, who converted to Islam."

During the medieval time it was a busy port, it was mentioned as 'Dahfattan' by Dimishqi and Ibn Batutha. The pepper of Dharmapattanam has been highly valued by the Chinese customers and was exported from Dharmapattanam to Calicut. Barbosa noted a rich and powerful Moorish town 'Tremopatam' as the last places which the king of Cannanore held against Calicut. The Moorish town 'Tremopatam' has been identified as Dharmapattanam. Tome Pires mentioned that "Inland and upriver from this Moorish strongholds is the landlocked trading centre called Kottayam." It was a well known pepper cultivated area.

There had been no significance for Tellicherry during the 16th century. The Portuguese destroyed Dharmapattanam due to the command of Kolathiri on 26th January 1525. After this incident, Tellicherry grew as a business centre. The Dharmadam Island was ceded to the English East India Company in 1734. The English factory at Tellicherry, with its outworks on Dharmadam Island, secured to company the largest share of the trade through the excellent pepper produced in the Randattara Achanmars territory, in the Kottayam Rajas domain, and in that of the Iruvazhinadu Nambiars, tapped by the river converging at Dharmapattanam.

Pantalayani Kollam was another important medieval port of Malabar. It was a busy trading port, which was visited by Chinese and Arabs. It was referred by all the geographers, Arab as well as non-Arab. According to Ibn Batutha, "Fandaryana, a large and a fine town with orchards and bazaars. The Muslims occupy three quarters in it, each of which has a mosque. It is at this town that the Chinese vessels pass the

winter." Fandaryana or Fandarina has been identified as Pantalayani Kollam.

According to *Tuhfat-al-Mujabidin*, Malik Ibn Dinar founded one of the mosques at Fandarina. Odoric of Pordenon (1318-22) reported that "in the city of Fandrina, some of the inhabitants are Jews and some are Christians." It was a centre of spice trade and also as an entreport on the Malabar coast Jews visited this port. Idrisi mentioned that "Fandarina is a town built at the mouth of a river that comes from Malabar where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. He also recorded that "pepper grows in Fandarina". Dimishqi says that "most of the inhabitants of Fandarina are Jews and Hindus. Muslims and Christians are few in number.

Calicut was famous for medieval Chinese-Arabian trade and arrival of Vasco-da-Gama on 1498. Uddanda, the Tamilian court poet of Zamorin in the 15th century, very poetically speaks of Kozhikode as the abode of the Goddess of prosperity whom her mother, the sea, was pampering by gifting shiploads of riches brought from different ports of the world. It became an important centre of world since 13th century, it was related to the decline of Cranganore following the floods in the Periyar River in 1341. Marco Polo, who visited the coast towards the end of the 13th century did not mention Calicut. Later, travellers accounts of Chinese and Arabians mentioned Calicut. Ibn Batutha recorded that he found thirteen ships of the port of Kozhikode. The tolerant policy of the Zamorins and the concessions granted by them to foreign traders made the Chinese and the Arabs gradually prefer Calicut to all other ports on the west coast. In this way the nations of the west came here for spices, pepper and cloth. The Chinese even came from the far East in their gigantic floating bulks. That time it was certainly a place of great trade. The Zamorin appointed a Muslim officer known as the Sha Bandar to regulate the affairs of the port of Kozhikode. This office gradually became hereditary and became

to be called the Shah Bandar Koya, Shabandra Koya or simply Kozhikottu Koya.

Conclusion

Ports are considered as an integral part when we analyzing the history of coastal regions. Malabar Ports are mainly classified in to three. They are Ancient ports, medieval ports and Modern ports. From Ancient time onwards Malabar made trade relations with foreign countries through ports. This made change in both cultural and trade matters. Different religious groups entered in to Kerala through foreign trade relations and this made cultural exchanges between Christians, Hindus, Islam and Jews groups. Islam spread in Kerala by the growth of Muziris as an important port. The adjacent areas of Cochin mainly Kodungalloor played an important role in the spread of Jews and Christian religion. Islam religion spread in the Northern part of Calicut because of the foreign trade relations with Arabs and the close interaction with Zamorins. Most of the mosques are made in the banks of Calicut ports Like Muchunthi mosque, Chaliyam puzhakkara mosque, Koyilandi cheriya palli. The traits of internal migration from North India can be traced from these ports. Most of them were before the arrival of Portugese. The Sindhs, Marvadis, Parsis and Baniya can be seen in parts of Calicut. The Gujarathi Setts, Bohras and Badkal Muslims were concentrated in Ponnani port and Panthalayani kollam. These Migratiois led to the emergence of Pandikasalas and Trade centers. Now the ancient ports are replaced by

Markets. Calicut is considered as a greatest example for that. The Gujarathi street of Cutch peoples, Silk street of Chettis, Valiyangadis were the major contributions of Calicut port. Thalassery in Kannur, Ponnani in Malappuram and Kodungalloor in Trissur were the Pattanams and Angadis grew along with the ports.

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REV. HENRY MARTYN AND HIS ENCOUNTER WITH SOCIETY AND LANGUAGES IN COLONIAL INDIA

N.V. Baby Rizwana

Introduction

Henry Martyn was born in Truro (Cornwall), United Kingdom. He was educated at Cambridge and later decided to become a priest. He became well known for his missionary activities in India and Persia. After hearing about the success of William Carey's mission¹ at Serampore in Bengal, he abandoned his career of a barrister to preach Christianity. He then became the chaplain of the East India Company. He produced Hindi, Urdu and Persian translations of the New Testament. Later he retired from his work in India and went and lived in Persia. He is best remembered for his scriptural translations which remained prominent until the end of nineteenth century. This paper tries to trace his idea of Indian society and his contribution to the missionary literature translations in colonial India.

1. Martyn's Perspectives about Indian Culture and Society

The missionary view of India came into circulation when Charles Grant published his celebrated observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals and on the means of improving them. Grant wrote, "upon the whole, then we cannot avoid recognizing in the people of Hindustan a race of men lamentably degenerate and base, retaining but a feeble sense of moral obligation yet obstinate in their disregard of what they know to be right, governed by malevolent and licentious passion, strongly exemplifying the effects produced on society by great corruption of manners and sunk in misery by their vices."² He believed that caste, Brahmanical legal system and rule were the reason for Indians' doom. He hoped for an

elimination of Hinduism and that it could only be attained through conversion to Christianity. Claudius Buchanan, John Shore, William Carey and William Ward all shared the same attitude. William Ward in his book about Hindu religion and society gave importance to empirically gathered information than to the Sanskrit texts which were the chief source for the Orientalists. Ward wrote that caste system "has rendered the whole nation cripples. Under the fatal influence of this abominable system, the Brahmans have sunk into ignorance."³ They collectively believed that it was important to destroy caste if they wanted to set the Indian society on a path of progress. It was however a difficult task. Even if the converted people remained as a different group and were cut off from the rest of the society, the diffusion of Christianity was still possible if there were proper communications. In order to spread the gospel, missionaries started to produce and disseminate the Bible to the people in the vernacular languages.

Even though they were the complete opposites of each on some issues, the orientalist and the missionaries agreed on other points. They agreed that Brahmans were at the apex of the social structure and the sole handlers of knowledge. They also agreed with the theory of the *varna*. They left out the study of political organization, land and the legal system. They all agreed that the nineteenth century version of Hinduism was full of superstitions. The main difference was that the Orientalists believed in a past golden age of civilization, whereas the missionaries asserted that society and culture had always been decadent. Martyn was no exception. Henry Martyn reached India in April 1806, and the first thing he did was meeting Mr. Buchanan in Hooghly. After a brief discussion,

he met with the Mr. Brown in Aldeen. The scenes near Aldeen were described by him as most heartbreaking. He gives a detailed picture of the evil practices of Hinduism and called Hindus devil worshippers. He started preaching in Calcutta and kept a detailed account of the local picture in his diary. He says he slowly began to understand Indian culture. When he reached India he saw Indian society as hopeless, and was doubtful whether his decision to come to India was the right one. He was not confident of being able to bring about a change for the better in India. He says, "Looking forward to an idle, worthless life spent in India to no purpose."⁴

He looked at India as a wretched place and his biggest challenge was to take on those "who had erected such a monument of her shame on the coast and whose heathenism stared stranger in face."⁵ He was utterly in confusion regarding whether Indian conditions would suit him. His early phase in India was chaotic as he tried to adjust himself to the environment and the people. It is clear that he was not happy after reaching India, but told himself that God might have a purpose in his being sent there. He says, "Scarcely can I believe myself to be so happy as to be actually in India". His first description of natives goes like this. "In general, one thought naturally occurred: the conversion of their poor souls. I am willing, I trust, through grace, to pass my life among them if by any means these poor people may be brought to God. The sight of men, women and children, all idolaters, makes me shudder as if in the dominions of the prince of darkness. Hearing the hymn, 'Before Jehovah's awful throne,' it excited a train of affecting thoughts in my mind."⁶ He further writes, "Wide as the world is thy command. Therefore it is easy for Thee to spread abroad Thy holy name. But oh, how gross the darkness here! The veil of the covering cast over all nations seems thicker here; the friends of darkness seem to sit in sullen repose in this land. What surprises me is the change of views I have here from what I had in England. There my heart expanded with hope and joy at the prospect of the speedy conversion of the heathen, but here the sight of the apparent impossibility requires a strong faith to support the spirits."⁷

When he got his resident pagoda on the side of the river near a temple, Martyn was not happy. He says in his journals that the sound and

noise produced by the devil worshippers left him with no sleep. So he decided to bring out the church bells into the vaulted halls of the pagoda. He states, " It is heavenly the sound of bells, where once devils were worshiped."⁸ He looked at Indian subjects with kindness and pity. He says "I lay in tears interceding for the unfortunate natives of this country, thinking with myself that the most despicable sooner of India was of as much value in the sight of god as the king of great Britain."⁹ He many times called Indian as servants; he addressed the low caste coolies in the name of servants. It is evident that Martyn exhibited an attitude of intolerance to Hinduism, called Hindu rituals as cruel and expressed contempt for the idolatries of heathenism. He hated the symbols of red *tilak*, the sounds of drums and cymbals. He called Indians poor devil-worshipping natives and described his stay in India as "standing as it were in the neighborhood of hell."¹⁰

India was a new experience to Martyn. It was more horrifying rather than simply different. The Hindu rites, superstitions, and the changing nature of caste by the mile confused him. John Sargeant gives a description of what Martyn felt about witnessing the Hindu rites in India. He writes, "In the vicinity of Aldeen, indeed he witnessed with horror the cruel rites and debasing idolatries of heathenism. The blaze of a funeral pile caused him one day to hasten and den devour if possible, to rescue an unfortunate female, who was consumed before he could reach the spot. In a dark wood at no great distance from Serampore he heard the sounds of cymbals and drums, summoning the poor natives to the worship of devils- sounds which pierced his heart; and before a black image, placed in a pagoda with lights burning around it, he beheld his fellow creatures prostrating themselves with their foreheads to the earth."¹¹ When he was traveling through the Ganges at night, he saw Kali worshippers. He says the very sight of it made him sick and he turned his face so that his Lord would not punish him for seeing such kind of sins. Like many of his contemporaries and other missionaries, Martyn kept a hostile attitude towards Indians in general and Hinduism in particular.

The continuous contact with the locals made Martyn feel like he should be patient with them because they had not been exposed to the

true religion. At this stage compassion more than hatred grew in his feelings towards Indians. He says that he felt love for the Indian souls and longed for transferring these poor simple people to the Holy Gospel. He vowed to preach to them day and night. When he was traveling from Hooghly to Dinapore, Martyn narrates an interesting story that happened. During his free time on the deck, he used to capture birds and one day he shot a bird worth eating. After a while, a man approached him and asked him that one *musalchee* liked the bird and he could offer a fish in return. He then writes, "I then recollected what Brown told me of the custom the servants have of making requisitions from the natives in the name of English masters. Alas, poor natives, how accustomed are they to injustice. They cannot believe their English masters to be better than their Mohammedans."¹² It shows that he believed like others that Indians faced the doom from the coming of sultanate rule in India. He was no exception in believing that Muslim rule ruined Indian wealth and exploited Indian heritage.

While traveling through the villages Martyn found women to be timid and shy. They did not see him in the eye. The dressing habits of women and their behavior were strangest for him. He said whenever he spotted a girl or a woman, they fled at his sight. When he managed to strike conversation with some women, their husbands became suspicious, and in any case language barrier did not allow much exchange. During his Hindustani studies, he tried to read the Ramayana after hearing much about Lord Ram from the natives. But after reading, he says he was left heartbroken, and called it a work of Satan. He found nothing good about the epic, and said the text was against the spirit of God. He was never impressed with Indian literature. He learned to read every script in Sanskrit but only for the purpose of learning the language. He was completely in confusion with Indian culture and religions. He called many *munshis* and pundits as ignorant who behaved like they knew everything but in reality did not know a thing. As one man greeted him, he writes, "As he prostrated himself to the earth, and placed his forehead in the dust, at which I felt an indiscernible horror."¹³

Martyn's exchanges with pundits and *munshis* were mainly on the subject of religion.

Once when he asked a pundit about his superstitions and the pundit got angry. So did a *munshi* when asked about the veracity of the Koran. Martyn called them fools and pitied them saying their false religion made them arrogant and ignorant of true reality. The only time when he mentioned the past heritage of India was when he saw a Brahman sitting under a tree and praying along with his pupils. He says even though India invited the wrath of God for protecting Jews, it still managed to protect its own heritage.

His discussions with the Indian *munshis* and pundits were always left incomplete. Once when a pundit asked him about the idea of the Holy Trinity, Martyn explained it. But the pundit mocked him by saying Christ was so low as to take birth from a woman. Martyn says Indians did not hold any respect for women. When pundits argued that there were many ways to reach God, Martyn replied that the only savior was Christ and He pardoned only those who repented. When compared to the other missionaries, what made Martyn different was that instead of discussing only with the Brahmans he contacted other local groups as well. He used to travel to the deepest part of the village and meet different people from different castes. While it is true that his dialogues were mainly with the learned men of upper castes, he also engaged with rural low-caste groups.

2.Martyn's Linguistic and Translational Efforts in India

During the nineteenth century, along with other modes of preaching, language studies, translation of Holy Scriptures and their distribution among the desired communities became a new trend among the protestant missionaries. Stephen Neill commented that "the first principle of Protestant missions has been that Christians should have the Bible in their hands in their own language at the earliest possible date,"¹⁴ whereas Catholic missionaries were engaged in translating mostly books of devotion. When the mission became a serious affair the translation of the holy books and their distribution also became an important matter. During the initial stages, British and Foreign Bible Society and Wycliffe Bible translators took the work in their hands. Thus, the gospel-centered missionary activities began to grow

with a new trend of translation and language studies.

Missionaries were normally interested in Indian languages and culture of nineteenth century India. But it became more fascinating when Martyn joined the scenario. The pioneer missionary who started the study of Indian languages for the sake of the mission was William Carey. It was not the translations but the language study that first started as missionaries got involved with the natives for a better understanding of their culture. Communication and language barrier were the major problems faced by the missionaries of the nineteenth century. Carey's celebrated work 'Dialogue' intended to facilitate the learning of the Bengali language was published in 1801 through the Serampore Press which became the centre for the publication of translation works. "This work reads like a forerunner of modern language teaching materials for learning a language including through the oral method. It contains a series of dialogues between various types of Indians, zamindars and their tenants, zamindars and their officers, washermen, fishermen, cultivators, and various types of women."¹⁵ This method of learning the Indian tongues and translations was later taken up by William Adams, who proved to be a champion of indigenous education. Bishop Robert Cardwell who composed works such as the 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Family of Languages' was also a follower of this method.

Martyn was not merely a pious, young, and a dedicated missionary, but a capable translator who began to learn Indian languages even before he arrived in India. He had a natural flair for learning languages, and wrote a regular journal from the days of his Cambridge studentship about learning a variety of languages. During his time as an ordained priest, there is a detailed description in his journal wherein he says that it was a difficult task to learn Indian languages. John Sargent writes, "During the two months Martyn was resident in London, he considered that he could not better employ his time, than by devoting it to the attainment of the Hindustani language, and having the advantage of being assisted by a gentleman eminently competent to direct him, he was incessant in his endeavors to obtain that

necessary qualification for an Indian missionary."¹⁶

Upon his arrival in India, he was disappointed to hear from his Brahman friend that every song here changes within miles. In 1806 he was asked to make translation of the New Testament into Urdu. He was also in charge of making Persian and Arabic translations. He translated a number of the psalms into Hindi, Nagri and Urdu. He completed the Hindustani Gospel in 1810 and sailed to Persia with a copy of the Persian tracts of the gospel to present it to the Shah. The evangelical concept of centrality of scripts is definitely one reason that motivated him to do translations. He believed that these scriptures could change the lives of people. As Padwick states, "In his writings [there are] increasing and deepening longings after God, numerous instances of delight and satisfaction in prayer, and many indications of his intense love of the word of God."¹⁷ Sebastian Kim wrote the following about Martyn. 'His [Martyn's] devotion to translation was greater even than his commitment to the Bible, his interest in logic and desire for an excellence in translation was equally, if not more important in assessing his motives. His interest in language is evident when we read about his preoccupation with studying Bengali and Arabic grammar while he was ministering at Lolworth and thinking of going to India, perhaps anticipating his later involvement in translation work.'¹⁸

Throughout his journey from England to Calcutta, Martyn learned Bengali, Urdu, Persian and Arabic grammars. He learned a lot from Carey's translation works. During his stay in India, he learned Sanskrit grammar with the help of pundits, and Nagri with the help of *munshis*. He translated acts and commands into Indian languages. Whenever he translated he corrected it with the help of his friends who were better in the matter of language. He also learned the rules of Sindhi. Every time he visited villages he gave out translated tracts to the people. Mirza of Benares, well-known in India as an eminent Hindustani scholar, and Sabat, an Arabic scholar helped Martyn during his stay in India with the translations and helped him to achieve a standard of professionalism in his translations. Martyn left for Persia "determined not to come forth again till he brought with him such a

version as in all its niceties could satisfy the sensitive Persian ear."¹⁹

The question whether Christianity was used as a tool to secure power by the Company caused a prolonged debate in the academic discourse about Indian history. Since the process of imperialism and missionary activity coincided, the possibility of collaboration between them becomes a question to consider. Evangelicals considered the mission as their bounden duty to help the heathens through redemption, Babington nevertheless writes that "not all Evangelicals were eager to help heathens, but the more urgent challenge was to help the godless poor at home."²⁰ It is difficult to believe the assumption that there is no connection between Protestant expansion and colonial consolidation. When we evaluate the expansionist policy of imperialism and the missions, it is evident that missions expanded in the colonies rather than any other part of the world. K M Panikkar writes, "Christian evangelicalism represented an attempt by the Europeans to impose a mental and spiritual conquest as a way of buttressing their political authority."²¹

So we can tentatively work with the assumption that colonialism and mission were the two sides of the same coin. India was always a temptation for the missionaries. In the early eighteenth century when the Company was merely a trading organization, they strictly avoided any contact with the missionaries for the fear of opposition from the natives. In 1793 when a petition was sent out to the British Parliament to allow missions to do work in India, it was rejected on the ground that missionaries could hurt the religious sentiments of the natives, and eventually bring a critical situation to the stability of rule by the Company. But in 1813 with the help of Wilberforce, the 'pious' clauses were added to the Charter which allowed the missionaries to enter India. Even after this, the Company used its power to eliminate or remove any foreign person from India as it deemed fit.

Many of the translators including Martyn worked in a colonial context and it is right to say that they benefited from the colonial establishments. However they did not see missionary work as entirely part of a colonial agenda. In Martyn's case, he was genuinely interested in the scriptures, even though he did

not give much attention to the classical works of India. Even though Martyn's agenda was mainly the spreading of the word of God, it is right to say that even though he was proud of the colonial government he did not openly ask for the continuation of it. His agenda was of a religious nature. Eric Fenn convincingly argues that it was the evangelical revival, more than anything else, which was the driving force behind this missionary work. It was out of that movement, a movement of the Spirit, that there came a fresh conviction of the universality of the Gospel which went onto make the nineteenth century a notable landmark in the expansion of Christianity. The fact that the new spirituality had been so closely connected with the recovery of biblical truth meant that the Bible moved into the centre of faith and practice again in a way which ensured that it would be at the very heart of the new movement when it came.²²

Many writers were in doubt about the real agenda of the translations and language studies. The visible goal might be making the gospel available in the languages of those who needed the material. But many historians speculated that whether there was any hidden agenda behind the translations. R.S. Sugirtharajah, in a recent publication, calls it as scriptural imperialism and argues that during this time the scriptures did not play an important role for the believers.²³ Sermon and oral discourse and transmission played a more important part. In Martyn's career there were instances when people from his own ministry took offence when he used written sermons.

Sugirtharajah accuses Protestants of a dogmatic attitude of "acknowledgement of the sufficiency of scripture, assertion of its authority over tradition, [and] treating it as the incorruptible Word against human error and it created trend of the denunciation of the natives' idolatrous practices" and "preaching accompanied by the presentation and dissemination of the Bible as the answer to their miserable state."²⁴ He says scriptural imperialism was invented by the missionaries themselves. They saw and projected themselves as agents of God who needed to pass the scriptures down to the lesser fortunate societies. "The oracles of God, which were first given into the custody of God's chosen, the Jews, had now been passed on to the Christians, especially the British ... The Society's intention

of providing the Bible in the vernacular was another mark of scriptural imperialism. In colonialism's cultural conquest, vernacular Bibles, enabling the natives to read the Word of God in their own languages, could be seen as the sympathetic and acceptable face of its civilizing mission: it appeared to be a noble cause. But behind this noble claim, one came across constant complaints by the Society's translators who found that the indigenous languages not only had no suitable vocabulary but also lacked concepts to convey the ideas of the gospel²⁵. Furthermore, scriptural imperialism was furthered by the ambition to print the Bible at affordable prices and place it within the reach of all people. The publication of the Bible in various vernacular languages was not meant to be a profitable enterprise. However we also observe that the local people gave their seal of acceptance to the Bible and sometimes the locals also participated in the endeavor of translation.

Conclusion

Martyn first landed in Madras first but after few days he moved to Calcutta, the main centre of missionary activity during that period. After

reaching in Calcutta he started working at Serampore Baptist Mission as an assistant in the work of Bible translation. Martyn was largely inspired by William Carey's translation work. It provoked him to learn the different languages in India and Persia that motivated him to learn Bengali, Sanskrit, Urdu, Persian and Arabic along with other local languages which helped him to translate Christian scriptures in future. He translated *The New Testament* into Hindi and Persian, *The Psalter into Persian* and *the Prayer Book* into Hindi, *The Anglican Book of Common Prayer* into Hindustani. He had also revised and Arabic translation of *the New Testament*. He was never interested to translate any Indian classics or other texts into English or in any other European languages. From his translations, journals and biographies, it could be argued that his scholastic knowledge about Indian and Persia was limited, even though he was shined in the area of translation, language studies and interfaith studies where as he completely ignored the possibility of a rich literature in ancient and medieval India and Persia.

End Notes

1. William Carey (1761 – 1834) was a British Christian missionary. Carey is known as the Father of Modern Missions. He reached Calcutta (India) in 1793. He joined the Baptist missionaries in the Danish colony of Serampore (India). He started schools for poor children and opened the first theological University in Serampore. He was the first missionary who realized the scope of print mission in India.
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STYLE OF RAJENDRA CHOLA I SCULPTURAL CONTRIBUTION – ESALAM TEMPLE

M. Chandramoorthy & Dr. K. A. Kavitha

Sculpture in South Indian temple occupies an important place. They were sometimes used to decorate the different architectural members like pillars, plinth and superstructure in a temple. Both sculpture in the round has bas-relief were carved. Esalam, being a remote area in the Villupuram Taluk and Villupuram District, is less known to the general public.

The sculptural representation in Tamil country began during the Sangam period. Sangam works have mentioned about *Kollipavai* and *Sathukkabootham*. But we have no archaeological evidence for this. Goddess sculpture was located at *Ulagur* near *Dindivanam* which belongs to fifth Century A.D. It is the earliest sculptural representation. During 6th to 8th century's number of sculpture were created in the Rockcut temples in monolithic rathas and in structural temples by the Pallava rulers. Nearby Esalam, *Lingathadimedu* has Pallava type of Linga. This Linga is best example for Pallava sculptures. Inside the temple of *Ramanatheeswarar* Prakara has broken *Aavudaiyar* without pooja. It is also the best example of Chola sculptures. The Aavudaiyar period was early 11th century A.D. The sculptures are divided into three types. They are

1. Stone Sculptures
2. Bronzes
3. Wooden Sculptures

Stone Sculpture is found in Ramanatheeswarar temple of Esalam village. The pillars have shallow bas-relief. However, they are in fairly good state of preservation. Some ornamental details may be noticed on the temple walls. The Vimanas have also few sculptures of brick and mortar. Now we discuss about the stone sculptures at Esalam in this article.

Ramanatheeswarar (Linga)

The main deity of this temple is in form Linga called Ramanatheeswarar. The Linga is made up of three parts namely *Brahmabhaga*, *Vishnubhaga* and *Rudrabhaga*. The *Brahmabhaga* which is the bottom portion is square in shape, and is planted in the centre of

garbhagraha. The *Vishnubhaga* is the middle portion octagonal section and the cylindrical shaft visible to the devotee is the top part, circular known as *Rudrabhaga*. The *Pranala* of the Linga (water chute) is facing left. The Linga is achala Linga (immovable) type. Recently it was prathishta. It was dated by **Mr.M. Chandramoorthy, Deputy Director, Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology on 12th may 2014**. The old Linga was misplaced.

Sculptures in the Niches around the Sanctum

Vinayagar

The southern niche of the *arthamandapa* has the image of Vinayagar. He is seated on the pitha with four hands. The upper two hands have the *ankusa* and the *pasa* and one of the lower hands have the *tanda* and the other holds a *modaga*. His trunk is turned on his left and it has one modaga. He adorned with *kritamakuta* and wears a number of haras around the neck. He wear *pathasaram*, *lower garment*, *udharabandham*, *yajnopavita*, *vaghu valaiyam*, *tholmalai*, *keyuram* and *bangles*. The sculpture assigned to the 11th Century A.D. on stylistic grounds of Rajendra I.

Dakshinamurthy

The southern niche of the *garbhagraha* has the image of Dakshinamurthy. The agamas mention twenty five sportive forms of Siva, most of which are usually met with in South Indian Temples. One of the most important of these is *Dakshinamurthy*, also called *Alamarselvan* in Tamil. He is seated on the *mount meru* where the rishis dwell. The image represents Siva as a teacher of gnana, is seated under a banyan tree in the *Veerasana posture*, his right leg rest on *muyalaka*. he has a *tajamakuta*. He is with four arms, the upper right and left arms are *kadaga hasta pose* having *naga and jwala*, whereas the lower right and left hands were broken. His left and right ear has no kundalas. He has his *yajnopavita*.

Banyan trees has *snake, owl, monkey, handbag, bird* are all lived in the tree. His left leg from knees were broken. And front right and left hand from knees also broken. So new

Dakshinamurthy is put in front of old dakshinamurthy. His eyes little bit open. Ornaments, yajnopavita, brahma mudichi, naga bhajibanda are all in the sculpture. So the sculpture is early 11th century A.D. the period of Rajendra Chola I.

Vishnu

The image of Vishnu is seen in the western niche of the garbhagraha. It is in the form of polished stone. He is standing on Padma pitha in *samabhanga hasana*, wear full lower garments, *udharabandha*, *yajnopavita*, *brahmamudichi*, *kanda saram*, *sarappali*, *makarakundala*, *tholmalai*, *keyuram*, *bangals*, *rings*, *keerthi mugha lower garment*, *padhasaram* etc. are all he wear. He is stading in the *samabhanga postue* wearing *kiritmakuda*. *Sangu* and *Chakra* in his upper right and left hands with the postur of Kathiri. While his lower right are in *abhayamudra* and left is resting on his hip i.e., *katiya valambalabita pose*. This is one of the earliest sculptures of the temple in the period of Rajendra Chola I.

Brahma

The standing figure of Brahma is found on the northern niche of the garbhagraha. He has four faces, of which the one at the back is not visible. He wears *kiritamakuta*, *yajnopavita* and *kundalas*. He is with four arms. The upper right and left wear *akshamala* and *kendi* respectively while the lower right is an *abhayahasta* (broken original, and fit duplicate) and the left is resting on his hip i.e., *katyavalambita pose*. He wears a number of haras around the neck. He ear wear *rudraksha kundala*. The anklets are also found in

his legs. The image was workmanship of the *Rajendra Chola I* period.

Durga

This deity is found standing on the northern niches of the ardhmandapa. She is standing on the *buffalo head in tribanga pose* and wears a *kiritamakuda* and decorated with *makarakundala*. She is with four arms. The upper right and left arms hold *prayoga chakra* and *sankhu* in kathiri hasta respectively. The lower right arm is in *abhayahasta* (broken original, and fit duplicate) while the lower left arm is resting on her left thigh. One *parrot* is seated in her hand. She wears anklets, a number of haras around the neck. She wears *"marbu kachu" pathasaram*, *vaghu valaiyam*, *tholmalai* and *bangles*

Dyana eyes, sharp nose, smiling lips, broad sholder, perfect body, standing pose are all easily attracted by the people. The buffalo eyes are very sharp and angry. This sculpture on stylistic grounds to the period of *Rajendra Chola I in the early of 11th Century A.D.*

Epilogue

These sculptures are all very attractive. This temple was built by *Rajaguru Sarva Siva Pandit*. He was a *Rajaguru of Rajendra Chola I* in 11th century A.D. So these sculptures are equal to *Gangai konda Choleeswaram temple* sculpture. But the esalam sculpture is small; Gangaikonda Choleeswaram temple sculpture is big. Both are very marvelous. The temple was built in early 11th Century A.D. It is the best example of Rajendra Chola I sculpture.

End Notes

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SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S THOUGHTS ON PROGRESSIVISM - A PURVIEW

Dr. P. Charles Christopher Raj

Introduction

Swami Vivekananda or Narendranath Datta, or simply Narendra or Naren as he was known during his premonastic days, was born to Vishwanath Datta and Bhuvaneshwari Devi on

Monday, 12th Jan 1863 at Calcutta. He belonged to high-caste, relatively affluent family of lawyers, and received a solid Western-style education. From the influence of his father, he seemed certain to enter into the profession of

law. But, at the age of 18, he met Sri Ramakrishna, a revered Hindu ascetic, who placed his hand on the young Anglophile and instantly tapped within him an undiscovered spring of traditional Hindu thought¹.

Vivekananda strove to rid Hindu society of the many ills that contaminated its pristine purity. His crusade against untouchability, his desire to uplift Indian women to the level of equality among men, the new yet old orientation that he gave to education as 'the drawing yardstick of the perfection already in man', were part and parcel of his well-defined mission in life.

His extraordinary gift of oratory struck his audiences like a lightning bolt and immediately propelled him into an unprecedented speaking tour throughout America and Europe.

His thoughts dedicated to social service and religious education with centres around the globe, served the poor with great zeal, proved contagious to the Indian Nationalist Movement, especially to Gandhiji's programme of social reform. His messages remains still clear and emphatic for the development of Indian women. Though he lived a life of celibacy, he talks in overwhelming terms about the greatness of love and marriage as well as the duties that are to be fulfilled by the householder².

His ideas borne the paradigm shift, and expected India to become a great power in 2020, a dream already visualized by Swamiji in the 19th century. In fact, he was the first entrepreneur behind the concept of globalization who took Hindu religion to all over the world. He made aware that there is a religion which deals with progress in life that can be achieved with the help of a special instrument called 'Truth'.

Swamiji's progressive thoughts were supererogation, highly prominent and visible even in the present century.

Swamiji's views on Social evils and Remedies

On looking at the social evils of our country, he advocates the remedies through his teachings, that each soul is potentially Divine, the goal of human birth is to realize this Divinity within and manifest it for the welfare of the humanity, and essentially all religions lead to the same realization.

The important point to note is insistence on individual liberation as a priority over the efforts to 'do good to the world'. The idea is to strive for special state or plane of consciousness that would lead a person to realize his or her true nature. Achieving such exalted state of altered consciousness forms the basis for human actions. Every human act should have this aim in sight, and even in 'service to humanity and renunciation of sense pleasures'. Religion or spirituality was an act of inching higher and higher on the steps of consciousness, from animal consciousness to human consciousness, and from human consciousness to Divine Consciousness³. Remedies to the prevailing evil in the society is his summation through upward motion of faith in oneself, strength of the individual to face the society, fearlessness of any evil that engulfs the individual, truthfulness at all time of life and lastly service to humanity that alone can bring the ointment for the wound caused by the social evils of our country.

Swamiji and the Significance of Education

Swami Vivekananda, a great thinker embraces education and signifies it as a tool for 'man-making'. Realizing that mankind is passing through a crisis, he cautioned that our materialistic and mechanical way of life is fast reducing man to the status of a machine. He feels the dire need of awakening man to his spiritual self wherein lies the very purpose of education.

Education is not mere literacy as he observes but it should abound in information that can be disseminated, and should embody a culture. In his scheme of education, he lays great stress on physical health because a sound mind resides in a sound body and he quotes as 'nayamatma balahinema labhyah'; i.e. the self cannot be realized by the philosophy weak⁴.

The exposition and analysis of Vivekananda's scheme of education brings to light its constructive, practical and comprehensive character. He realizes that is only through education that the uplift of masses is possible.

A few of Swamiji's personal observations, epitomize the concept of education that it acts as a manifest tool perfection found already in man. Like flintlocks, knowledge is well present in one's mind, suggestive ideas are the friction which brings it out. Education doesn't mean obeying

Guru who taught you or blindly worshipping your Guru as God, love him as you will, but think for yourself⁵.

He states it emphatically that if society is to be reformed, education has to reach everyone-high and low, because individuals are the very constituents of society. The sense of dignity rises in man when he becomes conscious of his inner spirit and that is the very purpose of education. He strives to harmonize the traditional values of India with the new values brought through the progress of science and technology.

It is in the transformation of man through moral and spiritual education that he finds the solution for all social evils. Founding education on the firm ground of our own philosophy and culture, he shows the best of remedies for today's social and global illness. Through his scheme of education, he tries to materialize the moral and spiritual welfare and upliftment of humanity, irrespective of caste, creed, nationality or time. However, Swami Vivekananda's scheme of education, through which he wanted to build up a strong nation that will lead the world towards peace and harmony, is still a far cry. It is high time that we give serious thought to his philosophy of education and remembers his call to every-body-'Arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached.'

Swamiji on 'Women' – their problems and solutions

According to Swamiji the **Status of Women** – Women are bondage and a snare to men. It is for this purpose, I suppose, that scriptural writers hint that knowledge and devotion are difficult of attainment to them? Swamiji replies – **In what scriptures do you find statements that women are not competent for knowledge and devotion?** In the period of degradation, when the priests made the other castes incompetent for the study of the Vedas, they deprived the women also of their rights. Otherwise you will find in the Vedic or Upanishad age Maitreyi, Gargi and other women of revered memory have taken the places of the Rishis through their skills in discussing the Brahman. All nations have achieved greatness by paying proper respect to women. **Manu says "Where women are respected, they are Gods delight, and where they are not all works and efforts come to naught."** In India **Women are revered as Mother** – The

mother is the ideal of Indian womanhood. And even God is conceived as mother. In the West, a woman is essentially a wife. In a western home it is the wife who rules but in an Indian home it is the mother who rules. Woman as mother is marvellous, unselfish and ever forgiving. In India it is the father who punishes the child, not the mother as in the West⁶.

The most significant and profounding solution to the existing problem that all hearts should throng and start a movement for emancipation of women. Though the primary goal for women empowerment is to improve the quality of life of women but it has also deep ramifications in social, economic and political scenario of body polity. The media through its reach to people at large has been instrumental though not to the extent desired in supporting the movement for women emancipation by focusing neglect and marginalization of the position of the women in society. It sounds intriguing how from a highly dignified position in India's mythic history, the woman in India has been relegated to a secondary position. The vested interests of the ruling elite and the male lobby influenced by alien cultures legitimised woman as an individual of little consequence. It would be a sad commentary on the subordinate role of women in India when woman is ideally viewed as Shakti (Power), the origin of power itself but in reality found as helpless, hapless woman without any identity except that of a wife, or the mother who has very little voice in decision making and has very little by way of her own basic choice. Although discrimination against and exploitation of women are global phenomena, their consequences are more tragic in the some parts of the globe particularly in under developed countries where, ignorance, deprivation of the basic necessities of life, and the ever-growing pressure of transition from tradition to modernity-all combine to aggravate the inequalities that women suffer to a point at which their existence is reduced to a continuous battle for survival. Improving the status of women is regarded as the key to narrowing the gender gap and achieving a better quality of life. Women are under great social control and scrutiny which has restricted what they can say and where and to whom. Cultural moves in almost every social set-up determine women's socialization in no uncertain terms. This has an important bearing on their ability to communicate and express their

thoughts. Swamiji compared Foreign women to Indian women, that they should have the liberty, liberty as the first condition of growth, will help women in leading their own life independently not depending on their husbands, sons at various stages of their life span⁷.

He utters in his own lecture that 'Men and women in every country, have different ways of understanding and judging things. Men have one angle of vision, women another; men argue from one standpoint, women from another. Men extenuate women and lay the blame on men; while women exonerate men and heap all the heap on women'⁸. He entrusted the duty to on coming generation thinkers to uplift womanhood as scholars like Maitreyi and Gargi, heroines like the Queen of Jhansi; wives like Sita and mothers of heroes like Jeeja Bai⁹.

Swamiji reminds us how in our old forest universities there was equality between boys and girls so that in this nation we may not have to learn from Tennyson's long poem *Princess* about educating a woman. Thus equality of sexes and freedom is the burden of Vivekananda's speeches and writings concerning women. But as Sister Nivedita points out, "The growth of freedom of which he dreamt, would be no fruit of agitation, clamorous and iconoclastic. It would be indirect, silent and organic"¹⁰.

Swamiji on the "Institution of Marriage"

Swamiji utters that most desirable life of a citizen in a society is the life of a family man with all the happiness that the company of a loving wife and loved children can offer. The life of the married man is quite as great as that of the celibate. It is useless to say that the man who lives out of the world is a greater man than he who lives in the world; it is much more difficult to live in the world and worship God than to give it up and live a free and easy life¹¹.

Marriage is the type of institution of one's soul relation to God. He justified Hindu marriage-customs, as springing from the pursuit of this ideal, and from the woman's need of protection, in combination. And he traced out the relation of the whole subject to the Philosophy of the Absolute. When Swamiji was with Sister Nivedita at Jhelum he discussed about the depth of marriage and said in his own words. "This is why"; he exclaimed, "though the love of a mother is in some ways greater, yet the whole world

takes the love of man and woman as the type. No other has such tremendous idealizing power. The beloved actually becomes what he is imagined to be. This love transforms its object. Marriage is not for individual happiness, but for the welfare of the nation and the caste. Certain individuals of the modern reform, having embarked on an experiment which could not solve the problem, "are the sacrifices, over which the race has to walk"¹².

Swamiji's idea on Religion as the Healer of Humanity

Religion plays a vital role in the growth of a country. The world of religion has many prescriptions and many practices. The priestly order in every religion has its own dress and its own discipline. There are many rituals and many taboos, Individuals are expected to suffer penances, offer prayers, a greater rigour and a life of asceticism all stipulated. Celibacy, renunciation and other practices are prescribed as paths to the heaven. Much has been said about the common ground of religious unity. This unity cannot come by the triumph of any one of the religions and by the destruction of others. It can come only by every religion assimilating the good points of other religions. To other nations, religion is one of the occupations of life but here in India religion is the one and only occupation in life. As a consequence, our culture and national genius have derived a special bent or direction. Referring to the flooding of the world with Indian spiritual ideas that is silently taking place, German philosopher Schopenhauer said " The world is about to see a revolution in thought that is more extensive and more powerful than that was witnessed by the Renaissance of Greek literature."¹³The Ideal of Universal Acceptance - What the world needs from India is the idea of harmony and acceptance of all religions. In the ancient world outside India among the Babylonians and the Jews, each tribe had a god known as Baal and Moloch. When the tribes fought among themselves the victor displaced the Baal or Moloch in the temple of the vanquished with its own God. Thus the supremacy of Gods was settled in battle. In India, religious evolution took a different turn. Here also there were several Gods, but it was realized in the Vedic times that Truth or God is one but the sages call him differently. Differentiation is the

law of life and religious differences are bound to persist, but it does not mean that we should hate each other. This can be achieved only if the Truth of universal acceptance preached in India is spread the world over.

As Swami Vivekananda says in 'Is Vedanta The Future Religion?' "...Gradual or not gradual, easy or not easy for the weak, is not the dualistic method based on falsehood? Are not all the prevalent religious practices often weakening and therefore wrong? They are based on a wrong idea, a wrong view of man. Would two wrongs make one right? Would the lie become truth? Would darkness become light?".....Vedanta is everywhere; only you must become conscious of it. These masses of foolish beliefs and superstitions hinder us in our progress. If we can, let us throw them off and understand that God is spirit to be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth. ...All the different ideas of God, which are more or less materialistic, must go. As man becomes more and more spiritual, he has to throw off all these ideas and leave them behind. If Vedanta - this conscious knowledge that all is one Spirit - spreads, the whole humanity will become spiritual. But is it possible? I do not know...¹⁴"

Conclusion

It is well known that Swami Vivekananda was associated with the Renaissance in India, that he was one of the leading thinkers of the emerging new India at the turn of the 19th century. He was regarded as a prophet who gave a clarion call to a tired nation with a hoary culture to awake and arise. A whole culture was to be reborn from servitude, lassitude and fickleness. He could rejuvenate that culture, and act as its spiritual ambassador to the West. But it is perhaps not so well known that Swami Vivekananda was deeply committed to the welfare of women. One of the overriding issues of the Indian Renaissance was the position of women in our society and the oppression women faced both at the institutional and individual levels. It is interesting to examine Swami Vivekananda's stand on the issue of women's rights. It reveals his deep insight into Indian culture and spiritual history, for it is they which have shaped our tradition and traditional institutions. Vivekananda's call for liberating India from its evils are very different from the shrill cry of the Western suffragette for franchise or "liberation". It is the result of an inclusive understanding of a whole way of life.

End Notes

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3. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Calcutta, 1985, Volume VIII, p.122.
4. T.S.Avinashilingam, *Education Compiled From The Speeches And Writings Of Swami Vivekananda*, Compiled And Edited By T.S.Avinashilingam, Coimbatore (Tamilnadu), India, 1943, p.3.
5. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Calcutta, 1985, Volume V, p.364.
6. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Calcutta, 1985, Volume VIII, p.252-253.
7. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Calcutta, 1985, Volume III, p.246.
8. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Calcutta, 1985, Volume VII, p.378.
9. V.C.Kulandaiswamy, *They thought Differently*, Tamilnadu, 1989, p.32.
10. Sister Nivedita, *The Master as I Saw him*, Calcutta 1983 p. 242.
11. *When Swami Vivekananda went to USA, a lady asked him to marry her. When Swami asked the lady about what made her ask him such question. The lady replied that she was fascinated by his intellect. She wanted a child of such an intellect. So she asked Swami, whether he could marry her and give a child like him. He said to that lady, that since she was attracted only by his intellect, there is no problem. "My dear lady, I understand Your desire. Marrying and bringing a child in to this world and understanding whether it is intelligent or not takes very long time. More over it is not guaranteed. Instead, to fulfill Your desire immediately, I can suggest a guaranteed way. Take me as Your child. You are my mother. Now on Your desire of having a child of my intellect is fulfilled."* The lady was speechless. http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Tell_me_something_about_swami_vivekananda's_marriage.
12. *Notes Of Some Wanderings With The Swami Vivekananda My _Sister Nivedita Of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda*. Edited By The Swami Saradananda, Calcutta, 1913, p.129.
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SRI KRISHNADEVARAYA AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO TIRUMALA TEMPLE, SOUTH INDIA

Prof. P. Chenna Reddy

Krishnadevaraya's reign (1509-1529 A.D.) witnessed a tremendous spurt in trade and commerce both inland and foreign countries like Persia, China, Portuguese and other European countries. He established number of mints at Penukonda, Gooty, Gandikota, Tadipatri and Chandragiri besides, Hampi and issued coins in gold, silver and copper. He also constructed number of tanks and dug wells and canals for irrigation¹.

Krishnadevaraya himself was a great poet and wrote books in Sanskrit and Telugu. His Telugu work *Amuktamalyada* is considered as a master piece in Sanskrit. He was great patron of Tamil and Kannada literature. He encouraged many poets and his court was adorned with *Ashadiggajas*. He conducted literary debates, popularly known as *Bhuvana Vijayam*. Krishnadevaraya was a great patron of arts and crafts including sculpture, architecture and painting. His period was remarkable with all round development in all walks of life and considered as the 'Golden Age' in the history of south India. The list of articles in gold, silver and copper which include ornaments, Jewellery and ritual items donated by Sri Krishnadevaraya and his queens to Tirumala temple is astonishing to note.

His gifts and grants to Tirumala during his first visit on 10.2.1513 A.D.² included a *Kiritam* (crown made of gold) set with nine kinds of precious stones to God Tiruvengalanath (Sri Venkatesa). The details are 1,555-weight of gold for the *vommechchu* work (basement work for setting the stones); 1,076-weight of solid gold selected for *kundanam* work; 2,822-rubies refined; 160-emeralds weighing 108 *ratulu* or carats; 423-old diamonds weighing 65 *manjalu* weight; 3-big rubies including the central ruby, 10-sapphires, 17-cat eyes, 1-topaz, altogether weighing 3,130 units; 1,339-pearls weighing 163 *ratulu* or carats, 1-string of pearls, gold wire into which the pearls are inserted, weight 15 (units), the total weight of the above said crown is 3,308; also three stringed necklace containing 1,370 *jari-muttelu* or blue coloured pearls, 1-*manikyam* (gem), 2-sapphires, 2-kusulus, 15-*addigas* (neck ornaments), weighing 225 *ratulu*,

1-*padakam* containing 6 big pearls, 60-diamonds, 11-emeralds, 3-*manikyams*, 5-rubies, all weighing 61 units of largest weight and 25 silver plates for the purpose of *karpura harati*.

On the same day the queen Chinnadevi, also presented a gold cup, weighing 374 (units) to Tiruvengalanathadeva, for offering milk after night worship. The queen Tirumaladevi, also presented a gold cup for offering milk, weighing 374 (units) and a gold plate for keeping perfumes weighing 10 (units).

During his second visit on 2-5-1513 A.D.³, without his consorts visited the temple in Saka 1435 (2-5-1513 A.D.), and offered ornaments to God Tiruvengalanatha and *Utsavamurtis*, (processional images) of Sri Venkatesa. They are, 1-Big *Vududhara* ornament consisting of 5 diamonds..... 4-*addikas* (chains), 6-border *addikas*, 6-middle *addikas*, all these 17 items are set with 139 emeralds, 5 gems, 508 old diamonds, 186-rubies, including the gold string, altogether weighing 662 units.

Besides, they are 1-*Kathari* (sword) with its sheath containing 131-old diamonds, 431 rubies, and 2 sapphires, all weighing 198 (units). The tassel of the sheath composed of 3500 small pearls and 19 big pearls, 28 rubies fitted at the top of the tassel weighing 128 (units), total weight of the sword and tassel being 326; in this 43 rubies, 15 emeralds, 20 diamonds, all weighing 165 (units).

Other items are 1-*Nichchala-kathari sheath* studded with 24 rubies on the top of this sheath for the daily use weighing 132 (units), 1-small sword for the daily use with a small tassel made of pearls, 1-Sheath consisting of 55 rubies, 1 emerald, and 36 diamonds weighing 89 (units), 1-*Padakam* (pendant) made of 4 big pearls, 7 rubies, 10 emerald, and 117 diamonds, altogether weighing 87 (units), 1-Pair of *Bhujakirti* or *Vanki* with 322 pearls, 360 rubies, 4 sapphires and 247 old diamonds, altogether weighing 573 (units), 1-*Bhujakirti (vanki)* for daily use weighing 198 (units), 2-Pairs of *Bhujakirti* for the daily use. 1-String with 17 *addigas*, 30 *addigas* in the shape of leaves of peepul tree, 30 pearls, 210 rubies, 58 diamonds

and 5 emeralds altogether weighing 205 (units), 1-Similar string with 122 pearls, 193-rubies, 104 diamonds, and 33 pearls, hanging at the end of the *addiga*, weighing 4 (equal to 8 *pana* weight) altogether weighing 276 (Units).

For the processional images of Sri Venkatesa for the daily decoration, he offered 3 crowns consisting of 405 pearls, 284 old diamonds, 822 rubies, 91 cats eyes, and 6 sapphires, weighing 380 (units) in total.

In his third visit on 13-6-1513 A.D.⁴, for the merit of his (Krishnaraya's) father, Narasa-Nayaka Udayaru and his mother Nagajammamgaru, he made a gift of.....set with nine kinds of precious stones to Triuvengalanadhadeva (Sri Venkatesa) 3 - Tuka (weight) of kukumpuvu (*Arisala*), 300 areca nuts, 600 betel leaves..... He also granted the villages such as Chatravadi village, Tururu village, Karikambudu villages situated in the sub district of Godagaranad. With the income of the above said villages, a festival has to be conducted to Triuvengalanadhadeva.

During his fourth visit to the temple (6-7-1514 A.D.)⁵, On his return journey to his capital after capturing Udayagiri Fort and after defeating Prataparudra Gajapati of Orissa, he paid a visit to Tirumala in Saka 1436 and worshipped Sri Venkatesa and performed *Kanakabhishekam* for God Sri Venkatesa with 30,000 *chakram pon* (gold *varahas* or sovereigns) and presented three strings of ornaments containing pearls 483, rubies 119, sapphires 121, thin gold wire 480, gold chips 160, altogether weighing 250 (units), one pair of *Kadayam* (*Bahujavalayam* or *Vanki*) made of diamonds 322 and rubies 100, all weighing 275 (units). He also granted one village, Talal pakkam (Talapaka) situated in *Pottapisima* with libations of water in an auspicious hour called *manvadipunyakalam*, for the preparation of 10 *tirupponakam taligai*, 2 *Tirukkanamadai* and 2 *appa padi* to be offered to the God daily, as long as the sun and the moon shine, out of the cash and grain income derived from the said village.

Out of the preparations, offered 2 ½ *prasadam*, 1 *akkali-manlai* and 26 *appam* are due to the donor as his share, from which 1 *prasadam* shall be delivered to Rangadikshitar (Royal Purohit), 1 *prasadam* to Sivadikshitar and ½ *prasadam* to Tiruppanipillai (officer in charge

of the public works department of the temples); deducting this 2½ *prasadam*, 1 *akkali-manda* and 26 *appam* shall be carried on to your (Krishnaraya's) choultry at Tirumala for the feeding of Brahmanas.

On the same day Chinnadevi the queen presented the ornaments and granted a village Gudiur (Mudiyur in Tondaimandalam) with libation of water in an auspicious hour called *manvadi-punyakala*. The ornaments are 1- *Kanthamala* (necklace) with a *padakam* (pendant) set with 111 pearls, 1-central ruby, 2-emeralds and 4 diamonds, altogether 200 (units). One village by name Mudiyur, situated in Tondaimandalam for the preparation of 5 *tirupponaka taligai*, 1-*tirukkanamadai* and 1-*appa-padi* to be offered to the god. The above said offerings shall be prepared and offered out of the income of the village, received in cash and kind into the temple – treasury as long as the moon and the sun shine.

Out of the preparations offered 1 ¼ of the *prasadam*, ½ *akkali-manda* and 13 *appam* are due to the donor as her share from which, 1 *nali* of *prasadam* shall be delivered to Tiruppanipillai (officer in charge of the Public works department of the temple) and 1 *prasadam*, ½ *akkali-manda* and 13 *appam* shall be handed over to her (Chinnadevi) and also for choultry supervises. Tiruppanipillai, also for the Brahmanas.

Tirumaladevi, on the same day, presented a *Chakra – Padakam* (round pendent) containing 132-diamonds, 85-rubies, 83-emeralds and 66 pearls, altogether weighing 225 ½ (units). She also granted with libations of water in an auspicious hour called *manvadipunyakalam*, a village by name Piratti-kulattur situated in Cholingavarapattu (Sholinghur) for the preparation of 5 *tirupponakam-taligai*, 1 *tirukkanamadai* and 1 *appapadi* to be offered daily to God, out of the income of the said village received in cash and kind into the Temple treasury as long as the moon and the sun shine.

While returning from the Victorious eastern campaign, he visited the temple at Dharanikota on right bank of the river Krishna along with his queens and performed ceremonies and returned to Vijayanagara. On the third day of the dark fortnight of the *Kartika* month in the cyclic year *Yuva*, current with the

Saka era 1437, 25-10-1515 A.D. Krishnadevaraya presented to God Tiruvengalanatha (Sri Venkatesa) a *nava-ratna Prabhavali* or *Makara-torana* set with nine kinds of precious stones consisting of 25-*Kirtimukha* leaves, 13,835-*vommenchchu* beads, 16 -weight of the gold wire, 7,978 weight of the solid gold, 20-silk fringes hanging on the head of the *Makara-torana*, and 5,474 weight of the above said gold fringes, thus making up a grand total of 27,287. The following nine kinds of gems are fixed in different parts of the (above said) *Makara-torana*, they are 81-rubies, 10,994-red stones, 730-emeralds, 40-cat eyes, 45-agates, 74-topazes, 920-old diamonds, 3,933-pearls, 4-prominent sapphires fixed in the place of the eyes, 6-corals and 30-conch shells, thus the total weight of the arch of the *Makara-torana* (described above) is 14,711, and the grand total of the whole *Prabhavali* (including the lower and the upper portions) weighs 31,124 (units).

Krishnadevaraya in his fifth visit i.e. on **January 2, 1517⁶**, after planting a triumphal pillar at Simhadri-potnuru, returned to Rajamahendravaram and performed *Mahadanas*, by his queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi and returned to Vijayanagara. On Friday the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the *Pushya* month, in the cyclic year *Dhata*, in Saka 1438, paid a visit to Tirumala, presented to God Tiruvengalanatha (Sri Venkatesa) one *Kanthamalai* (necklace) one *padakam* (pendant) 30,000 *varahas* for gilding the *Vimanam* over the Sanctuary, ordered 1000 *varahas* of pure gold to be collected (into the Temple treasury) by the *Sthanattar* (Trustees) of Tirumala from the Godaganadu (surrounding villages of Tirupati) for the expenses of *Pulikapu* (ablutions) on every Thursday to be performed to God. Further, he granted the taxes called *Nityamulavisannadu*, *Talarikkam* and *Madarikkam* from Tirupati relating to Godaganadu amounting to 500 *varahas* to serve the expenses of conducting morning offerings for God Tiruvengalanatha.

During his Sixth visit on 9.9.1518 A.D.⁷, Krishnadevaraya after the victory over the east-coast and returned to Vijayanagara. On Thursday, combined with the star *Svati*, being the 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the *Kanya* month in the cyclic year *Bahudhanya* current with the Saka year 1440, completed the

gilding work of the *Divya-Vimanam* of Sri Venkatesa.

During his seventh visit i.e. on 1520 A.D.⁸, he presented a *Pitambaram* (laced silk cloth) set with nine kinds of precious stones, a *Kullavu* (cap) fixed into it pearls, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, and two *chamaras* (fly-whisks) set with nine kinds of gems had his queen Tirumaladevi presented a *padakam* made of nine kinds of stones, and arranged that this gift shall be conducted as long as the moon and the sun shine. Further more, he directly presented 10,000 *varahas* as a tribute (*kanuka*) and a valuable *padakam* (pendent) that time Baguri Mallarasa, the body guard of Krishnaraya Maharaya executed this *Dharma sasanam* (deed of charity), Sripati, son of Peddayasari, the state engraver and rayasam officer (secretary) of Krishnaraya Maharaya were also present.

As an ardent devotee of Lord Venkatesvara of Tirumala, he dedicated his work called *Amuktamalyada*, which he wrote at the instance of Andhra Mahavishnu of **Srikakulam** and dedicated it to the Lord of Seven hills. In spite of his affiliation to Vaishnavism, he supported Saivite temples also. He was equally generous towards the Jaina religion. He restored a grant made earlier by the king Devaraya – II to a Jain temple. He donated enormous gifts to the temples that he visited and encouraged to do so by his queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi. He has also donated villages for conducting various rituals in the temple like *abhisheka*, *amritapadi* etc.. The festivals included *Rathotsavam*, *Vasantotsavam*, *Kalyanotsavam* and *Tirunallu*. He also made gifts for the merit of his parents. Besides Krishnadevaraya and his queens, a large number of his ministers and officers, *jiyars*, *Acharya purushas*, temple servants, merchants, and citizens also made gifts and grants to the temple.

TTD's Contribution to Arts and Letters:

It is a fact that God Venkateswara is a very popular God right from the 10th century A.D. onwards and almost all the kings of South Indian dynasties and it is not out of place mention that Sri Krishnadevaraya, the mighty Vijayanagara emperor visited Tirumala Temple seven times and donated cash, kind and Jewellery, a tradition still continued as almost all the Presidents and Prime Ministers of India, Chief Ministers and

other dignitaries visit the God. Lord Venkateswara thus became a tutelary God for each and every family of entire South India. All the Telugu speaking people whether native or settled elsewhere abroad feel proud to have such a great temple in Andhra Pradesh which is considered next to Vatican City in attracting visitors and generations revenue and employment are concerned. Gifts and grants from various sources i.e. Kings, Queens, Traders, Merchants, faithful followers of Vaishnavism made the Tirumala temple, one of the richest holy Vaishnavite Kshetras of India.

TTD's in turn provided facilities to the devoted pilgrims, the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams have established many educational and local institutions for the benefit of the many.

In the first instance, the *Vedapathasala*, which was established 150 years ago has been upgraded into an oriental college offering several academic programmes in Sanskrit and Telugu media. TTD established schools at Vellore and Tirupati to promote education for children. An exclusive school for *Vedas* and *Agamas* was established in which the traditional knowledge such as *Vedas*, grammar, logic *Mimamsa* and other disciplines are taught.

On par with the Archaeological Survey of India, the TTD have initiated a project under the guidance of Sri Sadhu Subrahmanyam Sastry to deciphered and edit the inscriptions engraved on the walls of TTD temples. As a result, a report on TTD inscriptions, dynastic wise was published. These publications revealed the unknown facets of not only the history of the temples and the donors but also the history of South India.

Another important project launched by the TTD's is called Annamacharya project committed for decipherment cataloguing, editing and publishing of Annamacharya Keertanas. TTD have established S.V.Oriental Institute for the purpose and inducted great scholars like Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi, Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, Rallapalli Ananta Krishna Sarma, Panganamala Balakrishna Murthy. Thus as many as 29 volumes were brought out on the spiritual and *Sringara Keerthanans* of the Tallapakkam poets. Efforts were also made to bring out CDs on the above rendered by Smt. M.S. Subbulaxmi and Dr. Mangalampalli

Balamurali Krishna. Similarly TTD have also launched 'Tarigonda Vengamamba Project' to publish her writing and renderings in print and digital media.

TTD have also established another important chair called 'Veturi Prabhakara Sastri Vanjmaya peetham' and has been publishing his works. Another prestigious project established by TTD is the 'Hindu Dharma Prachara Trust' to preserve the folk arts and crafts for posterity, thus giving a new lease of life for *Harikatha*, *Burrakatha*, *Chakkabhajana*, *Kolattam*, *Bhajana* etc.,

Equally important project established was the 'Alwar Divya Prabandha project' in order to propagate and promote pasuras of Always including the Nalayiradivya Prabandham. The TTD have launched another innovative project called the 'Dasasahitya project' to publish the keertanas rendered by Kannada Dasa poets.

An exclusive college for music and dance was established to import training to the young on the traditional music and dance forms of south India. Similarly an exclusive school called 'S.V. Nadaswaram' School was established to encourage students in the fields of *Dolu* and *Nadaswaram*.

S.V. Vedapathasala has been upgraded to S.V. Institute for Higher Vedic Studies, which later became S.V. Veda Viswavidyalayam, a deemed to be university, to promote Vedic education special incentives are given to the students who are prosecuting high vedic studies. Apart from this financial assistance is given to other similar institutes in the country and abroad.

TTD's have established an institute called S.V. Institute of Traditional Sculpture and Architecture to import training in stone sculpture, bronze casting, wood sculpture, stucco, painting and temple architecture. Hundreds of passed art students are working in Endowments and Archaeology Departments and also in TTD. TTD's have also been undertaking renovation of temples under its control.

The *Itihasa* project of TTD is publishing and propagating the epics of India to preserve them for posterity. To promote education among the women, the TTD have established Sri Padmavati Womens' College now Padmavati Womens' University a deemed to be university,

which is offering hundreds of Degree, Diploma and Post Graduate programmes for women. To promote arts and letters a beautiful auditorium called **Mahati** was built and offering cultural programmes and academic debates almost on all the days at Tirupati. The TTD have also commissioned a TV channel called SV Bhakti Channel to promote the decaying traditional arts. Thus the TTD's have identified the corporate social responsibility and rendering yeomen service to the society besides preserving culture and heritage of the people. The TTD have also been into rendering to the Social causes and Charity Services among which medical facilities and fee feeding of poor people.

Established S.V. Medical College for imparting medical education and established highly specialized hospital called svims for the benefits of the Pilgrims and residents of Rayalasila. A good number of free dispensaries are also in operation. Free medical checkups and eye camps are conducted very frequently.

At the same time special schools for physically challenged impaired, blind, deaf and dumb to provide an opportunity for education and employment. Also seen a poor home for children.

Under the Chanty Programmes, free Annadana Scheme, mass marriages and

financial and material assistance including supply of Srivani Idols to the new temples and temples under renovation throughout the state under Jeernodharana scheme. For spiritual upliftment, various schemes like Dalitha Govindam etc are launched to involve many people in devotional activities. Mangla sutras are also distributed among the poor people.

A very big gosala is also maintained by the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam in addition to Sri Venkateswara Zoo to render service to the holy cows and protect bird and wild life.

The TTD with its establishments at various places connected with the mythological accounts of the God and his consort was responsible for growth of religious architecture like the Temples, Mandapas, Gopuras, Pushkarinis and Flower Gardens over a period of time. It also encouraged Agamic literature to grow called the Vaikhanasa Agamas which cater to the needs of the daily rituals in the temple.

The TTD since the early 15th centuries encouraged composers, poets and Musicians. The Tallapakan poets including Annamacharya, Timmakka, Peda Tirumalacharya and Tiruvengalanatha and Tarigonda Vengamamba, who compose Kirthanas and wrote many works like Paramayogi Vilasam and Subhadra Parinayam etc.

End Notes

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FRENCH IMPACT ON CULTURAL LIFE OF PONDICHERRY

Dr. S. Chinnappan & V. Balachandar

The French colonists, who came to India precisely with a purpose for making commercial gain at the earliest in 1664. They did not enter into political contest with the British neighbours until the time of Dupleix in 1742.¹ Therefore, the commercial operation dated back to 1664 A.D went off peacefully without any social implications until the reign of Dumas. The creative period of Pondicherry under Franchoise Martin sowed the seeds of French mercantilism

and in fact, the simple hamlet of Pondicherry was virtually shaped into a French model town by his efforts. The political and commercial consolidation were strengthened by the relentless contributions of Martin as a builder of Pondicherry.² Martin's perseverance, gentleness with the native, his fair – dealing all contributed to the real foundation of the fulfillment in Pondicherry.

In the words of F. Laurent Angoulame as referred to in the death certificate of Françoise Martin that 'Pondicherry is indebted to him for what it is today'.³ After Martin, Lenoir who was the real architect of Pondicherry, contributed to both the economic and political prospects of the French in Pondicherry. Dumas consolidated and integrated the architectural edifices into the fabric or French model in Pondicherry. Thus, a total transformation of Pondicherry from its slumhood to an established township implanted the marks of urban culture. This was due to the result of French arrival in this land. Therefore, the first major impact was the development of the neglected coastal hamlet into one of the international maritime centres. The French arrival was the blessing in disguise for the growth of urbanization in Pondicherry. There is influence of French culture at political, social, religious and administrative levels. To understand the French cultural influences in this part of land alone has to look from the culturalization point of view.

The French impact on the religious structure

The first stage of proselytisation was initiated by the early settlers namely the Capuchins. The missionary activities were actively carried on a large scale with the arrival of the Jesuits, who were virtually finding an alternative place, when they turned out from Siam. There were differences of opinion between these two orders on certain issues centering on the religious policies. While the Capuchins propagated to the natives to follow the western pattern, whereas the Jesuits allowed the natives to follow their own traditional customs and convictions. Naturally, the Jesuits order spread predominantly amongst the people of Pondicherry.⁴ As a result of this, even a good number of Catholics retained their religion and traditional beliefs of Hinduism, though they were Christians. In due course of time, Christianity became an answer to the lower castes and which could help them to acquire equality and social prestige. The process of conversion to Christianity gained momentum, when this kind of orders dedicated their lives for the educational and social services.

The religious converts and inter-caste marriage

In Pondicherry a large number of families left the Catholic Church and joined the

congregation of Seventh Day Adventists. Ananda Ranga Pillai confirms in his diary that one sixth of the total population in Pondicherry was converted to Christianity. It is true that the French administrators preferred a Christian to act as 'Dubash' in place of a native Tamilian.⁵ It is said that the courtier ship was not conferred to Ananda Ranga Pillai, since his choice was disputed over the question of religion.

The title of mixed castes are available, for example, mixed titles such as Mudaliar – Harijan, Udayar-Harijan, Vellala –Harijan and even Brahmin-Harijan are available in the society even today. This was actually happened due to the rich position of the Harijans, who could attain it due to their war services during the II world war (1939-45). When the low caste people had returned from the war service with the huge wealth, the upper caste people who used to marry in inter-caste or mixed marriages, without any caste barriers.⁶

Caste Structure under the French administration

The French mercantilist policies in India were definitely responsible for the social mobility between different caste groups. The caste rigidities were definitely mellowed when different social groups were fused together under the demands of commercial enterprise. The fusion of different caste people were mainly due to the constant flow of outside population into Pondicherry. In the later years, the European mixed communities had their own settlements. The number of Topaz and Metsis⁷ (Indo-European) were comparatively less even today. These groups exist in Pondicherry as separate entities in the name of different streets, in no other part of India. We see this kind of intermixture of different castes and communities as it occurred in Pondicherry, whereas in the later part of the 20th century the influx of Bengali population increased after Sri Aurobindo's foundation of the Ashram here. Moreover, the French Indian Government passed an enactment not to use the name of the streets with any caste titles thereby the rigid caste system was partly broken by the French Government.

French impact on festivals

The French Governors had encouraged the practice of Indian festivals and fairs and they never came on the way. Instead, Lenoir, Dumas and Dupleix participated in the Hindu festivals.

There are examples that the late night entertainments were arranged by the Diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai on festive occasions and even Dupleix, participated on such occasions. The elite group of Pondicherry, who got used to witness French festivals like King's day, Victory Day, Feast of Nativity, Governor's Feast, New Year Day etc., The curious feature is that the Indian practice of conducting a musical procession called Naourz was followed by them.⁸ the Governor's and the other dignitaries were adopted the Indian custom of giving betel and lemons from the Pondicherry society. On important festival occasions or social functions, French dramas were staged Oberra calling girls were entertained the European audience in those days. Though, there are lot of French cultural traits available in Pondicherry society. The various festivals of different communities like Pongal, Vaishnava festivals, Chithra pourami. All souls day, Kandhuri festivals etc., were celebrated with great pomp and ceremony during the French times.

Customs and Practices

Organised holidays for festival occasions was made official by the French Government. There were certain manners, beliefs and customs adopted from the French way of life. The custom of giving presents the gun salute to the important dignitary, the grand celebrity on important festival occasion with drum-beats etc., became the part and the parcel of the society. The culture of giving presents on occasions like marriage was followed by the French.⁹ The article of presentation evoke curiosity. Dupleix presented double barrel crystal, scissors, six small boxes and badam nuts to the daughter of Chanda Sahib. On the occasion of the victory of the French over the British in 1747, the French took arrack and juice.¹⁰ This practice was imitated by the Indians also. Common diners were arranged to mark important occasions. Processions were led along the streets with plantain leaves, coconut leaves etc.¹¹ The invitees were businessmen, company merchants and other dignitaries. Such a grand function was arranged in honour of Dupleix, when he established his suzerainty (overlordship) in Deccan. Thus, procession is still extended to other important occasions like New Year Day, Victory Day etc.

Belief System

The belief system was unusual in character and personal in practice. This does not have any scientific inertia but its preponderance on human psychology is phenomenal. Falling down of the car,¹² burning of the meteor, crossing of cats, hearing of bad news, breaking of the flag robe and falling of the church bell were taken as bad omens¹³. The appearance of Comet was also taken as a bad omen by the natives and the Europeans.

Dress and Diet

The European dress materials were freely imitated by the natives. Even today, the French speaking community and students studying in French institutions adopt the French style of dressing. Among the natives of Pondicherry, the table manners and the French etiquette in diet are also followed still.¹⁴

Art and Architecture

The existing models of buildings, monuments, war articles, coins, dress materials and the alignment of streets stand as an evidence even today to highlight the French impact. The patternisation of the streets, open drainage system, the frontal facades, long windows, high ceiling, gothic designs, wall decorations, broad corridors outside the house are distinct marks of the French architecture. The residential houses of the Governors and the Europeans were symmetrically arranged and thus the streets hit each other at right angles. The overall planning of the townships was hemispherical and having an open end facing the sea.¹⁵ All the rues in Pondicherry leads to the sea as modeled by the French. The town was distinctly divided into white Town and Black Town. The Europeans inherited the white Town and the Black Town was occupied by the natives. Even today the town structure is segmented into several enclaves of social groups.

The church structures of the Catholics and the Capuchin are the historical remains of the French architecture. The entire scheme of town planning was probably oriented to have natural drainage system. The most important aspect of the town planning was water supply system. The French administration devised an organized water supply system from a distant place called Ousterri and it functions well even today. The

painting and the murals reflect the French aesthetics in palatial building even today. Municipal building was Pondicherry stand as a living monument to prove the excellence and sturdily of French structure.

In the present relationship both social and economical, the French did not alter the basic fabric of native tradition. For example, the process of billing and leasing out land on Varam basis was followed by the French.¹⁶ Production of betel leaves areca nuts was completely under the government control. Exist and Entry of the cart loads of commercial goods was monitored by the government agencies. Trade regulation was strictly followed. The commercial culture and the economic system of Pondicherry were thoroughly revolutionized by the French administration. The greater contribution was the introduction of money economy, banking system and currency experiment. The standard weight and the count of gold were maintained against the rupee value. The barter system of the rural commercial operation was then replaced by European model of money currency.

The registration of birth, death and marriage opened the concept of census among the natives. The property rights were well defined in the French administration. Civic discipline was maintained. The judicial regulation were simple comprehensive and the proceeding were closed

with immediate results. The Chaultry Courts with the help of the natives decided case according to the traditional law.¹⁷ However, evil and criminal acts of the later period show perfect evolution of judicial structure. In contrast to the European model. The French introduced the simple comprehensive legal system also and favored quick judgements.

The above pages reveals the result of my investigations, which try to trace the French impact on the cultural life of Pondicherry. The work surveyed in detail about the French beginning and settlement in Pondicherry. A review was made on the role of French in India specially in the case in Pondicherry, purely looking from the cultural point et view, Any one will casually remark that the French cultural influence in Pondicherry is superficial and outwardly. Though it looks peripheral, an analysis on the introduction of French cultural elements there will make it clear that the French cultural impact is internal deep and visible in every aspect of the Pondicherry life and society. The French impact on every branch like political administration, judicial affairs, educational system, municipal affairs, religious field and town planning available French words in everyday life are all deep and these are all studied in detail in the paper.

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MERGER OF SOUTH TRAVANCORE WITH TAMIL NADU DURING KAMARAJ REGIME

Dr. R. Christal Jeeva

The Present-day Kanyakumari district of Tamil Nadu State in India was originally a part of the Travancore-Cochin State. The Government of India announced plans to re-organize States along linguistic lines, the people of Tamil-majority of South Travancore. At that time K.Kamaraj was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. During his regime, the Government of India formed the committees for the linguistic reorganization of States. K. Kamaraj suggested a part of South Travancore should be merged with Tamil Nadu. This article focuses on the Merger of South Travancore with Tamil Nadu during Kamaraj Regime.

The Indian National Congress promoted the demand for the reorganization of states. Thereafter, the Government formed provincial committees separately for the Tamils, Telugus, Kannadians and Malayalees. However, due to inordinate delay, over the enforcements, its leaders developed doubts in the wisdom of their move. Confronted with the situation, the Telugus of Madras Presidency and the Tamils of Travancore State embarked upon a struggle for the realisation of their cherished goals¹.

The demand for a separate Tamil Province was voiced for the first time by the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in July 1938 at its meeting at Tirunelveli and reiterated it Madras in October 1938. In this demand for a separate Tamil State, the Tamil State, the Tamil leaders like S.P. Aditanar envisaged the formation of an independent state of the Tamils, comprising Tamil-speaking areas in South India, North Ceylon and South Travancore. Among them, a major agitation in South Travancore marked the significant trends in the Tamil Integration movement².

The Princely State of Travancore that formed the southern part of the homeland of the Tamils, mostly concentrated in South Travancore, Devikulam, Peermedu and Chittur, constituted a linguistic minority groups in a Malayalee dominated area. Their ordeals defied description, for the Nairs who controlled the administration, denied to the Tamils any place in the establishments of the State³. As most of the lands belonged to the Nair land lords, the Tamils

lived at their mercy as tenants and labourers. They had no right either to enter the temples or learn their language in the schools or to serve on the administration. Added to these, the princely administration promoted Malayalee migration to the Tamil areas, particularly Devikulam and Peermedu. Threatened with extinction, the Tamils clamoured for the integration of their territory with Tamil Nadu. At a conference at Trivandrum in May 1938 the leaders discussed the issues. In October 1938 a meeting held at Rajakkamangalam, they adopted a resolution demanding the formation of a separate district for their areas⁴. This was followed by the organization of Tamil Sangam.

In December 1945 at a meeting at Nagarcoil the leaders formed the all Travancore Tamilian Congress, subsequently called Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress (T.T.N.C). S. Nathaniel was elected as a President, but A. Nesamony wielded the real influence⁵. The party decided to work for the merger of Tamil speaking areas of the princely states with Tamil Nadu⁶. On 13 July 1949 a new situation developed as the other Malayalam speaking state of Kochi was united with Travancore. This reduced the Tamils to a smaller minority. In protest against this development, demonstrations were held out and the leaders were arrested.

After the arrest of its leader S. Nathaniel, R.K. Ram, A. Gandhiraman and P.S. Mani, A. Nesamoney led the agitation programme. In the meantime, individual Satyagraha was conducted by T.T. Daniel of Nagarcoil, M. Subramaniam of Eraniel and Ponnappa Nadar of Marthandam at various places in Travancore. Many Tamil leaders were jailed⁷. On the promise of Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the Home Minister of India that the demands of the Travancore Tamils would be considered when linguistic states were formed, and due to the compromise efforts of K.Kamaraj the agitation was called off and the arrested leaders were released⁸.

As the oppression continued, T.T.N.C. decided to launch an agitation. It demanded the introduction of Tamil as official language in Tamil areas and their integration with Tamil

Nadu. P.S. Ramaswamy Pillai and A. Kunjan Nadar, one after the other led the movement. Volunteers defied the ban orders in Devikulam, held demonstrations, burned stamped papers and picketed the public offices. On 6 August 1954 Gandhi Raman started a fast to form a United Tamil Nadu⁹. Political parties and organizations of Tamil Nadu such as Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, Dravida Kazhagam, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Communist party supported the agitation. The T.T.N.C. observed as liberation day and a complete hartal on 11 August 1954¹⁰. Leaders were barbarously beaten and many of them were crippled¹¹.

In Devikulam Taluk alone security proceedings were initiated against 464 persons including twenty women. Nearly fifty cases were put up against the Tamils on various charges, even though the integration agitation was continued. Following the piquant situation, in 1954 the Government of India appointed the States Re-organisation Commission with Fazl Ali as Chairman and H.N. Kunzru and K.M. Pannikar as members¹². The T.T.N.C. Committee submitted a petition to the State Re-organisation Commission and requested that the Travancore Tamil areas should be merged with Tamil Nadu. K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Madras made a statement to the commission when it visited Trivandrum on 25 May 1954, insisting that the nine taluks in Travancore – Cochin viz. Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Neyyatinkara, Shencottah, Peermedu, Devikulam and Chittoor should be merged with Tamil Nadu¹³. Shencottah respectively too submitted petitions to the State Reorganisation Committee insisting on the inclusion of these nine taluks with Tamil Nadu.

The presence of K.M. Panikkar, a Nair with strong Malayalee bias, on the Commission pretended evil for the interests of Tamil Nadu but no notice was taken. The Commission recommended the transfer of the entire Malayalam speaking areas from Madras State but only a part of the Tamil speaking areas from Travancore – Cochin¹⁴. It allotted the entire Malabar area consisting of the present day districts of Cannanore, Calicut, Malappuram and Palghat from Madras to Kerala. At the same time it gave from Kerala to Tamil Nadu only the southern half of Trivandrum district. Neyyattinkarai, Devikulam and Peermedu, the

predominantly Tamil Taluks were to remain with Kerala.

The Dar Commission adopted to formulate that an area was unilingual, when at least seventy per cent of its people spoke a language. In the above mentioned Taluk, seventy eight percent of population spoke Tamil language¹⁵. The Shencottah Taluk is partly an enclave in Tirunelveli district of Madras State and the percentage of Tamil – speaking people in this taluk was Ninety three. Physically and geographically it belonged to Tirunelveli district in which it should be merged. The Devikulam and Peermedu taluks stood on a some what different footing, These hill areas, for various economic and other reasons were of great important to the State of Travancore – Cochin State. Devikulam and Peermedu with their rolling hills, heavy rainfall, green forests and numerous rivers were of vital necessity for Tamil Nadu. For the two major river system Periyar and Pampa which flowed from the high ranges, offered the only source of irrigation to the parched districts of Tamil Nadu.

On 21 December 1955 Panampalli Govinda Menon and K.Kamaraj held a joint discussion along with the Congress Four-Man Commission regarding the problem of Tamil Nadu and Kerala¹⁶. Opposing the verdict of the Commission hartals and meetings were conducted on 7 February 1956 all over the Tamil areas. It should be noted that the T.T.N.C. submitted a memorandum to Prime Minister Nehru. They disagreed with the statement in the memorandum and supported the stand of the Government¹⁷. K. Kamaraj met the Prime Minister Nehru and the congress President and represented the views of the T.T.N.C. in relation to the future of the Tamil taluks of the Travancore – Cochin State.

The decision of the Central Government to retain Peermedu and Devikulam and the Western portion of Shencottah taluk in the proposed Kerala State created unrest in Madras State leading to agitation which was called off subsequently¹⁸. On 28 January 1956 and All Parties Conference consisting of the members of the D.M.K. the Dravidar Kazhagam, the Tamilarasu Kazhagam, the Communists and the Socialists was convened at Madras. This conference decided to observe state-wide hartals, processions and meetings on 20 February 1956

throughout Tamil Nadu in order to record its protest against the Central Government decision¹⁹.

On 16 March 1956 the States Reorganisation Bill was presented in Parliament. The opposition party leaders of the Assembly P. Jeevanandam, K. Vinayagam, A. Retnam, Swaryam Prakasam and N. Rathina Gounder discussed and criticized the bill and vigorously opposed the government's proposal²⁰. This discussion was conducted on 28 and 29 March and 22 to 26 April 1956. C. Subramaniam supported the proposal of the government and carried it in the Assembly²¹. The government motion on the States Re-organization Bill of 1956 was introduced in the Madras Legislature Council on 26 September 1956 by its leader who supported it. The House discussed it and finally the Bill was passed in favour of the government proposal²².

On 31 October 1956 K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu gave his consent to the Re-organisation of the states. The States Reorganisation Bill and amendment of the law were approved by both the houses of Parliament and were declared by the president as law. As per the States Re-organization Bill, Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and part of Shencottah taluk were transferred from Travancore State to Tamilnadu on 1 November

1956. These four taluks formed the present Kanyakumari district and Shengottai taluk was merged with Tirunelveli district. These were annexed with Tamil Nadu State²³.

During that period the Travancore State Congress favoured the idea of uniting all the Malayalam speaking regions and the formation of a unified Kerala. That party was continuously compelling for the merger of Tamil regions in Travancore with Tamil Nadu. Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress President Nathaniel met Kamaraj in connection with the merger of South Travancore with Madras State. Kamaraj promised to solve the problem legally. But the government of Travancore stood against this. He wanted to make negotiation talk but no decision was reached. The states were proposed to be reorganized on linguistic basis and solution to this problem was anticipated. But K.M. Panicker, a member of the commission appointed for this purpose considered only the proposals of Pattam Thanupillai, but not the interests of the people in Kanyakumari District. It was the general feeling among the leaders and the people of Kanyakumari district that Kamaraj has not shown much interest in solving this problem. The main demand of T.T.N.C. was to merge the Tamil regions with Tamil Nadu and major parts of it was realised.

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TEMPLES OF THE MADURAI PHASE DURING THE PERIOD OF NAYAKAS (1600 - 1700 CE)

C. Deepa

The artistic traditions of the Hindus which so far flourished in the warmth of royal patronage now depended for encouragement of the rulers of new principalities which had been originally united under Vijayanagar. Of the several states into which the empire splintered, the contribution of Madurai was by far the most significant for the further advancement of the Dravidian style. The Tamil country with Madurai as capital and extending as far south as Cape Comorin was ruled by the Nayaka dynasty. The final form which the Dravidian style assumed under these rulers and flourished to this day is, in principle, a continuation of the building methods of the Pandyas who lavished most of their skill and resources on the architecture of the gopura and on extending and improving the shrines already in existence. Under the Nayakas of Madurai the temple came to be developed into a vast network of structures having imposing gateways and towers. The Vijayanagar period had witnessed great elaboration in the temple festivals and ceremonies which involved the temple deity or deities being taken out in procession quite often. This had in turn necessitated considerable amplification in the building scheme of the temple.¹

The temples belonging to the Madurai group built either wholly or in part during the period are considerable in number. The Minakshi temple of Madurai can be taken as typical of the group. The present study seeks to trace out Tanks, Pillared pavilions, towering gopuras and concentric compound walls are main characteristics features during this period and purpose of the architectural edifice through the ample sources like inscriptions, literature and field survey.

Madurai temple conceived and built all at one time it is actually a double temple. The twin shrines dedicated to Minakshi, tutelary goddess of Madurai, and her consort Sundaeswara, were substantially rebuilt. Renovation of the monument continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but by far the greatest efforts were made from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards under the direction of the Nayakas.²

The Madurai complex is contained within high enclosure walls that create a vast rectangle of 254 by 238 metres. lofty gopuras are positioned in the middle of each side. The towers of these gateways have elongated proportions and curved profiles that achieve a dramatic sweep upwards, that on the south is almost 50 metres high. The lower granite portions have pilasters with slender, part-circular and fluted shafts many of these define projections without niches headed by *shala* and kuta pediments. The carvings here are confined to miniature animals and figures at the bases of pilasters and on wall surfaces in between. The brick superstructures have pronounced central projections with openings at each of the nine ascending storeys. The lowest of these openings, immediately above the caves sheltering the entrance passageways, are distinguished by free standing colonettes. Plaster sculptures, reworked and brightly painted in recent years, are applied to almost all of the architectural elements to create vivid polychrome effects. Enlarged yali heads with protruding eyes and horns mark the arched ends of the capping shala roofs the ridges have rows of pot like finials in brass.

The Minakshi temple is usually entered from the east through a porch projecting outwards beyond the enclosure wall. This porch was erected by Rudrapati and Toli Ammai, consorts of Tirumala Nayaka.³ Four columns on either side have carvings of different goddesses the curved vault above is covered with paintings of recent workmanship. A doorway flanked by images of Ganesha and Subrahmanya leads into a vast columned hall used for shops and stores. This structure was added in 1707 by Sanmugam Minakshi, minister of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha.⁴ Its piers have lion-like brackets carrying suspended beams. At the far end of this mandapa is a doorway contained within a towered gateway (Chitra Gopuram) that was erected in 1569 by Kalathiappa Mudaliar, a son of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar⁵ minister of Kumara Krishnappa. Beyond is a small corridor flanked by columns with sculptured figures. This gives on to the golden Lotus Tank (165x120 ft) is one of the earliest structures of the temple complex. However, it was, also with its surrounding

structures, renovated and rebuilt in 16th -17th centuries. The pillars of the northern side of the tank carry the statues of the king and his officers who supposed to have constructed this. Some of the pillars of this side also show the statues of the poets of the Sangam fame. There is an entrance at the western corner of the tank which leads to the southern gopura of the temple. In the western corridor of the tank there are small mandapa and kilikkuttu mandapa. The roof of the Rani Mangammal mandapa carries the contemporary paintings. They portray scenes of goddess Minakshi and Siva's celestial marriage, receiving of scepter from the goddess and Minakshi's encounter with dikpalakas.⁶

A long corridor defines the transverse north-south axis of the Minaksi Sundaresvara complex. The columns lining its central aisle have three dimensional sculptures of deities, heroes and rearing yalis. The Minakshi shrine, together with several subshrines, stands inside a rectangular compound to the west. A gopura built by Siramalai Sevvandhimoorthy Chittiyar in 1559 which is situated at the northern end of the corridor provides access to the Sundaresvara shrine.⁷ This too is contained within a rectangular enclosure, marked by towered gopuras in the middle of each side. The granite basements, pilastered niches and brick superstructures of these gateways resemble those on the periphery of the complex, except that they are not as high. A colonnaded corridor entirely surrounds the Sundareshvara compound. On the east it meets the Kambattadi Mandapa, an addition of the early eighteenth century. Beyond the Kambattadi mandapa, in the outermost enclosure of the Madurai complex, is the Viravasantaraya Mandapa, built by Muthuvirappa Nayaka elder brother of Tirumalai Nayaka in 1611.⁸ Its central corridor, which is no less than 75 meter long, is lined with piers displaying yalis alternating with quarters of part square colonettes in shallow relief leaf like motifs and crouching animals adorn the brackets. To the north is the thousand pillared hall, a treasure house of art. This was built in 1570 by famous Dalavai Ariyanatha Mudaliar who was minister to four successive Nayakka rules. Of the exactly 985 elaborately decorated columns incorporated into this mandapa, some have fully modeled figures, both divine and royal.⁹ Yalis line the central aisle that leads to the raised dais at the northern end of the mandapa. At the southern

end is a porch with finely carved columns, those at the corners being surrounded by dense clusters of slender colonettes.

Outside the complex, directly on axis with the east gopura or Sundara Pandyan gopura¹⁰ or Avani Venda Raman Gopura¹¹ leading to the Sundareswara shrine stands the Pudu mandapa. This major construction is the work of Tirumala and was completed between 1626 and 1633.¹² It is now a market for textiles and household goods. The hall, which is almost 100 metres long, is reached by steps flanked by balustrades with vigorously posed yalis. Its broad central aisle is flanked by piers carved with portraits of the Nayakas and their queens. Carvings at the eastern and western extremities of the hall represent horses and yalis with riders on the outside faces of the piers, with major deities on the inside.¹³ Further east, beyond the Pudu mandapa, Tirumala's an unfinished Raya gopura is more than twice the dimensions of any other gateway at Madurai, measuring 174 ft by 117 ft. The base itself is 54 ft in height and had it been completed it would have been one of the tallest in the country. It was begun in 1654 but was not destined to be completed.¹⁴

Two and a half miles north of Tiruchirapalli is Srirangam, an island formed by the two branches of the river Cauvery. It is famous for its Ranganatha temple, the largest of the Dravidian temples, and is dedicated to Vishnu in his recumbent form. Unlike the Madurai temple, this has only one sanctuary, an ancient structure small in size and architecturally insignificant. As we see it today with its seven concentric enclosures, twenty-one gopurams, bazaars and residential colonies laid out within its walls, it looks more like a township than a temple. While the sanctuary dates back to about the 11th century, the surrounding enclosures and the pavilions inside were put up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The sanctuary is a square apartment of no great architectural merit and the cella within has the unusual quality of being circular, resembling a Chaitya hall. Of the thirteen gateways which lie axially to the main shrine at least six are notable for their size and workmanship.

Architecturally, the finest part of the temple is the "hall of thousand pillars" situated within the fourth enclosure. Its pillars are carved of granite monoliths, a stupendous undertaking which

impresses one not only by its size but the quality of craftsmanship. The horse court is the best part of this pillared hall. Within the third enclosure are to be found the Garuda mandapa which is another beautiful pillared hall, and adjacent to it is the Surya Pushkarani, a covered pond named after the sun. At the northern end of this enclosure is the Chandra Pushkarani, the moon pond. The second enclosure has a covered court with pillared pavilions.¹⁵

Belonging to the same period and style, but much smaller in size is the Jambukesvara temple at Srirangam situated about a mile away from the great temple. It has four concentric enclosures of which the two inner ones have covered courts. Although not comparable in size to the Ranganatha temple it far surpasses it in the beauty of its architecture.¹⁶

Another well known example of this style and of the same period is the Ramesvaram temple. This multi shrined temple complex consists of two main sanctums like Madurai Minakshi temple, one for Lord Ramanatha and the other for his consort Parvathavardini. It has three enclosures. At present it stands out as a vast complex with massive structures, enclosed by a 6 metre high compound wall, which surrounds an area of 13.6 acres of land. The compound wall measures about 259.150 metres from east to west and 197.10 metres from north to south.¹⁷ By far the grandest part of the Ramesvaram temple is the pillared corridors which surround it. They extend to nearly 4000 feet in length, the breadth varying from 17 to 21 feet. Their height from floor to roof is about 30 feet. The pillars, about 12 feet high each, are enormous blocks of granite, richly decorated and well proportioned. Set close to one another, they run along the entire corridor. The perspective presented by these richly carved pillars running uninterruptedly to a length of nearly 700 feet is a breath taking sight. The devoted patience of thousands of skilled craftsmen and the labours of many more apprentices which have gone into this stupendous structure is a testimony to the religious fervor which characterized the builders of the sixteenth century.¹⁸

Equally venerated and no less remarkable for its architectural merit is the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. This temple consists of a number of structures apart from the main shrine.

Although these were put up at various times as structural accretions to the main temple, they retain a surprising element of symmetry in plan, and functional unity in their disposition. The centre of the large enclosure is occupied by the sacred tank around which other structures are grouped in an orderly manner. The 'hall of the thousand pillars' which the temple is famous was built in the 17th century. It consists, as elsewhere, of pillars carved out of granite monoliths. The finest part of this temple, however, is its porch which consists of fifty six pillars, each eight feet high. They are all delicately carved. The stylobate on which they rest is ornamented with gracefully carved female figures in various dance poses.

A few more comprehensive examples of the later Dravidian style are to be found, among other places, at Tiruvarur, Tiruvannamalai and Srivilliputtur. The original shrine at Tiruvarur dates back to the ninth century and its deity has been the subject of praise in innumerable compositions of great poetic excellence produced by the saints of Tamilnad. The temple consists of twin shrines dedicated to Siva and his consort parvati. They are placed side by side in a cloistered court and three concentric walls enclose the entire complex of structures. The three storeyed eastern gateway, built in the 18th century, is the finest part of this temple. Here we see the pilasters, the sunk recesses, the rearing hippogryphs and the pillared niches enshrining sculptured images employed to maximum aesthetic effect.¹⁹

Thus, tanks, pillared pavilions, towering gopuras, and concentric compound walls are found in larger temples which have religious significance in Tamil Nadu. They are included in the temples of Madurai, Srirangam, Chidambaram, Tiruvannamalai and Srivilliputtur. The other temples are more or less repetitions of the same style with minor variations. Tanks, pillared pavilions, towering gopuras, and concentric compound walls are the main characters of this period. The temple at Srivilliputtur is famous for its massive gopura which is nearly 200 ft. high. It is built in thirteen storeys exclusive of its barrel shaped roof. The style of Nayaka features emerged to indicate that the architectural excellence reached its zenith during the 16th to 17th centuries.

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THE HEROIC TRADITION OF MALABAR; A STUDY BASED ON VADAKKAN PATTUKAL.

K. Dhanya

Introduction

Heroism is courageous and valorous activities of heroes and heroines. An action is said as heroic when there is something of challenging, dangerous and more over a common man or a woman does not dare to do. Mostly such actions are not done for their wellbeing instead for the benefit of the poor and ordinary people. Egotism, modesty, courage, patience are some of the qualities of the heroes and heroines. In the book 'The cult of Theyyam and hero worship in Kerala' 'hero' is described as "who either dedicated their lives for a noble cause or who happened to be martyrs"(Kurup, KKN,(1973)2000:) We, Keralites have a great tradition of heroism especially, northern Keralites. And tradition can be said as "cultural continuity in social attitudes, customs, and institutions". Present paper is an attempt to study heroic tradition of Malabar through one of the important and famous folklore genres, folk ballads, especially, 'Vadakkan Pattukal'. And it is also examined the present society's concept of heroism. The word 'vadakkan pattukal' is a composite of two Malayalam words 'Vadakkan' and 'pattukal' which means 'northern' and 'songs' respectively. Vadakkan pattukal are songs which are rendered in the northern part of Kerala, popularly known as 'Malabar' which includes

Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanadu, Kannur and Kasarkode districts which are lying in between western Ghats and Arabian sea. It mainly includes Puthooram pattukal, Thacholipattukal, and Ottapattukal. And 'Vadakkan pattukal' is believed to have been formed after the reign of 'Perumals' and before the arrival of 'Portugese'. There are so many studies which have been conducted on 'vadakkan pattukal' theme, but on this particular subject so far no studies have been conducted. And hero/ heroine admiration goes on now itself as like before or something more than that of yesterdays, so that the study is relevant even in the present scenario.

Methodology

Most part of the paper is prepared by using secondary data, folk ballads especially Vadakkan pattukal. And primary data have been used for conducting a comparative study on heroism with present society.

Results And Discussion

The heroic tradition of Malabar has been examined through the folk ballads of the heroes like *Aromal Chekavar and* Thacholi Othenan, and heroines *Unniyarcha and *Poomathai Ponnamma. As folklore is a mirror of the existing condition of the society, every social aspects of

the society is reflected in the varied folk genres, like folksongs, folktales, folk ballads, folk paintings etc. Here, some of the characters of Vadakkanpattukal have been taken to analyze the social values which were versed in that time. So through the ballads of the above mentioned characters it can be understood the reason for the people's admiration of them. The following are some of the important characteristics of people's worship of the certain people.

1. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Physical appearances of the particular people make them admired by all. There are so many references in Vadakkan Pattukal about the physical qualities of heroes and heroines which is one of the attractions towards them. The following are the important features of physical appearance by which many are attracted to it.

1.1. Beauty

Beauty is one of the factors of attraction to any person. As far as 'Vadakkan pattukal' is concerned there are so many delineations of the male and female protagonists. But the yard sticks of the beauty are very different from that of today's. The complexion of heroes as well as heroines is said like 'vayanadan manjal muricha pole' by which it is meant the color of turmeric we get when it is cut. This is the symbol used in almost all characters to portray the sense of complexion. Unniyarcha, Aromal chekavar, Thacholi Othenan had been said to have these attribute of beauty. The scurfy chest men is another element of handsomeness, which is explained whenever the elegance of heroes are described. Toe to head of the heroines are well portrayed in these ballads. Aromal Chekavar and Thacholi Othenan have been described to be very handsome because of having a great scurfy chest. The following lines describe that fact (Achyutha Menon, Chelanattu, 1935:155-156)

"Karirulkotha mudiyazhaku
panchami chandranodocha netti
kunjimukhavum cheriya kannum
thaththamma chundum pavizhapallum
kannadikotha kavilu random
shanku kadanja kazhuthazhaku
cheppukadanjoru thoomughavum

marathu mampulli poonchunangum
alila kothoranivayarum"

And heroes' preparation before going to fight is also described (Achyutha Menon, Chelanattu 1935: 156-157) and it went like

"Veeralipetti thurannu vachu
noottonnumulamulla kacheduthu
thengodu chutti pidichondeettu
kacha varinjangu kettunnallo
veerali pattu eduthuduthu
sindoorapottume thottu vegam
valum palisayum kayyilayi"

Almost every part of body which are included in the list of the features which affect the elegance of a hero/ heroine. Even the heroes' hair, forehead, face, neck etc. have been shown similitude to dark light, moon, mirror, and conch respectively. And of the heroines, every parts of the body have been explained and compared to certain objects like silk, sun rays, pillars etc. And the makeup scenes of heroines also have been sketched in vadakkan pattukal. For example the ballad 'Unniyarcha koothu kanan poya katha' (Achyuth Menon, Chelanattu,) explained the way a female protagonist making her look better.

"Chandanam urasi kuri varachu
kannadi nokki thilakam thottu
peelithirumudi kettivachu
anjanam kondaval kannezhuthi
kunkumam kondaval pottukuthi
kasthoori kalabhangal poosunnundu
meyyadapetti thurannu vachu
ezhukadalodi vanna pattu
pachola pattu chuliyum theerthu
pookkula njari vachudukkunundu
kottappadi vacha ponnaranjan
meetheyazhakinnu poottunnunde
ezhuchuttulloru ponmalayum" (Vadakkan
pattukal, Page no: 28-29)

All female characters in the ballads have been portrayed with a sense of sexuality. Poomathai Ponnamma has been obviously shown with a tinge of sexuality in the explanation of her beauty in the famous ballad titled 'Poomathai Ponnamma' (Panikkotty, MK, 1999:84) and the lines go like this

"Valanjum koyi kettiya poomudeente
churanjulloru chelu karukaruppu
pottillanetti puthumanetti
pattola pattilhelinja netti
kannorilam painga cheenthu pole
kavilu karinchola pattu pole
karikooty thechellarayi vacha
kathiron kanikanum kunjipallu
kili kothichundintadivarathe
kali kandal thambayi thenolikkum
mula vannu munnaram kavalayi
adivaram ponthayyachodupole
varayum varakkettum vallikkettum
arayum arakkettillakkikkettum"

The present society also consider 'beauty' as a factor of attraction, and it is found that 80% people give importance to the 'beauty concept' but the rest give importance to confidence, problem solving capacity.

1.2. PHYSIQUE

Physique is another factor of physical appearance, a person who had great physique was admired even got attention on those periods also. It also became a matter of attraction and worship which they had attained or had got genetically. By the physique it could be judged how powerful they were looked like. In order to show the strength of the heroes it is often described about the physique of the heroes. For example the fight between Thacholi Othenan, the hero of 'Thacholi pattukal' and Payyanadan Chindan Nambiar, a famous Kalari teacher in Thacholi Pattukal, said to be the master of 18 *Kalari is portrayed in the same. It is said about the duel between these two people, a duel is a fight between two persons, and one has to win here even by finishing the other. And 'duel' was used for making decision on any debated issues or for solving any kind of problems between two groups or two persons. 'Duel' is fixed between those both parties and the winning team could

execute their decision. It is said that the Malayalam proverb 'Kayyookkullavan karyakkaran' (Survival of the fittest) is emerged from this tradition. Here, in the fight between these two great powerful persons went long hours without seeing any of the two's victory. At last Thacholi Othenan won the duel by applying the last and the very important technique of the martial art, Kalaripayattu, 'Poozhikadakan', a trick in Kalaripayattu, martial art which is not taught normally to the disciples, was taught to Othenan Kurup by his teacher Payyampilly Chanthu. This says about the strength by which the person sustained his heroism. Besides this, Aromal Chekavar of Puthooram pattukal' is also said to have such a physique by which the strength of that person could be calculated. To some extent present society consider the physique of the heroes.

1.2.1. MASCULINITY

Masculinity is always referred when it is discussed about heroes. The word masculinity can be described as "the quality of being masculine" and 'masculine' means "having the qualities or appearances considered to be of typical of men; connected with or like men". And whenever heroes are considered the 'masculinity' can be said as hegemonic masculinity, which can be defined as "having such characteristics as dominance, chauvinism, violence, aggression, virility, mental toughness and strength" (Yaghoubi, Roya, 4) When it is described about Aromal Chekavar, Thacholi Othenan and most of the heroes it is seen that the facial expressions of these personalities have been depicted like furious. And their style of walking and sitting has been metaphorically expressed as thunder, lightning etc. (Panikkotty, MK, 1999). As it is stated above there are so many situations which show the above said attitude of man in Vadakkan Pattukal, for example in the ballad 'Kudakumala Kunjikannanumayulla Othenante Porattam' the lines like "ente thadiyenikkormmayilla, Uyirinum pedi enikillallo" (Achyutha Menon, Chelanattu, 1935:152), which describe the fearlessness, vigor etc of the male protagonist of this ballad. The aggressive and violent attitudes of the heroes are justified like saying "vigorous" or "masculine".

2. MENTAL STRENGTH

It is another important quality which a hero or heroine is required to have. Though a person is powerful and who is not very brave is of no use with his strength. Mental strength can also be said as decisiveness, valor, bravery, capacity to take decisions at the right time etc. The following are the important features by which the mental capacity of a hero can be understood, and those which are seen in the heroes and heroines of Vadakkan Pattukal.

2.1. BRAVERY

Daring personality is another quality of heroes and heroines, which can be seen in the hero and heroine characters of Vadakkan Pattukal. For example Thacholi Othenan at his age of sixteen challenged the great Kalari teacher, Payyandan Chindan Nambiar for a *Poythu. And there are so many situations where Othenan is advised like he had been just sixteen and Chindan Nambiar was 42 and challenged such an experienced and dangerous personality, who had won many fights in his entire life. But without bothering such pressures he moved on and fought and won against that great man. Aromal Chekavar also did such great daring jobs like accepting the *Ankam challenge for settling a dispute between two chieftains, in which the one would surely lose life, it is meant that one had to win over another by finishing the other. And the winner team's idea would be permitted to execute. Another feature which is accompanied with bravery is leadership quality.

1.2.1. Leadership

It is a peculiar strength of the hero characters, the willingness to take up any of the challenging and dangerous activity. Even for informing the objection on any ideas or going on with the risky factors in their life. In Puthooram pattukal Unniyarcha, though a woman of that particular period fought against the scoundrels on the Nadapuram town who always did many problems to the women passengers who walked past through the same. It is obviously because of the courage she had and her readiness to fight against the ills in the society. And it is described as when she was stopped and insulted by those people she answered them with her *Urumi (Damascene blade).

2.2. Decisiveness

It is a quality which the heroes and heroines must have in their life. There are number of situations in Vadakkan Pattukal, in which these hero characters' determination can be understood. Poomathai Ponnamma was assured to give many gifts like jewelry, food, land for her submerge to the fleshly wish of the landlord, but she refused in all the way she could and that resistance made her life very troublesome. She withstood even when she was charged of defloration.

3. Moral Values

Moral values are part and parcel of one's character. The moral value of a person can be judged by his/ her actions, words etc. The heroes would not fight with an armless man, and those who fell down in the midst of fight, the opponent were not used, applied any physical force towards the enemy.

3.1. Truthfulness

It is one of the great moral values. There are so many contexts in Vadakkanpattukal which discourage the habit of dishonesty. The characters which are mentioned here are part of honesty and who fought against dishonesty through their life. For example Poomathai Ponnamma of 'Poomathai Ponnamma' titled ballad fought against the frame-up, which was prevailed against her, though she had to give her life for that allegation, it could be understood to everyone that who had been the corresponding false coin. And Puthooram Pattukal, also always stand up with honesty, one of the character of the same is said to have been called as 'treacherous Chanthu' (Chathiyam Chantu). The deeds of his made the others address him so. From this it can be understood the importance given to this idealism.

3.1.1 Keeping Promises

Being a man or woman of words was a very important aspect as far as a hero or heroine was concerned in those periods. Words were considered as valuable as their life, and there had been no need for agreement with signature from the person who once informed their willingness to do something. Promises had been kept even at the risk of their life. For example Aromal Chekavar of Puthooram Pattukal was asked whether he could fight an Ankam in which the problems between two chieftains had to be

solved, many people who were associated with the ruler assembled at his house for his acceptance of the duel, means his word. This decision of Aromal Chekavar terrified many of his close relations like his wife, Kunchunnooli, Sister Unniyarcha etc. and tried to dissuade him from the duel, but he moved on with his assertion.

4. Stands for social equality and justice

Those who fought against inequality and injustice in the society were admired. They always stood against establishments, and stood for social change. Questioning against the social injustice is referred in the Vadakkan paattukal, such as caste system. Present society also gives much importance and respect to those heroes or leaders who always work for social justice and equality.

5. Potentiality

It is a remarkable attribute of heroic personalities. Unniyarcha's ability in Kalaripayattu is explained in the ballad 'Puthooram pattukal'. And some of the fighting scenes of the heroes like Thacholi Othenan, Aromal Chekavar have been sketched, it is said like, a person who fight with number of people is reported like heroic, and a person who can fight with the most dangerous animals like elephant also can be seen in Vadakkan Pattukal. A hero who fights and defeat 310 people at a time, and one who fought against 42 people have been mentioned here. Now a days the heroes of film are worshipped because of this factor, 99% of heroes are supermen who fight against number of people and can do magic which is in favor of the ordinary people and against the wrong and guilty people and things.

6. Martyrization and deification

There are some hero/heroine characters that had to give their life for any particular causes, and in most of the cases these happened through traps or through wrong ways. For example it is believed that Aromal Chekavar of Puthooram Pattukal was trapped to death by Chanthu, he was not defeated in the right way. And Poomathai Ponnamma, a heroine in the Vadakkan pattukal was punished for a false allegation against her, which caused her death led the people of her corresponding community worship her as a deity of their clan. In the ballad

itself it is treated her as a goddess, for example (Panikkotty, MK,1999:)

"Poomathai ponnamme ente daive

thelinju vilayadoo daivaththale"

The above said lines clarify that the corresponding clan of 'Poomathai Ponnamma' worshipped her, and the lines say that 'oh, the almighty, Goddess Poomathai Ponnamma, Kindly be with us in all our ventures'. Deification of the heroes/ heroines is the extreme level of hero worship. Thacholi Othenan is also deified by the people, and there is a shrine at Thacholi Manikoth, Vadakara, where Othenan was believed to have been lived and 'Thira', a ritual performance, is conducted every year on Malayalam month, Kumbham 10.

Martyrization plays an important role even in the heroic worship of the present society, for example the the 'Onchiyam martyrs' of Vadakara, Kozhikode still live in the hearts of the locale people as heroes. Because they were shot dead on 30 April 1947, for standing with the ordinary people, more clearly for having an accurate standpoint against feudal system prevailed in the society in those periods, which was considered to be a social sin. Another personality who found to be as heroic is, TP Chandrasekharan, after his death even a party has been evolved as a honour to him, though he is not widely accepted. Even the great strength of our nation, Indian Army has given us such heroes a lot. They lost their life because of protecting the whole nation from the enemies not for personal benefits, so their sacrifice made them adorable and heroic.

Discussion

Though these facts about heroes have been depicted in the ballads, most of the heroes had extra marital affairs in those periods. But mostly it was considered as an attribute for both the hero and to those whom he had affair with. It could be found that there are some attributes of the heroes/ heroines which are not considered as with the same spirit as before, for example, the role of women in the present society, the characters like Unniyarcha are not well accepted as before. Because the 60% men and women community do not accept such a character like Unniyarcha, alleging not having 'womanhood', 'unruliness'

Conclusion

As far as a hero or heroine is concerned the characteristics above mentioned like Physical appearance, mental strength, moral values etc. have been considered now itself. Hero worship has its root in the Sangham ages itself, the 'hero-stones'(Virakkallu) which had been the honors for the soldiers' who lost their lives in the battle field, in those ages, and which are said to have had a detailed description including the achievements theirs (Kurup, KKN,(1973)2000: 37). And Vadakkan Pattukal is obviously has a number of heroes who are very famous in the

entire Kerala itself, and the certain part of life of some of the heroic characters have been filmed like Unniyarcha (1961), Palattu Koman (1962), Thacholi Othenan (1964), Othenante makan (1970), Aromalunni (1972), Ponnapuram kotta (1973), Thacholi Marumakan Chandu (1974), Thumbolarcha (1974), Kannappanunni (1977), Thacholi Ambu (1978), Kadathanattu Makkam (1978), Palattu Kunjikannan (1980), Kannappa Chekavar, Oru Vdakkan Veeragatha (1988), Puthooram putri Unniyarcha (2002) etc. These all justify the capabilities of the heroes/ heroines of 'Vadakkan Pattukal'

End Notes

1. "Cheeru kulichu chamayunnallo kannilu randilu mayyum thottu mudiyum minukki ketti olu abharana petti thurannu vachu kunkuma pottu thottondittu veeralipattumeduthuduthu nagapadam pinne pulinakhavum cheeru eduthu kazhuthil ketti mothirameduthu viralilittu hastha kadakan kaikkumittu ella chamayavum chamanju Cheeru Pokunnundomana KunjiCheeru" These are the lines which are taken from the 'Vadakkan pattukal Vol 1', subtitled 'Othenanum Chathoth Cheeruvum'(Page No:27) describes about the ornaments the heroine above mentioned had been wearing and the cosmetics used for having a beautiful outlook.
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CULTURAL TOURISM IN KERALA: AN OVERVIEW

Divya Dhanan

Introduction

The cultural tourism is an essential part of tourism industry in general, since it depends on the cultural legacy of the Kerala society. It includes visiting cultural heritage sites that involve archeological, heritage; urban and rural places, historical cities, village and land marks; cultural facilities like museums, monuments, exhibitions and geographical areas, natural features with recognizing their components and potentials and resulting cultural impacts. The cultural tourism in Kerala focuses on people stories and places through interpreting the cultural scenes and shows, restoring historical structure, and recognizing the past in an interesting way. The Kerala Tourism

Development Corporation (KTDC) has focused its attention on the cultural tourism.

The cultural tourism focuses on developing cultural tourism at Kerala and developing the cultural tourism events at the archeological, heritage and natural sites with highlighting them within the KTDC frame work via the cultural tourism development program in cooperation with the concerned public and private authorities. Also, it concentrates an opportunity to recognize Kerala's cultural depth, heritage and environmental diversity.

The vision of cultural tourism is based on investment of the Kerala culture by transforming its elements, resources and potentials into vital, valuable, developmental and sustainable tourism

projects that achieve economic, social and cultural benefits.

It aims to preserve and invest cultural legacy of the Kerala with its heritage and natural components, develop the related cultural tourism and support the efforts exerted by the concerned authorities to achieve the desired objectives. Some other aims such as

- Developing the cultural and natural sites with employing them in best ways and finding attractive tourism routes among them that develop the cultural tourism and highlight the national heritage importance.
- Enhancing the cultural heritage with all possible means and raising awareness of its social, economic, cultural and tourism significance at the local and national level.
- Documenting the intangible and oral heritage at the cultural sites with demonstrating it in an appropriate artistic and creative manner that gives life these sites and make them attractive at the tourism level.
- Creating attractive tourism programme, activities and products at the cultural and natural sites that can fulfill economic, social and cultural benefits.
- Providing expertise in the field of managing and investing cultural heritage sites and opening the way for the individuals to implement development economic projects in cultural tourism fields, leading to create appropriate job opportunities, raise the individual income and support the state economy.

The most important types of cultural tourism as heritage tourism, cultural city tourism, traditions and ethnic tourism, event and festival tourism, religious tourism and creative tourism.

Heritage tourism is quite a new phenomenon on the one hand concerning cultural tourism but on the other hand its routes can be traced back to the ancient times of human history. Due to the modern trends of tourism its demand has been rapidly growing from the 1990s but especially in the 21st century. It includes material, non-material and cultural heritage sites. Material factors such as built heritage, historic memorials, architectural and heritage sites. Non-materials include literature,

arts and folk lore. Cultural heritage sites comprise museums, collections, libraries, theaters, event locations and memories connected with historical persons.

Another segment of cultural tourism is city tourism. The city tourism activity which takes place in an urban space with its natural features characterized by non-agricultural based economy such as administration, manufacturing, trade and services and by being nodal point of transport.

Ethnic tourism is another important type of cultural tourism. It is when traveller chose to experience firsthand the practices of another culture, and may involve performance, presentations and attractions portraying or presented by small, often isolated indigenous communities.

Cultural events and festivals play an important role in the formation and strengthening of cultural tourism. Event and festival tourism covers attendance of traditional or contemporary celebrations of culture, which can include music, dance, cookery, arts and sports. Such events can be may take place at the same time every year and can last from one day to several days.

Religious and pilgrimage tourism is a type of cultural tourism exclusively or strongly motivated by religious reasons. This is one of the oldest forms of tourism. It can also be referred to as faith tourism or spiritual tourism. It focuses on the viewing of religious monuments and artifacts.

Creative tourism is also a branch of cultural tourism, which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences.

The cultural tourists also divided into five categories such as the purposeful cultural tourist, the sightseeing cultural tourist, the serendipitous cultural tourist, the casual cultural tourist and the incidental cultural tourists. Cultural tourism is the primary motivation for visiting a destination and the tourist has a very deep and elaborate cultural experience. They were known as purposeful cultural tourists. The second category sightseeing cultural tourist considering cultural tourism is a primary reason for visiting destination, but the experience is less deep and

elaborated. A tourist who does not travel for cultural reason, but who after participating ends up having a deep cultural tourism experience they were called as serendipitous cultural tourist. The casual cultural tourist considering cultural tourism is a weak motive for travel and the resulting experience is shallow. The incidental cultural tourist does not travel for cultural reason, but nonetheless participates in some activities and has shallow experience.

The cultural tourism in Kerala has some positive and negative effects. The positive effects such as the development of regional culture, protection of natural habit, the highlighting of tourism region, strengthening of the local traditions and culture, less seasonal, can extend the tourism season and finally it can be an important form of sustainable tourism. The negative effects comprises culture become commercializes, destruction of environment,

investment of tourism that act against the state environment, carrying capacity problem and conflict sources.

Conclusion

Cultural tourism itself is a very complex segment of the tourism industry, both its demand and supply is diverse and versatile. It has a great significance in Kerala Tourism sector. It is based on cultural and historical resources. These resources should become attraction of existing, potential and create new tourism demand, taking into account the profile of the tourist. The government and private bodies have to focus on enhancing the cultural and heritage sources as they among the primary sources of income for the state. On the other hand we also have to collect information and identify the cultural assets and resources around the state that can be implement the tourism level of Kerala.

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VIJAYANAGARA ARCHITECTURE AND THE VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF HISTORY

Dr. T. Divya

The American historian and literary critic Hayden White in 1988 coined the term 'historiophoty' to describe the representation of history through visual images and filmic discourse. White says that historiophoty is in contrast to historiography which is the representation of history through verbal images and written discourse.¹ This shift in historical thought has received great attention at the hands of historians recently and is very much associated with the studies in visual culture. History and visual culture are perpetually linked to each other and are interdisciplinary initiatives focusing on the importance of images and

artifacts in our life. This paper is an attempt to look at how architecture serves as a means of visual representation of history.

Architecture and visual culture are inextricably related to each other. History has recorded that the relationships among individuals, interest groups, cities and nations have been defined through the architecture of the times viewed as symbols of power. Monumental structures like forts, palaces, temples, mosques and churches are visual representations of history- the history of power, authority and subjugation as Wagoner and Eaton have rightly

pointed out in their work *Power, Memory, Architecture*.² Indian architecture has evolved through ages in different regions and was generally affected by the emergence and decay of great empires and dynasties in the sub continent. This paper will discuss on the imperial ideology of a medieval South Indian dynasty – the Vijayanagara- as reflected in its architecture.

History of Vijayanagara has been a fascinating subject to the historians since 1900.³ The formation of the Vijayanagara Empire took place in the mid fourteenth century at a time when there was no single pre-dominant power or states to lay claim to the territorial or imperial power in South India. From the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries the Vijayanagara Empire spanned a vast area and incorporated diverse ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic and political groups. The recent approach towards the study of Vijayanagara is the one using an interdisciplinary method of correlating the archaeological remains or data with the reconstruction of the material culture of the period. The ruins of the city of Hampi afford a wealth of data to the historians who look at Vijayanagara from an interdisciplinary perspective comprising of the multifaceted aspects of the empire such as art, history, religion, society, economy, archaeology, anthropology and so on in understanding the questions concerning the empire. Scholars like George Mitchell, John Fritz, Vasundhara Filliozat, Carla Sinopoli, Kathleen Morrison and Anila Verghese have raised questions which are not discussed in the written sources such as the construction of ritual and cultural space and the kinds of activities that took place in these spatial zones such as the legitimization of power, the elaboration of an imperial ideology, the articulation of belief practices, rituals and expression of art, architecture, craft production and courtly styles.

Hampi, the regal capital of the Vijayanagara Empire is known for its architectural pomp and splendor. Michael Minkenberg opines that 'when it comes to the confluence of architecture and power, capital cities occupy a place of special significance. In these cities, especially in cases where they have been explicitly designed to be capitals, the architecture and urban design sponsored by the state carries an undeniable political agenda, albeit one's subjected

interpretations'.⁴ The material culture of Vijayanagara may have been largely produced by activities in which kings, members of the royal household and court and governors from elsewhere in the empire displayed symbols of authority in fact if the segmentary nature of Vijayanagara is accepted, it was only within the capital and its surroundings that the king held sufficient authority to display his power on a grand scale. Nowhere is the record of royal display more evident than in the remains of the urban core of the city, particularly in the royal centre. Here sacred and secular buildings take on a monumental expression in stone, accompanied by a richly carved iconography, architecture and sculpture seem to have no purpose other than the display of the royal power. In Vijayanagara, power and faith meet to create an architecture of power in which religion found expression in a royal architectural style represented in the royal centre. The material culture of the royal centre was created largely by the activities of kings, their nobles and the court. The presence of Chinese porcelain in the royal centre which was revealed in excavations suggests that the material culture of the royal enclosure was marked by a different ceramic culture than the surrounding hinterland. The architectural elements such as palaces, royal residences, large ceremonial platforms, ornate tanks all bespeak of a culture of royal display of wealth and magnificence. This was also the site of the spectacular festivities associated with the Mahanavami festival and hence we may say that royal power, kingly ideology and architecture blended in Vijayanagara to create the spectacle of power, with the city as the stage. The overall architecture of the royal centre at Hampi may be broadly classified as religious, military and civil.

Religious Architecture

The construction and renovation of temples marked the symbol of imperial power of the Vijayanagara. The temple architecture at Hampi especially the royal shrines constructed under the patronage of the *rayas* (rulers) reflected the imperial vision and élan of the empire. The title adopted by the rulers i.e. *Chera Chola Pandya Sthapanacharya* itself suggests that Vijayanagara imperial self image was predicated upon the implied continuity with the earlier historical dynasties of the region. Secondly at the level of monumental architecture, the *rayas*

deliberately adopted the Chola and Pandyan paradigm of architecture. Anila Verghese puts it "The Vijayanagara polity, by adopting the Chola Pandya paradigm as the imperial idiom of temple architecture, revived the *gopura* structure after a hundred year gap in its construction and made it a pan South Indian feature of temple architecture, spreading across the whole of Tamilnadu and much of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka".⁵

The construction of the *gopura* in major temple cities replicating the pattern inherited from the Chola tradition became an aspect of the imperial ideology of Vijayanagara particularly during the early Tuluva period. Three storeyed *gopuras* were frequently experimented with at Hampi (see illustrations Fig. 1). These structures include the Ramachandra temple, Virupaksha temple and the celebrated Vithala Temple. Further multi storeyed *gopura* structures were constructed at Srirangam, Kalahasti, Chidambaram, Ahobilam, Kanchipuram, Melukote and Tirupati. The construction of *gopuras* along with the elaborate hundred and thousand pillared *mantapas* were architectural expression of royal power. The Hazara Rama temple at Hampi is an important monumental representation of the imperial ideology of Vijayanagara. "This temple was a forum for encompassing the ordering ways of worshipping Rama in the interest not only of worship but also of constituting the king's material and symbolic claim to rulership."⁶

Making donations to the temple deities was another way in which regal wealth was displayed. Alexandra Mack has argued that during the Tuluva period there was a substantial increase in the flow of endowments to important shrines such as Tirupati temple.⁷ Gifts of money, land or income from land were invested by the temple to provide a continuous source of income. Probably the most enduring evidence of such gift giving is seen in the construction of temples throughout the empire, these monuments often recorded their donors in stone inscriptions. Particularly impressive were the towered gateways and associated high enclosure walls erected by the Vijayanagara kings throughout the empire. The temples at Kanchipuram, Kalahasthi, Tirupati and Srirangam are examples.

Military Architecture

During the Vijayanagara period the display of military strength was an obvious expression of

royal force and might. At the capital there were usurpations, invasions and the rulers kept a formidable centre of infantry, cavalry, elephants, artillery and a palace guard. The structures related to this military force, fortifications, defensive gateways, stores, treasuries were also indicators of royal might. While the Vijayanagara was always continuously at war with the Bahmani Sultans to the North, war was not entirely sectarian. The expansion and maintenance of the empire required military expeditions against lesser Hindu rulers to effect their subordinations. According to Portuguese observers, the king maintained an army in the city that partly consisted of Muslim mercenaries. These mercenaries were probably housed in separate quarters of the city. As well as, horses and animals used in war and barracks for troops, there were stores for weapons, food and loot. Particularly imposing is a monumental elephant stable consisting of ten domed chambers symmetrically arranged in a row with a central tower (Fig.2) . The architecture of the stables has combined Islamic and Hindu forms to create a unique Vijayanagara courtly style. Several carved panels in the royal centre depict foreign supplicants in front of seated royal figures, troops bearing arms sometimes parade behind. Particularly informative are the panels carved on the outer walls of Ramachandra temple compound in the middle of the royal centre. Here elephants, cavalry, foot soldiers, dancing women and musicians process towards royal figures seated in temple like pavilions. On the basement of other civic and religious monuments, panels of elephants and horses – both symbols of royal power are carved (Fig.3)

The king's capacities as a warrior is also through his hunting expeditions displayed on the sides of a platform associated with the Mahanavami festival (Fig.4). It often involved martial elements. These expeditions displayed the organizational capabilities of royal leadership. Panels showing military and hunting episodes occur in successive registers. Figures of wrestlers are carved on the most important gates of the city, Mahanavami platform (Fig.5) and the compound walls of the Ramachandra temple. One large building near the elephant stables may have served as an arena for athletic contests. Such contests communicated the strength, skill and combativeness of those who served the king.⁸

Vijayanagara was frequently attacked by the armies of the Deccan Sultanate and was besieged several times, although never successfully. Vast fortification protecting the city particularly its urban core convey the military strength of the ruler. Here is found an extensive series of defensive features – bastions, elaborate gateways and look outs. Hampi is mentioned as Purapampa in a song by Purandaradasa – a Kannada poet of the 16th century – who was aware of this urban nature of the city.⁹ Hampi had defensive fortifications which displayed the military strength of the kingdom. Adam Smith observes “Fortifications not only reflect the power of authorities of a community but are themselves fundamental to that power. It would not only have demonstrated power but would have been a source of power itself that local elites responsible for such structures could draw upon to legitimate themselves”.¹⁰

Civil Architecture

The civil architecture of Hampi known for its buildings of public utility include structures like pavilions for public ceremonies, water management through aqueducts, tanks, water ponds and wells. An inscription of 1521 A.D mentions the gift of a reservoir to Ramachandra Temple by Krishnadevaraya which served as a building of public utility. The Bazaar in front of Virupaksha temple used to be a centre of thriving commercial activities and bustled with local and imported goods and produce. Foreign travelers like Varthema and Abdur Razak have described the king of Narsinga (Vijayanagara) as the richest of all they have ever heard spoken of and compared the realm of Vijayanagara ruler to that of Rome.¹¹ Agriculture flourished and bazaars bustled with fresh produce. It is known that the word market itself is originated from the Kannada word ‘Marukkatte’ a platform for selling commodities – which later on evolved as market in English language. The Kannada word Marukkatte itself originated at the Bazaars of Hampi, six centuries ago. Hampi bazaar streets can be considered as one of the first attempts seen in Indian building history to provide organized retail space at a city level. The Hampi Bazaar in front of Virupaksha temple is 717 metres long with each stone mantapa having two or more halls. Some even are multi storeyed with staircases.¹² These bazaars also supported cultural activities like fairs, festivals, music and arts. The work of George Mitchell and John Fritz

and their team has led to the detailed investigation of the royal city of Vijayanagara in which imperial ideology was wedded to architectural exuberance. They divided the city into two parts a) Royal Centre b) Sacred Centre with a wall running on a North South axis including the two spaces. George Mitchell writes “courtly architecture in the Vijayanagara period is also a statement of imperial ambition”. Large palaces whose ruins have been excavated embellished with ornate tanks fed with water from an elaborate water distributive system from the river Tungabhadra, spectacular platform where the king sat in royal display to his *praja*, all bespeak of an imperial architecture.¹³

The Vijayanagara rulers were also adjudicators of disputes and upholders of Dharma. The king and his officials conciliated disputes in one of the columned halls in the palace. Within the royal centre the remains of a large structure with hundred columns known as king's audience hall was the centre of this royal activity. Significantly this monument faces on to a large public entry court: behind are platforms and courts associated with more guarded courtly activities.¹⁴ The buildings of public utility such as pavilions, markets, ponds, tanks, wells became an integral part of the life of the residents providing them a platform to interact, relate and congregate. The architecture at Hampi has played a vital role in integrating the public and private activities of the society and has been one among the many languages which expressed the élan of a regime. Imperial cities everywhere pride themselves as the centers of the universe. *Roma Eterna* or Eternal Rome was the myth on which the imperial history of the Roman empire was founded. In the case of Vijayanagara, the American anthropologist John Fritz has advanced the claim that the city was a ‘cosmic city’ in that it was aligned with the cosmos with the city itself as the axis mundi with a sacredness that inhered on to the king himself. In the case of Vijayanagara with its clear delineation of space which divided into a royal centre and a sacred centre Fritz states that “capital was not merely a setting for ritual or a precipitate of social action; rather urban form at Vijayanagara embodied the principles and relationships that constituted the authority of the king”.¹⁵ Architecture has thus played a vital role in the visual representation of imperial ideology and Vijayanagara architectural splendour at Hampi is a striking example.

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FOLK DANCES: IMPACT ON CULTURE IN TAMIL NADU

R. Durga & Dr. K. Vijaya

Introduction

Dances in India comprise of varied styles in the country. Different forms of dances have originated in various parts of India based on local tradition.¹ Dancing has been an expression to symbolize the inner feeling of joy, sorrow, anger, elation and esthetic emotions adding to its richness of Indian culture.² Indian dances are broadly divided into classical and folk dances. The classical dances of India are spiritual in content, but the folk dances of India, which are not only spiritual as well as religious in content but the main force behind these dances are the celebratory mood.³ Indian folk and tribal dances are products of different socio-economic set ups and traditions evolving over the ages.⁴ The village folk dances are performed for passing time and to create the power of concentration. The group dances build up unity and goodwill, which develop social harmony and render best services to the society. These dances play a prominent role in their faithfulness, religious rites, expressing gratitude to God, aesthetic satisfaction in exposing the talents of the dancer and also as a seasonal festival.⁵ Hence, this

paper intends to analyse the folk dances and its impact on Tamil Culture.

List of folk dances of Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu has some dance forms relating to various deities and rituals. These celebrated forms of folk dances are still enjoyed by people with great interest and enthusiasm.⁶ The traditional dance forms are many in number and they are authentic in their own way. Most of the folk dances performed today involve number of dancers moving elegantly in circles (Kummi, Sevai Attam), square (arrangements of dais or stage), and line formations (Oyilattam, Thappu Attam, etc).⁷ This research paper discusses the following folk dances which are popular.

Devar Aattam:

There are references to this dance form in Sangam Literature as 'Munther Kuravai'. It was the privilege of the chivalrous men to perform in front of the chariot of the King. The dancers identify themselves as the descendants of the cowherds who were under the protection of Lord Krishna. They dance this to the accompaniment of the musical instrument

Urumi, used exclusively during this dance performance. The legendary belief is that this dance of the Sevass originated to appease the Rudra Tandavam of Lord Shiva. Hence, it is rightly termed as 'Devara Attam'⁸

Karagaattam:

It is a traditional village folk dance in praise of the Mari Amma (Rain Goddess) and the Gangai Amman (River Goddess) performed by men and women with a decorated pot balanced on their heads. It is categorized into two forms- *Aatta Karagam* and *Sakthi Karagam*. While *Aatta karagam* moves from its basic purpose since it is performed to entertain the masses, *Sakthi karagam* is strictly performed to hail the Goddess of rain. Traditionally originated from Tanjavur, it also includes songs and acrobatics like dancing on a rolling block of wood, up and down a ladder etc., balancing the Karagam on their heads.

Kavadi Aattam:

This is a very old dance and is practiced by carrying a Kavadi (a long bamboo stick resembling a bow like structure). This stick is balanced on the shoulders and special lyrics are composed and sung while traversing the entire distance on foot. Supported by *Pambi* and *Naiyandi melam* (two double-reeds Nadaswaram) the Kavadiaattam is performed by worshipers of Lord Muruga. It is often performed during the festival of *Taipusam*.

Kummi:

The term gets its name from the word '*Kummai*' which means to dance with clapping hands to a rhythm, accompanied by songs in popular tunes. It is danced for ten consecutive days, during the Maari Amman and the *Kaanum Pongal* festivals. It also marks the celebration of the initiation of young maidens, a custom that is observed even to this day in the international households. There are varieties of Kummi dances - *Viral thattu* is the striking of fingers, *Ullangai thattu* is the striking with palms and *Muzhankai thattu* is played by striking the elbows.⁹

Oyilattam:

It hails from Madurai, Trichy and Coimbatore and is also famous in Ramanathapuram and Theni region.¹⁰ Initially

performed only by men folk, Oyilaattam gained popularity in the last two decades, which prompted even women folk, to perform with men. Dancers standing in a row wearing ankle bells sway in rhythmic steps in a row to accompanying music. Typically, the musical accompaniment used is the Thavil. The performers tie colourful handkerchiefs to their fingers which add to the overall splendor. Mainly performed at village festivals, Oyilaattam basically describes the great epics of Ramayanam, Mahabaratham and also Lord Muruga's history.¹¹

Poikkal Kudirai Attam:

It is also called as Dummy Horse dance dating its birth about four thousand years before. In the period of 'Silappathikaram', it was named as '*Marrakkal Koothu*', both male and female dancers perform this dance and they convey puranic stories and also some historical events.¹² It is lively performed to please the village deity, Ayyanar.¹³ A dancer gets into the dummy figure of a horse's body. The dummy is made of some lightweight material and the cloth at the side's swings back and front covering the legs of the dancer. The dancer stands on wooden legs, which gives typical sound of hooves of a horse. Holding naked swords or whips, the dancers move rhythmically to the accompanying music.¹⁴

Paampu Aattam:

Other important folk dances of Tamil Nadu include the *Paampu Aattam* of the Southern region where young girls who wear specially designed costumes resembling snake's skin.¹⁵

Since snakes are worshipped in many parts of Tamil Nadu, this dance is considered to be an important dance. The dancers often lie-down on their back and move on the floor emulating the movement of a snake. They also intimidate the viewers by using their hands to shape the hood of a snake.¹⁶

Figure 1: the list of Folk Dances of Tamil Nadu

1. Aali Aattam
2. Amman Koothu
3. Anuman Aattam
4. Badaga Aattam
5. Bommalaattam

6. Brindavana Gummi
7. Gummi
8. Irular Aattangal
9. Kaalai Aattam
10. Kaamaata
11. Kaaman Eripu Aattam
12. Kaavadiyattam
13. Kai Chilambaattam
14. Kannan Attam
15. Kaniyaan Aattam
16. Karadiyattam
17. Karagaattam
18. Karuppayi Aattam
19. Kokkalikattai Aattam
20. Kolaattam
21. Konangi Aattam
22. Korathikali Aattam
23. Kothar People Aattam
24. Krishnaattam
25. Kuravan Kurathi Aattam
26. Madu Aattam
27. Marakaal Aattam
28. Mayilaattam
29. Modiyaattam
30. Oyilattam
31. Peyaattam
32. Pinnal Kollattam
33. Poikkal Kuthirai Aattam
34. Puli Aattam
35. Raja Rani Aattam
36. Saamiyattam
37. Sakkaiyaattam
38. Selaakuthu Aattam
39. Servaiy Aattam
40. Sevaiy Aattam
41. Silambaattam
42. Surul Kathi Aattam
43. Tappaankoothu
44. Thaatharaattam
45. Thappaattam
46. Thevarattam
47. Thodar People Aattam
48. Vainthanai Aattam
49. Vazhiyaattam
50. Veerapathrasami Aattam
51. Vethala Aattam
52. Vurumi Komaaliyattam

Impact of folk dances on Tamil culture:

In this busy world bustling with activities, tension and responsibilities, people need to relax themselves. Dance, music and drama are great entertainments which make them enjoy

these performing arts and ease their tension. Tamil Nadu is flooded with various artists performing arts especially folk dances.¹⁷ But in the course of time, these arts have been affected by historical changes. Nationalist Movements at the turn of twentieth century led to cultural revivalism where various dances came to be viewed as national heritage and defined as 'folk' or 'classical'. There have been a lot of changes in Tamil Nadu due to welcoming growth in music, dance and drama. Yet, simultaneously these traditions were being radically altered by new modes of cultural productions.¹⁸ The social stigma attached to the dancers, musicians and dramatists have slowly changed due to various reasons. The lower strata of the society have been continuing on these folk forms.¹⁹

Folk dancing is important for mental illness, especially in gaining new skills, in collaboration with others and in competition, in a wider sense of physical activity, it also builds a healthy social relationship.³⁸ Folk dances have evolved to cleanse the house and village, afford protection from calamities and assure good crops. As entertainment, folk dances were performed for the pleasure of local and visiting dignitaries;²⁰ folk dance also seems to be one of the most influential mediums of communication though the government and educational institutions depend heavily on technology to reach out the masses to spread the message on social and health issues.²¹ In the past, foreign scholars had undertaken study tours from one place to another to do research on folk arts but now, some research scholars in Tamil Nadu are immersed in research on arts.²²

The performing arts and artists attract the urban people and in turn they also get urbanized, their dress and make-up also follow some modern styles. Sadly, some of the children of these folk artists refuse to follow their family profession and instead take up to formal education and vocation.²³ This in turn creates a vacuum in the field, with the arts slowly diminishing away. This impact is felt both by urban and rural people. The elegance, beauty and commonness of folk arts have gone a long way in bringing positive changes in the society. These folk arts have been responsible for sustenance

of ancient tradition, and act as the link between the past and the present.

Conclusion:

Folk dances serve as a form of cultural memory, collective identity formation, and resistance to hegemonic structures of power for subaltern communities. Even in the midst of tragic events such as natural catastrophes, social difficulty and political oppression, folk dances continue to enlighten and uplift the spirits of participants and audience, providing testimony to human resiliency and the transformative power of creative expression. Folk dances are performed in group and also individually for popularity and sheer entertainment. Majority of these dances are still in existence in Tamil Nadu even today. Performance of a folk dance by artistes is a feast for the eyes of its viewers besides the foreign tourists.

The common issue the folk artists face is in putting the crowd to witness their show, for most of the folk arts, women and children form a major part of the audience. But the advent of television and cell phones has kept them occupied in their homes rendering in turn the artists jobless on many occasions. They also felt that the government support for them is very minimal or in some cases non-existent. Certain art forms enjoy the patronage of temples and these artists are occupied on special occasions and festivals. Art forms like Karagattam and Oyillatam seemed to be pretty inclusive in mindset for they are performed by transgenders. The artists do a commendable job in raising awareness on social issues both within the country and abroad. In a nutshell, most of them fear that their art would die a slow death due to lack of support from the government and public alike.

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NUANCES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE: THE URBAN SPACE OF HYDERABAD DURING SIXTEENTH CENTURY

K. Fahad

The perception of culture has always been moulded with the question of power. It seems no longer plausible to accept culture as something shared by all members of a society. Rather, it is considered as something constituted through differences of class, gender and ethnicity. In fact, heritage is understood as a product of selection by the society. Cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artefacts and the intangible attributes of a group or society that is inherited from the last generations. Cultural heritages are mainly classified into two — “tangible” and “intangible”. Here the key focus is on tangible cultural heritage of medieval India with special reference to the architecture. The ruling elite of medieval India had opted the urban spaces as their seat of power, transferring a large set of power into these urban spaces by resorting to architectural processes as a language of dominance. The paper aims to see the images and symbols constructed in the realm of the sixteenth century Hyderabad in the minds of the people for the purpose of facilitating and legitimizing the use of these urban spaces and structures for serving multiple political and ideological interest of the Qutb Shahi state. It endeavours to examine some crucial shortcomings of the existing historical research on art and architectural history of medieval India.

“Architecture is the knowledge about how to go about using houses and mansions for cover and shelter. This is because man has the natural dispositions to reflect upon the outcome of things which must protect their community by surrounding it with a wall to guard them. The whole thing thus becomes a single town or a city. Not only this, architecture is also needed when rulers and people of a dynasty build towns and high monuments. They try their utmost effort to make good plans and build tall structures with technical perfection so that architecture can reach its highest development.”¹

The development of the discipline of medieval Indian architectural history have been traced back from the colonial writings of the mid-nineteenth century. The colonial writings were largely employed on methods like classifying people and attributes through

censuses, surveys and ethnographies, the publication of histories and gazetteers, surveys of archaeological sites and monuments, the establishing of routines and standardising of practices etc. The studying of architecture in colonial India with a comprehensive archaeological survey of ancient sites and monument pioneered by Alexander Cunningham, and then by H.H. Cole who extended the map of Cunningham’s explorations.² The establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1784 made institutional advancements in Indian antique research. The earliest studies were basically into two theoretical framework: on the one hand, explores and surveys of Rennell, Buchanan³ and Mackenzie⁴ interested in ‘objective’ reporting and the plotting of sites; on the other, William Jones and others wanted to link the history of India with early centres of civilisation in the light of the biblical theory of creation.⁵ In 1861 with the establishment of Archaeological Survey of India and Alexander Cunningham as Archaeological Surveyor, extended his working career till 1885, witnessed a systematic expansion of field archaeology. Cunningham’s surveys made available the topographic details of a very large number of Indian sites over an expansive territory. He contributed significantly to the growth of a holistic understanding by producing couple of work on theme.⁶

The early examples of indigenous initiative in the field of architectural history comes from the reformist intellectual of Delhi, Sayyid Ahmed Khan. In 1847, he published an extensive description of the monuments of Delhi, *Asar as-Sanadid* (Vesitiges of the Past).⁷ Which was very much in the traditional mould of Indo-Muslim histories, lavishly praised the cultural diversity of Hindustan. Historical and topographical writings of as Ali Akbar Beg’s *Sair al-manzil* (in Persian) a topographical account of the principal buildings of Shajahanabad, or a similar account of Agra (Akbarabad) had influenced him in the second edition published seven years later.⁸

Another important figure in this milieu, James Fergusson made the first systematic and comprehensive historical study of Indian

architecture from a colonial perspective. From the time of his earliest writings, Fergusson demarcated his approach to the subject of architecture from that of archaeologist surveying sites and monuments. Fergusson evolved a systematic typology of structures on the basis of their stylistic component, from which he proposed to study the evolution of styles. He not only compiled the first illustrated history of Indian architecture but also evolved a system of classification of buildings, which remained the only tool for architectural surveys to his successors for many years.⁹

The early nationalist reactions to colonialist architectural history was an attempt to contest the forms of colonial prejudices. Colonial terminologies such as 'barbarity' or the notion of 'backward decline' were now critiqued. Nationalist interpretation adopted different methods like privileging 'Hindu' traditions. These sort of writings began to be linked with the search for myths of origin, which might furnish the credibility of the nation intact. Nationalist writings mainly employed the colonial materials and included the structures relatively neglected in the colonial writings, such as the monuments built during the reign of Aurangzeb and Sher Shah and the late Mughal architecture.¹⁰

Concomitantly, the nationalist scholars often attempt to provide key meaning to a structure by selecting the building single outed, were identified as Hindu, Buddhist, Jain or Muslim. At one level of analysis, the choice of these elements were associated with the personalities of patron: the architecture of Akbar's reign would reflect on his generous, liberal and dynamic personalities. Thereby, the adoption of sandstone as building material during his reign considered as a predominance of Hindu elements in Akbari building constructions. Shajahan's pleasure-loving and more 'effeminate' character has been considered so, because of his passion for marble as a building material and floral forms of décor. Aurangzeb's orthodox character have been explained not only as a decline in patronage but also an 'Islamisation of the Mughal Style'.¹¹

The writings of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy registered a progressive shift on Indian architecture from the investigation of 'influence to that of 'iconography' or 'inner meaning' of architectural form. He argued, to study

architectural forms from a technical or functional perspective alone: the 'significance' of those forms were dissociable from their structural character. A temple was more than a simple place of worship, its forms stood for an image of the cosmos; the enactment of rituals was built into its spatial organisations and structures.¹²

Medieval polity, economy and religious cults became a major theme of many historical writings of 1960s and 1970s. For a long time the destiny of the historical research on medieval India was determined by the historians generally designated as 'Aligarh School'. The collective writings of these scholars made a significant breakthrough in the realm of historical research on medieval India by introducing structural factors and employing the quantitative methods of analysis, which effectively countered the 'communist approaches' to the study of Indian History.¹³ The historians of Aligarh were largely employed within a Marxist framework which approaches cultural practices as 'superstructure' that 'reflected' the ideological programme of the ruling elites, and the study of architecture became cornered in their writings without being paid much attention.¹⁴ In many of their writings, culture was understood as close to the approaches of nationalists, the notion of a 'peaceful synthesis' of the traditions of Hinduism and Islam.

The historiography of Indian architecture made a clear departure from late 1970s onwards along with the new academic establishment in the west. It began to apply the critical strategies for interpreting various artistic genres. Thereby, the historians of medieval Indian architecture in this milieu are explicit about the need to contextualise the form of study, to enable an understanding of the architectural styles within the conceptual framework of the visual traditions and socio-political settings within which they were produced. Most the historical writings in these trend were highly influenced by the Panofskian principles of iconographic and iconological analysis.

Erwin Panofsky was among the earliest art historian who understood art beyond the conventions of formalist aesthetics. He put forward the notion of 'cultural meaning', a meaning which went beyond the details of architectural style or even artistic intension, be it the patron or the artist, to a range of broader

intellectual and cultural configuration. Iconography and iconology were two primary analytical categories which enabled the location of artistic creations within a 'spatial-temporal realm' or context.¹⁵ The iconography of a work implies a set of attributes or signs whose meanings are derived from artistic as well as textual sources; defining and locating the meaning of symbolic form within a particular tradition and tracing the way they evolved over space and time, this is one of the ways of contextualising a work of art. The notion of iconology also needs an equal historical approach that conceives of the visual arts as part of a larger 'universe of culture', a system of meaning connecting artistic creations to a broader correlate of perceptions and the representations, for example taste, conception of space, religious experience, and so on.¹⁶ Panofskian method of rhetoric analysis of architecture has been adopted by many of the scholars to study the mediaeval Indian architecture.

Historians of mediaeval Indian architecture in this realm, such as Ebba Koch, Michael Meister, Wayne Begley and Glenn D. Lowry have employed more or less a systematic reading of building and their visual programme by looking at traditions of representations, and the evolution, borrowing and reworking of forms, motifs and symbols to understand the meaning transmitted by these structures.¹⁷ The study of Wayne Begley's on Taj Mahal is a masterpiece on Mughal architecture in this paradigm. He critiqued the existing literature on Taj which viewed it as stylistic tradition of building of royal mausoleum from Timurid to Mughal architecture. Begley considered it as a narrow approach and insufficient to understand the symbolic meaning of the monument. Employing a wide variety of sources- Sufi treatise, cosmological diagrams, painting, plans and manuscripts scattered around the globe, he interprets the apocalyptic imagery that runs through the Quranic inscriptions on the gateway and the tomb suggesting that the monument was conceived as a vast allegory of the day of Judgement beneath the Divine Throne.¹⁸ This in turn, enabled him to recover Taj as 'an allegorical significance going far beyond its literal funerary function'.¹⁹ Ebba Koch's studies marked the connections between architecture and monarchical ideologies from another vantage

point. She problematized the question of sources and borrowing of motifs and symbols from one tradition and their relocation within another context. She explained the manner in which the European forms were integrated, and in the process transformed in Mughal architecture, primarily during the reign of Shajahan. Koch's studies on baluster column in Mughal architecture, viewed as the changing fortunes of a particular motif of European art which became accessible to the Mughals through engravings by Flemish artist brought by Jesuits to the Mughal court as an aid to evangelisation.²⁰

Begley and Koch underlined the role of Mughal art in ideologies of imperial rule by enterprising the reign of Shajahan as their area of research, a reign considered to be the emperor's own involvement in proliferating the architectural activities in a high degree. Such works are very useful to understand the dynamics of Mughal architecture with the process of state building and consolidation of an imperial system. Especially, the writings of Koch, invites historian's attention to those political and cultural factors within which the aesthetic production is inscribed.

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,²¹ Henri Lefebvre,²² and Edward Soja²³ 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.²⁴ These studies traces the human

thought behind the repeated modification in the landscape. Michel Foucault, who saw power as being inscribed in space, argued that power in society could be achieved through an analysis of control over space.²⁵

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 the case of sixteenth century Hyderabad, a politically charged urban centre, the urban processes grew up around a political seat. In fact the parameters to understand the spatial process in medieval Hyderabad are entirely different. The process was closely associated with ideologies of power and culture. The Qutb Shahi's of Golconada/Hyderabad had utilised their buildings and structures as a major tool to perpetuate and facilitate the various political and commercial interest of their state. It has been employed by analysing the continuous reshaping and redefining of the city following the foundation of Qutb Shahi dynasty.

Hyderabad lies in the Deccan plateau of the Southern Peninsula of India which is considered as one of the oldest rock systems of the world. These gneissic rocks are 2500 million years old. Golconda Fort, the seat of Qutb Shahi dynasty, was once a mere hillock. It was so popular among the graziers that it took the name 'the hillock of the graziers'- *Golla Konda* in the local language of Telugu. The fort was built about thousand years ago, during the Kakatiya rule (1000-1321 CE) which had its capital at Warangal. In the fourteenth Century Golconda fell under the Bahmanis. They divided their territory into *tarafs* or province, each under a governor. Tilang was one among them, with headquarters at the mud fort of Golconda comes under the governorship of Sultan Quli, (hailed from Hamdan, North West Afghanistan) during the reign of the thirteenth Bahmani ruler, Mohammed III (1463-1482 CE). In 1518 when the Bahmani ruler, Mohammed, died Sultan Quli consciously renamed the Golconda fort as Mohammed Nagar and made it as his capital for an obvious reason, to legitimate and facilitate his new rule from Bahmani decentness. It is very visible from the architectural activities organised by Sultan Quli in Golconda, which had more resemblance with that of Bahmani. The finest example can be found in the inscription of *Jami*

Masjid located outside the fort of Golconda which engraved the name of Mahmud Shah of Bahmani dynasty. The expansion of the city and the construction activities were been carried out by his successor Sultan Ibrahim Ali Qutb Shah IV (1543-1550). A major construction commenced by him was the Pul-e-Narve²⁶ (Puran Pul/Old Bridge): on the one hand the construction was made chiefly with a view to afford easy egress and to avoid the risk of life which attended the nocturnal visit of Prince Muhammed Quli to Bhagamathi, a courtesan, who resided in the village of Chichalam, on the other side of Musi river. On the other hand, it was built near to Caravan Sarai where the traders could easily carry the free flow of goods at the both ends and the sultan could extend his imperial edifice to the other end. Another public work of Ibrahim was to excavate big reservoir called Hussain Sagar. Its circumference was 11.6 miles and its dam was one mile long. This was done by Hussain Shah Wali, the son-in law of Ibrahim.

The expansion of the city and the construction activities reached its zenith during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah V (1580-1612). In 1591, Muhammed Quli founded a new city named it as Bhagnagar²⁷ and ordered the construction of the Charminar.²⁸ By 1592, the nucleus of the city was ready and the court has moved to the new city. When the foundation of the city was being laid, Sultan Muhammad Quli gave precedence to the building of Char Minar which is a prototype of *Taziya*²⁹ or *Taboot* (representation of the tomb of Imam Hussain). Thereby the Sultan succeeded in incorporating the status groups and power groups of the city into his nucleus of power. Over a period of time, in the process of re-defining the social content of the city, the power groups and the status groups of the city of Bhagnagar also changed. The Shia nobility became powerful groups and eventually became co-sharers of power in urban realm. After the death of Bhagmati, under pressure from the nobility for a quite Islamic name, the name of the city had been changed to Hyderabad. It eventually lead to construct new images and symbols about the city of Hyderabad in the minds of people, which had been used by the Qutb Shahi state for the purpose of legitimizing their state building.

The act of production, of bringing a structure or complex in the monarchical system of

medieval India, itself was a significant act with patronage inscribing a great amount of power exercise in it, not only the economic and political, but also equally in an ideological manner which has the potential to create utopian ideals of monarchy to stimulate the powers of 'God'. The architectural remains of these societies/ Qutb shahi's were a product of patronage, royal and noble with ideologies of power. Plans, design and iconic forms of such structures drew

upon the tradition and languages of high culture and subsequently forming it as a part of culture supported and propagated by the state and powerful institutions. Beyond doubt, to write the history of any medieval Indian architecture or the spatial process, historians will have to pay an equal attention to uses and appropriation of building and forms; the definite meaning of construction, in order to see the connections between practices and representations.

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27. Sultan Muhammed Quli's sweetheart Bhagmati, resided in the Chichalam village which is now called Sha Ali Banda and the city Bhagnagar was styled after her name: Sayed Ali Asgar Bilgrami:17.

28. Maulana Abbas, *Vide Baghe-Char Chaman*, Lucknow: 23; Sayed Ali Asgar Bilgrami: 17; The legend is that the king while out hunting was pleased to see the level land on the bank of the Musi River. The new city was built on the giridon system or resembling a big cross. There was an earlier route from Golconda to Masulipatanam in the east. A big route was constructed from north to south cutting the other route into two. The Charminar is located on its junction.
29. Owing to the outbreak of cholera the inhabitants fixed a huge Tazia in the heart of the city on Thursday, 1st Muahrrum, 999 A.H., so that it may serve as a charm to safeguard them from the epidemic, and when it subsided, the huge building of Charminar was constructed of stone and mortar at the same place; 'Tuzuke-Outbshahi'; Sayed Ali Asgar Bilgrami: 17.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY ON SHWEADHA VARAHA PERUMAL TEMPLE AT MAHADEVAPATTINAM IN THIRUVARUR DIST, T.N.

I.Guganesan

Introduction

Vishnu, one of the holy trinity of the brahmanical culture in India and is conceived with to be responsible for the universe protection. The avatars of *Vishnu* are variously given by the various authorities. In the *Varaha-Purana* we have ten incarnations which came to be accepted later, namely 1. *Matsya*, or Fish.- 2. *Kurma*, or Tortoise.- 3. *Varaha*, or Boar.- 4. *Narashimha*, or Man-lion.- 5. *Vamana*, or Dwarf. - 6. *Parasu Rama*. - 7. *Rama*. - 8. *Krishna*. -9. *Buddha*. - 10. *Kalki*, or Horse¹. The *Agni-Purana* gives the same ten. In the *Varaha* avatara, *Vishnu* is generally represented with the head of a boar, on whose tusks rests the earth, associating with the legend of lifting earth out of the cosmic ocean after deluge². With depictions of *Varaha* as the presiding deity is scarcely noted in Tamil Nadu, here an attempt has been made to document one such temple.

Location

The *Shweadha Varaha Perumal* temple is located in the village Mahadevapattinam, a Gram Panchayat in Mannargudi taluk. Its Geographical coordinates are 10°60'3"N Latitude and 79°40'1"E Longitude. It is located at about 11.4 Kilometers from the taluk headquarters Mannargudi and about 39.7 Kilometers from the district headquarters, Thiruvavur. The village derives its name from the one of the oldest temple in the village 'Sambho Mahadevar Temple'³. The temple is located within the Mahadevapattinam fort complex, near to the eastern entrance, at a distance of about 220 meters to the west of the Panchayat Civil Distribution Centre, with geographical

coordinates of 10°36'3"N Latitude and 79°24'1"E Longitude.

Myths of *varaha*

Varaha avatara has more than one occurrence in the Hindu mythologies under various circumstances and variations. According to Hindu mythology, the earth was once submerged under vast oceans by the demon *Hiranyaksha*. In order to rescue the earth, *Vishnu* took the form of a boar and dove into the great waters. Here he killed *Hiranyaksha* and carried the earth above the water once again⁴. The complexion of the *Varaha* has been variously mentioned in various religious texts, namely, *Varaha* avatar of Lord *Vishnu* which lifted the earth from waters was of dark-blue complexion, as mentioned in; *Harivamsa Parva* of *Mahabharata*: "Having a colour, similar to that of a dark blue rain cloud,..."; *Vishnu Purana*: "...dark colour of the lotus leaves,..." and *Srimad Bhagvata Purana*: "...assumed a bluish complexion like that of a *tamala*..."

Another version of this story describes *Hiranyaksha* as having a very favorable reputation in the eyes of Lord *Brahma*, the creator god. As such, *Brahma* granted *Hiranyaksha* a boon that no entity, animal, human or divine, could kill him. Having received this boon, *Hiranyaksha* began to persecute all living beings as well as the gods. He went so far as to steal the *Vedas* from *Brahma* while he slept, and then dragged the earth down into the nether regions of the universe. However, he was ignorant of an oversight that had been made by *Brahma*, who had inadvertently omitted the boar from the list of beings to which *Hiranyaksha* was impervious. When the humans and gods finally

did appeal to *Vishnu* for help in dealing with *Hiranyaksha*, he incarnated upon the earth as a boar and promptly killed the demon, after which point he reclaimed the *Vedas* and brought the earth back to the surface⁵. And again here, he was also in dark blue hue, as inferred from; *Harivamsa Parva* 3.39.14: "The slayer of *asuras* sparkled with the conch and *chakra* (wheel) like a dark blue rain bearing cloud sparkles between the sun and the moon"⁶

But, *Shweadha Varaha* as the name refers White-Boar; is manifested with epoch of the Lingodbhava, refers to that incident when *Vishnu* assumed the form of a boar (*Varaha*) and moved downwards to see Shiva's feet manifested as *Agni Stambha*, to resolve the fight between *Vishnu* and *Brahma* to prove the Supreme Being among one of them. *Varaha* is detailed with a light complexion as mentioned in *Shiva Purana*: 2.7.56-59 "And the soul of the universe, viz. Narayana assumed the form of a white complexioned boar spreading hundred *yojanas*...". The famous tamil hymns compilation Nallayira Dhivya Prabandham also mentions, 865: "...the lord with a boar's face who is radiant as the rays of the sun..." and 795: "...Oh Lord! You assumed white colour in the *Krita Yuga* (as *Matsya*, *Koorma*, *Varaha* & *Narashinga* avaratars)..."⁷

Legends of shweadha varaha Perumal temple

The *Shweadha Varaha Perumal* temple of Mahadevapattinam shares a familiar legend of Sri Bhu Varaha Swamy temple of Srimushnam, Cuddalore. *Hiranyaksha*, the son of *Diti* and *Kashyap* and a younger brother of *Hiranyakashipu*, desired to be a paramount power. To accomplish his desire, the *Asura* rolled over Mother Earth and got hold of it into the underworld, from where he predominated. *Bhooma-Devi* (consort of *Varaha Perumal*) took on penance looking for help from Lord *Vishnu* to protect her from the mighty *Hiranyaksha*. Lord *Vishnu* adopted the form of *Varaha* (wild boar), moved into the *Pataloka* and defeated the demon *Hiranyaksha*. As his final wish, *Hiranyaksha Asura* implored to Lord *Vishnu* to turn his head in a particular direction. Therefore Sri Bhoovaraghaswamy's head is figured turned in the direction of the *Hiranyaksha* to the South⁸. A unique characteristic of the moolavar (presiding deity) in this temple is that the face, in the form of a wild boar, is turned to the South,

while the body assuming the shape of a human is facing the western direction.

The *Maha Mandapa* is entered by a step-less entrance to the left of the *Garuda* shrine. And local legend is that, this step-less entrance is supported directly by *Bhooma Devi*. These step-less steps are referred to as "Mumukshu Steps" and the subtle "Sathya Steps of Truth". The "unseen" steps used by Lord *Varaha Narayana* for transit from earth to *Patala Loka*. After emperor *Mahabali* gets the unimaginable blessing of the touch of Lord *Vamana Maha Vishnu's* Lotus Feet on his head and is sent to reside in "*Patala Loka*". As requested by *Mahabali*, Lord *Maha Vishnu* gives him daily *darshan* in *Patala Loka*. The subtle pathway from planet earth and *Patala Loka*. The "Mumukshu Steps" of *Sveta Varaha Perumal* Temple, this subtle pathway and the subtle connection to the daily *darshan* given by Lord *Narayana* to Emperor *Mahabali*⁹.

Another Local legend revolves around a tunnel in the *Ardha Mandapa* which is said to connect the Fort of Mahadevapattinam to the Tanjore *Maratha* fort; with evidence of several attempts from the locals attempting to scale the actual length of the tunnel, only to fail. Owing to safety it has now been covered with barb wire fence. Some villagers also argue it as an underground safe place to hide the royals and temple treasures on events of invasion. Rumors had also been around on the whitish complexion of the old *varaha* statue as it was highly precious and was sculpted out of a semi-precious stone; which led to vandalism. The statue's snout of broken off to test the rumor's authenticity and turned out not to be true¹⁰.

Architecture and sculptures

The *Shweadha Varaha Perumal* temple complex houses 5 sub shrines apart from the presiding deity main shrine which faces west. The sub shrines are, the *Garuda* Shrine which is in front of the main shrine facing the sanctum, two corresponding shrines for *Bhoo Devi* & *Sridevi* on either side of the main shrine facing east and two structures, both on the two extremes ends of southern rampart wall, with the one on the southeast to the main shrine is identified to be a sub shrine, while the other structure opposite to it seems like a *Madapalli*, or a civil structure. Furthermore the temple has only

one *prahara* to circumlambulate sandwiched between the main shrine and the *Maratha* brick cloistered *mandapa* sitting before a small surrounding rampart.

The presiding *Shweadha Varaha Perumal* shrine has an ornamental styled 16 pillared Vijayanagara-Nayaka period styled *Mukha-Mandapa*, open to its north and west, with pillars depicting images of *Krishna* playing flute, *Sthanaha Vishnu*, *Gandaberundha*, a royal portrait, *Veera Hanuman*, *Bala Krishna* with butterball, Stone Chain imitation, chariot etc. with *Vishnu's* *dwarapalakas*, *Jaya & Vijaya*; both defaced. And outside depicted is a small bas-relief of an *adhigharanandhi* in *anjali hasta*. Further inside, is a four pillared *Ardha Mandapa*, lined with 2 rows of statues, inferred to be the 12 *Azhwars* and 2 *Hanuman* statues in *Anjali Hasta* on the either side of the *antarala*. The *mandapa* is adorned with a couple of beautifully executed *jaladaras*, while the north-western corner has the opening of a tunnel lined with stone slabs. A relief of a fish is sculpted in the center of the ceiling. And on the exterior a beautiful bas-relief of *Krishna* as *Kalinga Narthana* and as *Govardhanari* postures. The *antarala* has 2 statues of *Lakshmi* and *Bhoomadevi*; facing towards the *Varaha Perumal* probably the ones which would have been inside the 2 consort shrines and on the outside is an interesting bas-relief of two dancing women and a rishi holding a *linga* amidst them, and towards a north has an additional *gomuka*.

The *Garbha-Griha* has 2 statues of *Varaha Perumal* statues, the original yellowish hued marble like stone sculpture of the *Varaha*, donated by *Raja Tukkoji* in standing posture with both the hands on its hips raising its snout towards the south. However the image is devoid of *Bhoodevi*. The statue's snout was broken by treasure hunters, since the statue was rumored to be made of semi-precious stone. So decades later the broken sculpture was kept aside inside the sanctum and a new statue was later bought for the temple from *Swamimalai*, with the similar posture of the original, except with the right hand posing *Abhaya*. The original statue can be compared with the statue of *Sri Bhoovarahaswamy* temple at *Srimushnam*.

On the exterior of the sanctum, is adorned with ornamented *Pilasters*, *Kumbha Panjara*, and 5 *Deva Koshtas* with 3 of them depicted with

stucco sculptures, the one facing the north has *Narasimha*, on the east is a an decapitated seated *Vishnu*, with his consort on his lap and facing the south is also an unidentifiable seated male god; all the sculptures being decapitated or damaged. Various reliefs are depicted along the *adhithana* including deer, boar, praying devotee, dancing women, *hanuman* etc. The *Vimana* of the temple, above the sanctum sanctorum, thickly vegetated is typical dravidian in pattern and square in plan and rises up in diminishing proportion. The *Vimana* is two storied and made up of brick & mortar adorned with stucco sculptures. The sculptures are primarily *dasavatara* incarnations as in *Matsya* facing west, *Koorma* towards north, *Rama* facing east and *Vaikunta* towards the south. Minor stories as in churning the ocean, and demigods as in *azhwars* etc are also depicted. Due to the vegetation factor sculptures are not identifiable up to the mark. Majority of the sculptures are defaced, decapitalised or damaged.

Just behind the small *Balipeeda*, and remnants of what looks like a broken base of a *Dwajasthamba*, attached to the main shrine's *upapita* is a small shrine dedicated to *Garuda*, with the corresponding sculpture inside and a well ornamented *vimana* with stucco images of the demigod depicted in standing and seated postures. The *sridevi* and *boodevi* shrines, both located in front of the main shrine, is identified to be of typical Vijayanagara styled architecture, with a very decorative granite *Upapita*, *Adhithana*, *Pilasters*, *Deva-Koshtas* and *Kumbha Panjara* with a Brick and Mortar *Vimana*, with very elaborate representation of both the consorts as stucco sculptures in seated and standing postures accompanied with their attendants, with some sculptures being damaged & decapitated. But currently both the shrines have been deserted and depict a ruined state, while their respective sculptures have been placed inside the *antarala* of the main shrine. The temple's wall is surrounded by a brick cloister with recesses for lamps.

Connected to the temple's cloistered outer *mandapa* is the typical *marathan* wagon vaulted semi-domed arched *mandapa* through which the temple is entered built of fluted brick and mortar. The *Mahadevapattinam Fort* and the *Shweadha Varaha Perumal* temple was built and lived in by *Raja Tukkoji* alias *Tulaja I* (born in 1676 CE), a

Maratha king who ruled from Thanjavur from 1728 to 1736¹¹. The opera, "*Sivakama Sundari Parinayam*", was exclusively written by Raja Tukkoji and staged during the consecration of the temple. The work has beautiful songs with notations but no musician sings it or dancer dances it¹².

Festivals

This temple had pujas on all six times a day before, but now pujas are rarely held, that to only on request. The temple has its own bronze sculpture, which is been kept at Mannargudi Rajagopalaswamy temple. It is brought here only on occasions of special pujas¹³.

Other temples related to Varaha in Tamil Nadu

Mahabalipuram Shore temple complex, one of the finest examples of *Varaha* in Tamilnadu is the *Varaha* panel of the *Varaha* cave temple, with a well delineated snout the incarnation carries *Boodevi* on his folded right leg's lap, which is made to rest on the hood of *Adhishesha*¹⁴, and a similar tall panel found in the sanctum of the *Adhivaraha* Cave temple. Another depiction of *Varaha* is also seen, the avatara sculpted out monolithically to the form of an actual boar is located behind the monolithic shrine next to the shore temple. The pedestal of the *Varaha* carries 3 grantha inscriptions, "*Ranajayahaa, Shreebhaara & Narashimaha*"¹⁵. Just near to the former town is the *Nithiya Kalayana* Perumal temple, depicting a beautiful granite sculpture of a four armed *Varaha*, but carrying *Boomadevi* on his left folded leg's lap rested over *Adhishesha's* hood.

Sri Bhuvahaswami temple, Srimushnam is one of the 8 swambhumoorthi sthalams with the idol sculpted out of salagrama stone; the idol stands with both his hands placed over his hips and the snout facing up without the depiction of *devi*. This sculpture share utmost similarity with the Mahadevapattinam *Shweadha Varaha* sculpture¹⁶. Sri *Aadhi Varaha* Perumal temple, Kallidaikurichi depicts *Varaha* in a seated posture on a *padma peeda*. Gracing the devotees he faces straight while carrying *Bhoomadevi* on his folded left lap, saluting him. *Varaha* Perumal temple, Kumbakonam depicts a similar image of the former, but the four armed lord faces the saluting goddess while she faces the devotees, and is depicted seated on a pedestal carrying *Bhoodevi* on his left lap. The *Varaha* at

Peramandur *Adhivaraha* Perumal temple greatly resembles the *Varaha* panel of Mahabalipuram, bearing the goddess on his left lap, with the leg placed on *Adhishesha's* hood.

Significance of the temple

The *Shweadha Varaha* Perumal temple stands as testimonial evidence for the two attacks faced by the Mahadevapattinam fort. One by the Nizam of Hyderabad against Raja Prathap Singh¹⁷ and second by Hyder Ali against Thulajaji Bhonsle during the Second Mysore war¹⁸. The temple bears the battle scars by means decapitated or defaced sculptures, with such sight being a common enigma to most of the temples of Mahadevapattinam¹⁹.

With *Varaha* temples by itself being a rare occurrence in Tamil Nadu, the one of its kind *Sweatha Varaha* of this temple is a characteristic of its own. And by the reinstatement of the *Varaha* worship we could infer the continual allegiance towards the *Varaha* cult & the efforts of revival of Vaishnavism by *Marathas*, the lined up statues of Azhwars is one such staunch evidence. The *Shweadha Varaha* temple, though currently is in a slightly ruined state, is a splendid example of *Maratha* brick and stucco work.

Present condition

Both the *Bhoodevi* & *Sridevi* shrines on either side of the main shrine facing east are partly dilapidated & devoid of statues. And the two structures, one a shrine and another presumably a mandapalli, on the two extremes ends of southern rampart wall are fully overgrown with vegetation. The *Vimana* of the main shrine is also covered with thick vegetation making it hard to identify the *Vimana devatas*. The northeastern section of the *Mukha Mandapa* is damaged and so is the southeastern corner of the eastern wall of the *Ardha Mandapa*, which is totally dilapidated. The flooring of both the *mandapas* is undulating and slightly damaged²⁰.

Conclusion

Temples of *Maratha* reign are very scarce compared to their predecessor's contributions in the delta region, this temple being one such key evidence of the *Maratha* architectural epoch marks the southward delineation of the temple building art falling from granite back to brick and mortar construction for effective expenditure of

resources. A temple standing the tests of time and men, with such historical and spiritual background lies in tatters crying for recognition

and conservation. Hence the temples of the reign demand much scrutinized research and architectural valuations henceforth.

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MOVING AROUND THE MOTION PICTURES: A TRAJECTORY OF CINEMA THEATERS IN KERALA

K.P. Haridasn

The history of Cinema began in India in 1886, when the Limier Brothers showed moving pictures at the Elite Watson hotel Bombay. After that many foreign citizens showcased moving pictures in India, especially Bombay. They made into motion pictures many interesting incidents of Indian life. Following this businessman started producing movies. Haris Chandra.S. Batavedkar, popularly known as Savedada was one among such producer. He started in 1899 by shooting 'Gusthi', which was a common morning sight in North India in those days.¹ The shows were conducted in drama theaters. The show of moving pictures which followed drama was a matter of attraction.

In those days, cities like Bombay and Calcutta showed much interest towards cinema. Heeralal Sen, a Bengali theaterist from Calcutta

showed moving pictures after his drama show.² Later many drama theaters started showing such motion pictures in Calcutta. J. F Madan a director of motion pictures in Calcutta identified the ability of motion picture in attracting the market. He used to give away bioscope and film roles for rent. He also started an exhibition house with name 'Madan theaters.

In May 1913, Dada SahabFalke came up with his 'Raja Harishchandra'. He started a new wave when he used an Indian myth instead of Biblical stories and Shaksperian dramas, which were the usual themes of the imported cinemas. And hence he became popular as the 'Nationalist filmmaker'³. Later he came to be known as the 'Father of Indian cinema'.

The development of cinema started in the industrial city, Bombay. Many parsi theater

owners invested in cinemas. Bombay was a popular port city and this added to the market value of the city. Those who invested in drama theaters started investing in cinemas. The interest and excitement showed by people towards motion pictures as an artform paved way of identify the market and business offered by it. The Bombay theater started in 1776 was purchased by Jamshedji Jijaboi in 1835. He was a parsi businessman. Soon parsi theaters sprang up in cities like Calcutta, Madras and Lahore. It was these theaters which created the necessary cultural atmosphere for exhibiting motion pictures.⁴

The waves of silent cinema which emerged from Dadasaheb Falke, moved South India too. Madras was hub of cinema in South India. Short films were showed in different parts Tamilnadu from right from the early twentieth century. Marutha Mooppanar of Tanjaore had picturised the coronation ceremony of George fifth and it was showed in Madras.⁵ R. Nataraja Muthaliyar's 'Keechakavadham' is the first cinema from Tamilnadu. The first cinema in telugu was R. S Prakash's 'Bheeshma Prathinja', which came out in 1921. In Kerala it was J. C Daniel's 'Vigathakumaran' in 1928.

The history of theater has a special place in the history of cinema in Kerala. Theaters have to be given more importance as they are the public space where cinema is shown. The growth cinema from silent ones to talking was not just coincidence. In early days, when silent cinemas were shown, the conversations were shown written. In some theater were assigned to dictate the story line, they used to talk in beginning of the cinema as well as in between the scenes. But later, when talking cinemas came storytelling, singing, music and all came up in the screen. All these led to the establishment of theater as a public space.

Earlier in Kerala cinema was shown inside tents. These temporarily tents made tents were the old form of theaters. They show films for one or two months at a place and then move to another place. The publicity for the cinema was given by announcements made through megaphones and attracting people by beating drums⁶. Touring cinema talkies like these existed in Kerala in the earlier days. Even before the showcase of the cinema 'Rajaharischandra' on May, 1913, a person called Jose Kattukkaran

had conducted the screening of the bioscope films all over the Kerala. Poul Vincent, a British railway officer from Tiruchirappally was the one who gave a projector to Jose Kattukkaran. With this projector Jose Kattukkaran showed many touring cinemas. He showed many silent English movies. Mananchira ground at Kozhikode was one of the one of the important places in Kerala where he showed his silent movies.⁷

In the later period, when cinema became an industry, the prominence of touring cinema talkies came to an end. When the viewers increased the cinema, producers began to think about the possibilities of permanent film houses. And these instead of the old touring cinema talkies, the idea for permanent theaters came up. Such evolution of cinema theaters was surely the result of these giant increase the in the number of audiences. The popularity acquired by cinema among people. Thus, lead to the formulation of such theaters. Electricity had reached Madras by 1907 itself. Magnesium lamps in theaters were replaced by electricity. Soon in Kerala too, theaters began to use electricity.

The government had a crucial role in the shift from touring talkies to permanent theaters. Earlier, the permanent theaters were given annual license. Similarly, there were a set of rules that the permanent theaters had to follow⁸. Portable fire extinguishers, buckets filled with sand etc. were to be placed in theaters, and the operator had to check them before the shows. He also had to make sure that the auditorium had proper ventilation and there was no smoking.⁹

In 1952, cinema operators were provided uniforms by the Travancore Cochin government, in Kerala. They were provided uniforms under Government coat, so that the officers in the theaters showed up clean before the public.¹⁰ Thus the theaters found a particular place in the Kerala society. Crown theater, started in Kozhikode in 1925 is one of the oldest theaters in Kerala. British companies' like Commonwealth trust, Pierce Lesley, William Gudekar were behind the functioning of this theater. The British people in Malabar saw most of the films from this theater. It was because of the European interest that most of the screening of films were European movies. The ordinary working class including rikshaw pullers and coolies energetically respond to the cinemas culture provided by this theater.

Radha picture palace was yet another theater that came up at Kozhikode in 1925. A British flag was placed in the theatre, leading to the emergence hatred against the British and loyalty towards to the national movement. A fixed portion of the income from the theaters was given for the welfare activities.¹¹ Music concerts and magic shows were conducted in the theater after film shows. A film screened in the Radha picture palace on April 5th 1925 was about a severe earth quake that shook San Francisco, USA in 1906. The posters of the films claimed 'entertainment for u, help for the stick'. It was told that the collection of the day went to the 'Leprosy Eradication Fund'. This incident serves as an example for how cinema theaters become actively interfered in the people life.

Chitra theater established in 1931 in Thiruvananthapuram, Trissur Ramavarma theater, Gouder picture palace started in Palakkad in 1930, Jose theater started at Thrissur in 1931, New theater of

Thiruvananthapuram started in 1930, Karthikatheter started in 1941, Sreekumar theater started in 1942 were some of the early theaters in Kerala.¹²

Every art form especially cinema depicts the matters related to the life of people. The means of lively hood, transformations in life, forms of employment, family and social relations, sex and all part of this. Cinema becomes a political process which determines the values of a society and in the process, theater play very crucial role.

The cinema theaters were a new institution emerged in the public space of Kerala related with modernity and entertainment. These were private institutions and were erected with the object of profit making. These theaters played a significant role bringing people together in spite of caste, gender and religious differences. Therefore, the point of these theaters is important in the study of modern social life of Kerala.

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HEALING PATTERNS AND AFFLICTIONS: THANGAL HEALING PRACTICES AMONG MUSLIMS IN NORTHERN KERALA.

P. Hisham & A. Shahin Sultana

Introduction

Religion and spirituality has been considered as inevitable aspects of health and wellbeing. Healing as a term gained its strength since the existence of mankind. As people strive groups and religions have become a part of their life en route to a social animal. In the 21st century we all know that once faith has a major influence on an individual's mind and body every society is profoundly ruled by its own way of life known

as culture which is followed by every individual belonging to that particular culture¹.

Malabar is a region in northern Kerala lying between the Western Ghats and Arabian Sea. Islam is the most common religion majority percentage of people practices in the districts called Malappuram, Kozhikkodu, Kannur, Wayanad, Kasargodu, Palakkad and some parts of Thrissur districts as well. Kerala Muslims are entirely different from the north Indian Muslims

especially by the strong influence of traders from all over the Arabian world. Major sects among Hindus like Paraya, Pulaya, Thiyya and other low class Hindu people were converted to Islam largely from 7th century onwards. Islam said to have come to India during the Prophet's time itself, through exchanges of culture, marriage and trade². Whereas north Indian Muslims are majorly influenced by power and Sufi traditions.

Hadrami link can be found if we are tracing the roots of Muslims in the region. Many of them have a claim to the lineage of Prophet Muhammad, and the knowledge in Arabic language and religious theology has given a sacrosanct status for them, which is afterwards converted into religious leadership and mass movements even it led to the independence struggle against British colonialists in the 18th and 19th century³.

Traditional Healing practices.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO) "Traditional medicine is the sum total knowledge, skills, and practices based on the theories, beliefs and experiences indigenous to different cultures that are used to maintain health as well as to prevent, diagnose, improve or treat physical and mental illness" ⁴.

According to American Psychiatric Association, Mental illness are health conditions involving changes in thinking, emotion, or behaviour (or amalgamation of three) which is associated with distress and/or problems functioning in social, work, family activities, or daily life.⁵ Kerala is considered as a role model than entire other Indian states for good governance, Economy, Health and Development as well. Kerala model of Health care is being discussed as a role model for the country⁶.

People of Kerala even though rely upon several health care providers, predominantly people are approaching two major health care providers. Major health care provider is Allopathic medicine local people of Kerala call it as English medicine and the other health care provider is Ayurveda as it is considered as a culture in the Indian continent, its history traces back to centuries.

Yet Traditional healing practices are continuing to have a strong hold on common people. In the 21st century, traditional healers and

their healing practices constitute a vital component in the Indian health-care system. More than two-thirds of people with mental illness and their family members have a strong belief in the supernatural causation of mental illness, and this belief forces them to consult traditional healers before resorting to modern health care⁷.

Mappila Muslims of Malabar

Trade link was well known in West-Coast of India especially with Arab merchants until the advent of European powers. That linkage was a key determining factor for the origin of several ethnic communities throughout the west-coast India, especially Mappilas of Malabar⁸. As per local texts and some of the historical researchers claim Islam has reached India's western coasts which is parts of Kerala now in the 7th century itself.

Malabar was part of the princely state Madras during the colonial era, now it is a part of Kerala, districts including Malappuram, Kozhikkodu, Palakkad, Wayanad, Kasargodu and some parts of Thrissur district. Most of the Mappilas are religious converts from low caste Hindus namely Paraya and Pulaya, some of them are descendants of the Arab merchants who is been settled there later. The Muslims of Northern Kerala, known as Mappilas, were originally formed when Arab sailors and traders married local women and grew through local conversions to Islam by Arab Missionaries. The Mappilas were spread along the regions including the present districts of Kerala, namely part of Kasargod, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palakkad and some areas of Thrissur district.⁹

Islam and healing

The history of the relationship between religion and health is as long as the history of humankind. There are many studies, which have examined the relationship between religion and health of the person and how it has influenced one's life. The majority of them showed a positive outcome. In fact, faith healing, divinity in healing or healing in answer to pray has been an element of many religious traditions¹⁰. There are number of studies regarding the influence of religion on health, which has a clear cut opinion regarding the inevitability of religions when it comes especially to mental health.

Islam has a clarity in what is illness and how it should be treated, "*Mankind there has come to you a guidance from your Lord and a healing for (the diseases) in your hearts, and for those who believe a guidance and a mercy*"¹¹. *According to Islamic belief Allah is the one who created illness, and He sent down its remedy as well. Quran directs people to call for god when they are ill "And when I am ill, it is [God] who cures me"*¹²

In our local world praying for a physically or mentally ill person is something we do casually. In Islam certain positions are given to certain people which can be very much seen in the derivatives of Islamic texts. A Waliyy is one who is closer to the god, considering that many people claims that people from the family of prophet Muhammed possessed to have the power to cure or predict the reasons of any illness.

Thangals as Healers

Malabar is a region in northern Kerala, consist of majority of muslims who are having a strong Arabic influence through trade links, and travelling Hadrami saints. (Osella & Osella, 2007, 2008)¹³. People of Malabar were poor especially Muslims comparing to other communities most of them were peasants, uneducated.¹⁴ People started to migrate to gulf countries for jobs from these regions in the recent decades, younger generations are availing the benefits now a days in the form of education, better transportations, Health as well. Health seeking behaviour among the people of this region is really high which can be seen through the mushrooming private hospitals and other health institutions. Even though first resort for their problems including physical or mental problems is local religious healers, a very good percentage of the people from the region are still reluctant to approach modern medicine.

Thangals are a very influential community among Muslims, who came to India firstly at the 7th century with purpose of trade but later settled by marrying local women. In another words thangals are an endogamous community of Yemeni descent who began to arrive in Kerala, in the mid-18th century as Ulamas and Merchants¹⁵. Approximately 30 Thangal families in Kerala directly trace their origin to the prophet Muhammed and written family pedigrees

detailing each and every descendants¹⁶. Other common Muslims considers Thangals as a higher class and gives them a pious status. Similarly people from the Thangal community has been given a sacrosanct status by the people, and they are like godly like figures in the region. People seek help from them in every situation, they have been called for inauguration for their new business, they have been called for laying the foundation stone for their new house, they have been called for being the guardian of their son's or daughter's Marriage.

A personal knowledge of health and illness varies from community to community. They not only believe that the ill health is because of bio-medical causes, but there are some other supernatural causes, which makes the person ill. Additionally, there are other contributing factors such as socio-economic, political, cultural, religious and environmental factors. Similar to Murdock's 'supernatural causation', in this study too, a person in Islam is conceptualized as the combination of four interacting part which are Aqal (mind), Jism (body), Nafs (self), Ruh (spirit). According to them, all four parts should interact each other to maintain balance in the body. When this balance is interrupted, illness and disease occur.

Some of the scholars have shed light upon what type of healing is done in the settings, which can be clearly seen in the works. Mainly most of the Thangals are said to have gotten the power to heal by birth while people from the community or outside the community come to them for refuge, they suggest versus from Islamic texts, and also to recite Quran etc. Most of the treatments are based on Swalath, Dikr and Quran, substance made mainly of honey is often been given to patients. The people are always having that trust in them because they are coming from a very highly respected family. They have the stories in them told to them by their neighbours friends and well-wishers.

Conclusion

This paper was an attempt to trace out how an economically, educationally sound community like Mappilas of Malabar, who are very much aware of health dynamics tends to go for Thangal healing practices while the health seeking behaviour is very much in them. Thangals are an endogamous community who

are having a sacrosanct status among the community because of their lineage to Prophet Muhammad and the status they possess among other larger public. Muslim community in the region have struggled a lot during the arrival of British and before their arrival as well. The entire

region has witnessed the retrieval of the community for the past few decades the community is in their empowering path, by Providing Education, Health care, Power etc. Thangals are or have been in the forefronts of this empowering journey, by leading or guiding them.

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THE SUBALTERN ENVIRONMENTAL OF KALLEN POKKUDAN AND MAYILAMMA

Hridhya Sasindran

Environmentalism in India has widely focused on industrialization and modernization and its implications for natural resources and conservation.¹ Men continuously exploit his own surroundings to meet his day-to-day needs. Physical impacts resulting from accumulation such as rising temperature, rising sea levels, extreme events dramatically alter the natural balance of local and global ecosystems and infringe on human settlement.² The pattern of diseases and death exhibited in Indian health data reflect the importance of environmental factors in human health damage.³

Caste and nature are intimately and inextricably interwoven in India, yet their interconnectedness has rarely been a subject of examination.⁴ However, dalit experiences and narratives constantly underline their everyday ecological burdens in a marked hierarchal order.⁵

The main feature of dalit eco-experience is it has its own vibrancy and dynamism. Living with nature, they are constantly negotiating with, and challenging caste domination, while simultaneously articulating their environmental imagination.⁶ We have many things to learn and understand about the environment from the people who are rooted with the nature. The paper 'the subaltern environmentalism of Kallen Pok.kudan and Mayilamma' is an attempt to study the environment protection activities and struggles faced by Kallen Pok.kudan and Mayilamma. Because both of them were illiterates and came from the marginalized section of the society and became the leaders of environment struggles. Kallen Pok.kudan, a dalit farm worker from Kannur district of Kerala, mainly focused on the protection of the mangrove forests of his native place and other parts of Kerala state. And he desired to be known

as Kanda! Pokkudan instead of Kallen Pokkudan, this shows his love to the mangroves. Likewise, Mayilamma, a tribal woman of Plachimada village in Palakkad district of Kerala was the first who fought against the unlimited extraction and subsequent pollution of water by the multinational Coca Cola Company.

Mangrove plants mostly grow within the sheltered intertidal flat deltaic lands, funnel-shaped bays, broad estuarine mouths, shallow or frequently tidal inundated coast lines and the atmospheric temperature between 20 degree and 35 degree are ideal for effective growth and natural regeneration of these mangroves.⁷ The length of Kerala coast is about 560km, extending from North to South with parallel to the Western Ghat.⁸ And the coastal region of Kerala is covered with a long stretch of backwaters and a series of lagoons running parallel to the sea separated by a strip of land varying in width from a few 100 meters to several kilometers. The mixing of tidal waters from the sea and fresh water inflow from 41 west flowing rivers, create a suitable environment for the growth of mangroves in the banks of these water bodies. The mangrove community is almost a microcosm of the socioeconomic complications attend on the human use of a natural resource.⁹ The abundant growth of mangroves in Kerala coastlines has almost disappeared due to the pressure of population and the filling of the water bodies for developmental projects. Most of the industries and factories are located in the coastal regions, this always creates threat to the coastal ecology. Actually the mangrove forests creates an important ecosystem in the land by providing an unique habitat for different species of animals, birds, fishes and insects and also helps in regulating the ecological balance of the nature in many ways.

Recently the mangrove ecosystem attracted the attention of environmentalists and scientists and the government has many proposals to preserve and plant more mangrove saplings in the coastlines of the state. In Kerala, Kallen Pokkudan was the first who had realized the importance of preserving the mangrove forests before the environment activists and scientists. Due to the financial problems in the family, he had drop out of school at an early age and started his journey as a dalit farm worker along with his parents in the land of a janmi and

engaged in the communist party movements of Kannur district.¹⁰ As a member of a Pulaya caste Pokkudan had a connection with the mangroves, because the Pulayas use the mangrove plants as a source of food, fuel and medicine.¹¹

The interaction with the coastlines and the keen observation made him aware of the different functions of the mangrove ecosystem and he started the mangrove conservation activities by around 1989.¹² Even before the scientists, Pokkudan had identified the high productive power of the mangrove ecosystem and its role in protecting the coastal areas. The mangroves are extremely important in maintaining the lives in the coastal region and it stands as a coastal belt against the encroachment of the sea. The present studies proved that mangrove forests have the power to reduce the intensity of the wind but it was observed by Pokkudan much earlier than the academicians. In his autobiography *Kandalkkadukalkkidayil Ente Jeevitham* he stated that "school children walking the side of the Pazhayangadi river used to lose their umbrellas to the heavy winds blowing from the Ezhimala side so I began planting mangrove plants to reduce the intensity of the wind."¹³ Mangrove forests purify the salt water and provide nesting and breeding place to many migratory birds and marine creatures.¹⁴ Its roots protect the small fishes and prawns from the strong waves and have the capacity to prevent soil erosion to a certain extent.¹⁵ The fallen leaves of the mangroves decompose in the water and serve as food to many aquatic organism. The continuous observation and life with the mangrove forests helped Pokkudan to identify all these functions of the mangrove ecosystem much earlier. Planting the saplings and identified 22 varieties of mangroves.¹⁶ In his autobiography, he explains the struggle in finding the mangrove seeds from the mud and the river water. Because these water bodies became a place to throw the poultry wastes and used syringes from hospitals.¹⁷ He planted more than one lakh mangrove saplings in Kerala coastlines and tried to protect the mangroves as much as he can.¹⁸ As a part of the mangrove protection mission he travelled across Kerala to make the people aware about the importance of mangrove conservation. In the initial stages he had fought a long and lonely battle to

preserve the mangrove forests and received criticisms even from his own community.¹⁹ Later on, his activities made the government aware about the significance of the mangrove coastal belt. Scientists and environmentalists recognized the role of mangrove forests in protecting the coastal regions and they visited Pokkudan for collecting the good qualities of mangrove seeds.²⁰ In 2015, he started a mangrove school or kandal school in his own land to train the new generation on the importance of mangrove conservation, with the support of the state government he delivered 500 lectures and workshops mainly to the school students and local people.²¹ With the interference of the environmentalists the High Court of Kerala ordered six month of imprisonment and 2000 rupees fine for whoever destroyed mangrove plants.²² He also involved in the protest against the thermal power plant at Irinavu in Kannur district and raised voice against the quarries and sand mining.²³

The role of women and her relationship with the nature is important and crucial since she is solely responsible for the collection of water, fuel wood, fodder and many other such basic needs of the family.²⁴ A tribal eco-warrior Mayilamma showed the power of women in protecting the environment. Plachito is a small financially disadvantaged agricultural village which belongs the Perumatty panchayat of Palakkad district. And most of the people in the village are illiterate landless tribals who make their living as agricultural labourers. An unusual and unprecedented struggle for water was occurred in Plachimada for more than half a decade.²⁵ As a part of the New Economic Reforms of 1991, a multinational company established a plant in Plachimada for making soft drinks. The plant was commissioned in 2000 March and Coca Cola, Sprite, Fanta, Maaza, Thumps Up, etc were the popular brands produced in the plant. The Kerala Pollution Control Board (KSPCB) provided the permit to produce 561000 liters of soft drinks per day. The Company provided job opportunities to the tribal youth of the colony but due to their illiteracy they did not get any better posts in the Company. Moreover the plant polluted the surface water of the locality, and thereby negatively affected the livelihood of the agricultural tribals.

Mayilamma was the first who raised voice against the plant. "As I said earlier, when the Company came I did not feel that there was anything seriously wrong at first. When the drinking water started tasting increasingly bitter, we were all convinced about one thing. The water that came out of the Company was dirty and black".²⁶ During summer that year, the wells of all the farmers in the neighbourhood went dry.²⁷ Water from the bore pipe which used to flow for two hours was reduced. Because of the scarcity of the water it became necessary for them to go distant places for fresh water. When they went to fetch water it became impossible for them to work. The company distributed the solid wastes as fertilizers to the farmers and it created health problems in many of them. The burden of water insecurity and the consequent drudgery of fetching water for household use are mostly felt by the female members of household.²⁸

Gradually the water pollution and the drought became a serious issue. These all provoked Mayilamma to start protest against the plant and later got support from the mainstream environmentalists and politicians of the society like Vandana Siva, Medha Patkar, Veerendrakumar, etc and the noted environmentalist Sidha Raj Dutta visited Plachimada and refused the Padmavibhushan award as a sign of protest against government attitude to Plachimada people. The tribal population of the locality agitated under the banner of the Coca Cola Virudha Samara Samithi (CVSS) for the closure of a multinational corporate firm,

Hindustan Coca Cola Beverages Private Limited (HCBPL)?⁹ News papers and other media have played a tremendous role in drawing attention of the government into social problems and to pressurize it to take actions.³⁰ Here local newspapers like Mathrubhoomi, Madhyamam and a few TV channels pictured the Plachimada issues almost regularly. The fact that Plachimada agitation is spear-headed by members of the most socio-economically backward community of the state has won the attention and the sympathies of the world.³¹ The World Water Summit was organized at Plachimada on 21-23 January 2004 and Plachimada further shot up to international media attention.³² Finally the authorities took the issue seriously and submitted the report in 2010. On 24 February

2011, it was brought as a bill in the Kerala Legislative Assembly and was unanimously passed.³³ At last the plant was closed permanently and it remained empty with a few security guards. From these we can understand the role played by Mayilamma in making the local environmental issue as a national issue.

By analyzing the environmental protection activities of Kallen Pokkudan and Mayilamma we can understand that these movements were not supported or guided by any rigid political ideologies. But by the lower section of the society for the protection of the environment and the and existence.

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PHILANTHROPIC PRACTICES OF RAMNAD ZAMINDARS

Dr. R. Janaki

1.Introduction

Ramnad Zamindars was considered to be one of the most important one in the erstwhile Zamindari System. Many of its Zamindars were by nature, philanthropists. Philanthropy means literally "Love of Mankind". Some people used philanthropy as a way to gain recognition, prestige and power and others saw philanthropy as a way to gain favour of the gods. For maintain the social supremacy, Ramnad Zamindars followed several kinds of activities to prove their

name and fame. The Sethupathy of Ramnad spent lavishly for maintain their honour and prestige and carried out philanthropical and welfare befitting their social status. Therefore, in the present article a sincere effort has been made to highlight the philanthropic practices of Ramnad Zamindars.

2. Topography

The estate of Ramnad included the Hindu holy island city of Rameswaram, from where, legend has it that the Hindu god Rama launched

his invasion of Ravana Lanka. On the conclusion of the war and Rama's success it it.¹ He appointed a Sethupathi or 'Lord of the Sethu'² to guard the way to the island. The bridge referred to here is the legendary Adam's Bridge³ or Rama's bridge which was believed to have been constructed by Rama. This estate was located between 9 degree 6' and 10 degrees 19 east longitudes. It comprised the Southern and Eastern portion of Madura district and included the whole Bay of Bengal coast of the district. The estate covered an area of 2,104 square miles (5,450 kms) and had a population of 7,23,886 in 1901.⁴ The estate was subdivided into five Zamindari Tahsils and the district of Ramnad was constituted on the 1st June 1910. It comprises the two great Zamindars of Ramnad and Sivaganga, which formed part of the old Madura district.⁵

3. History of Ramnad Sethupathis

The Sethupathi's are a Tamil clan of the Maravar Community native to the Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga district of Tamilnadu, India.⁶ The male rulers of Ramnathapuram also bore the title of 'Sethupathi', while female rulers bore the title of 'Nachiyaar'.⁷

During the 14th and 15th centuries, the Nayak ruler Muthukrishnappa Nayak appointed Sadaikkathevar in 1605 as protector and guardian of the pilgrims to Sethsamudram. Sadaikkathevar was a loyal subordinate of the Nayak's. When the power of the Nayak kings of Madurai began to decline in the late 17th century the chieftains of Ramnad asserted their independence in the late 17th century. Raghunatha Kilavan crowned himself king of Ramnad and changed his seat from Pogalur to Ramnad close to the east coast. He erected massive fortifications to protect his capital. The British took control of the administration of Ramanathapuram in 1795.⁸

Rani Mangaleswari Natchiar⁹ (1803-1807) (first Zamindarini of Ramnad) put in possession in February 1803 was confirmed by a *Sunned – I – Milkiyat Istimar* * drawn up in almost the precise terms made use of in Regulation XXV of 1802, executed on the 22nd April 1803 by Lord Clive, the then Governor of Madras. In this year, the Permanent Settlement was made and the Rani Sethupathy bound herself and her

successors to pay to the English Government the Permanent annual peshcush of Rs. 3, 24,404-3-6. She is called the Istimirar Zamindarini in remembrance of the settlement.⁹ Since then, until the India's independence in 1947, Ramnad was ruled by the queen and her descendants.

4. Philanthropic practices of Ramnad Zamindars

Philanthropy, a religious duty, brought virtue and heightened social status to its practitioner. Religious and Cultural forms of patronage activity were especially merit worthy, and incalculable sums of money were poured into movements for the reform and revival of various aspects of indigenous civilisation.¹⁰ In Ramnad, wealth could be translated into Social Status and maximum of social influence only through patronage endeavours. They were involved in the construction and renovation of Temples, construction of Chattirams for Pilgrims, maintenance of the daily rituals in temples, celebration of festivals in the public interest and construction of schools and hostels for students. They were also known for patronising poets, Christian Missionaries establishing Tamil Sangam and other such charitable activities to maintain their social honour or Mariyathai.

A. Construction of temples

A Hindu temple is a symbolic house seat and body of divinity. It is a structure designed to bring human beings and gods together using symbolism to express the ideas and beliefs of Hinduism. In Ramnad, Ramanathaswamy temple is the most notable historic landmark of the town. Ramanathaswamy temple is a famous Hindu temple dedicated to the god Shiva, the temple is one of the 12 Jyotirlinga Shrines, where Shiva is worshipped in the form of Jyotirlinga meaning "Pillar of Light".¹¹ It is also one of the 275 Paadal Petra Sthalam Temples and is glorified in hymns by the three of the most revered Nayanar Saints (7th century Saivita Saints), Appar, Sundarar and Tirugnana Sambandar. The temple in its current structure was built during the 12th by Pandya dynasty. The temple has the longest corridor to the 22 holy theerthams of the temple among all Hindu temples in India. Each pillar is sculpted in Nayak style as in Madurai Meenakshi Amman Temple.¹² The temple is among those offering free meals under the Free Meals Scheme of the Government, which provides meals to devotees of the temple. At the beginning, Ramanatha

swamy Temple was a thatched shed. The present structure was the work of many individuals spread over a number of centuries. The pride of place in the establishment of the Temple goes to the Sethupathis of Ramnad. The contribution of the kings of the Sethupathy Dynasty (17th Century) to the temple was considerable.¹³

The second half of the second Pracaram is said to have been erected between 1647-1672, by Tirumalai Sethupathy, whose statue and that of his son Raghunatha stand by the side of the south entrance into the Amman temple honoured with garlands and offerings of betel nut and flowers. Raghunatha Tirumalai Sethupathy also built the rest of the Second Pracaram.¹⁴ The Eastern tower and Shrine of Nataraja were built by Dalavai Sethupathy.¹⁵ The Second Enclosure is ascribed to Chinna Udayar Sethupathy and his son Raghunatha Thirumalai.¹⁶ The Third enclosure was constructed by Muthu Ramalinga Sethupathi. The Sethupathi's statue and those of his two *Pradhanis* (minister) can be seen at the western entrance to the third corridor.¹⁷

The temple is therefore not the work of one age but extends over a period of 350 years and has been erected and endowed, almost exclusively by one family, the Sethupath chiefs of Ramnad. It is one of the last great works of the Hindus and the latest addition to it is the finest of all. The temple, its ceremonies and its attendant Brahmins are maintained from the revenue of 57 villages yielding an annual income of about Rs. 40,000 granted by former Rajahs of the Ramnad Zamindary.¹⁸ The temple comes under the renovation and consecration of the 630 temples planned by the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Department of the government of Tamil Nadu.

Rani Mangaleswari Natchiar endowed Chockanathaswami Temples at Ramnad and Pallimadam as well as Streenivasa Perumal Kovil at Agastiatheortham near Tirupullani. The temple at Nainarkovil and Tirugnana Sambanda Pundara Sunnidi's Madam at Madura also received the Ranees's attention.¹⁹ Rani Parvata Vardhani who endowed the temple at Nainar Kovil at Madura. Baskara Sethupadhi spent rupees two lakhs for the renovation of the temple of Thiru Uthirakosamangai, Thiruvadana and Thiruchuli.²⁰

There are numerous other temples in the estate under the management of Private persons who built and endowed them. In fact every big village had at least one temple. The largest one at Rameswaram is under the direct management of a Pandaram. The following figure shows the income and expenditure of the temples under the management of the Court of Wards from year 1873 -74.²¹

S. No.	Year	Income			Expenditure		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1	1873	1,06,218	4	6	1,12,467	12	5
2	1874	1,02,022	9	11	1,00,354	0	9
3	1875	1,19,071	6	0	1,18,148	14	7
4	1876	76,021	11	7	71,056	14	4
5	1877	76,243	6	7	78,420	2	3
6	1878	85,778	5	3	77,868	9	11
7	1879	1,11,481	3	8	96,032	8	6
8	1880	1,20,669	11	2	84,897	15	6
9	1881	1,00,563	5	5	82,128	15	4
10	1882	1,24,925	8	6	23,586	3	11
11	1883	1,53,569	8	1	1,01,757	15	1
12	1884	1,37,871	2	2	1,04,855	7	6
13	1885	1,43,882	7	6	1,15,037	8	5
14	1886	1,33,527	7	9	1,25,521	12	9
15	1887	1,51,279	3	10	1,37,455	13	8

Source: T. Raja Ram Raw, *Ramnad Manual*, Madurai, 1891, P. 80.

The Court of Wards have expended Rs 41,715-11-4 on temple buildings and 1879 Rs. 94,366 -3 - 2 in improving the irrigation works, the total maramat expenditure being Rs. 1,36,082 -3-6.²²

B. Dharmic gifts of inam lands or chattirams

The term 'Inam' applies to whole villages or small holdings, whether held entirely free of land tax. The origin of Inam tenure is very ancient. It was the tradition of the Hindu rulers to grant beneficial tenures originally known by the Sanskrit term 'Manyam' and later on by the Arabic term 'Inam' after the Muslims conquest.²³ They are assignment of land originally free of tax and later at privileged rates of assessment for the payment of troops and civil officers, for the support of temples and their servants and charitable institutions, for the maintenance of holy and learned men for rewarding public service. Inams held for the purpose of public utility which includes those held for the support of Chattirams, water Pandals, Topes, Nandavanams or Flower Gardens, Wells, Ponds, Tanks, Bridges, Village Schools and Veda Padasalai or for Schools teaching the Vedas.²⁴

During the period of Rani Mangaleswari Nachiar carried on royal aof state formation through Dharmic gift to Chattirams. Mangaleswari founded or rebuilt four Chattirams during her reign. During the following years, only two more would be built.²⁵ Her greatest charity was to return eighty – six villages, which had been taken from mainly Brahmin grantees in the late 18th century. The other Zamindar noted for religious endowments was Rani Parvatha Vardhani who endowed several Chattirams upon assuming her title after her long conflict with Muthu Chella.²⁶

From 1803 to 1889, the years for which there are records, Ramnad Zamindars gave the produce of lands of 13 villages to temples, 62 to Chattirams and two to Maths. Apart from the 86 villages of Manglewari no more lands were granted as Dharmasanams or Inam lands.²⁷ Most of the granting appears to have taken place in the first 40 years of the century, with the greatest incidence occurring in Manglewari Nachiar's reign.²⁸

C. Internal management of C.temple

Every temple has its own local establishment for the proper utilization of money and grain granted to in on account of worship and ceremonies according to the fixed scale of expenditure. The temple expenses in money may be classified under three heads.

- Regarding the preparation of food.
- Regarding the baths and ointment and worship
- Regarding lighting and contingencies etc.

The total sums allowed for temple expenses in grain and money and for temple establishment in the time of the Zamindar was Rs. 60,000. After the estate passed into the hands of the Court of Wards, the amount annually allowed for these purposes was Rs. 57,000 up to 1867. When owing to the famine the amount was cut down to nearly Rs. 30,000. This was the scale in force in year 1871. But in subsequent years the scale has been increased in proportion to the increase in the revenue and the sum spent in 1878 under the item is Rs. 56,200.²⁹

When Ramnad went under the Court of Wards in 1872, it was found that the systems of accounting had not changed. Not only the Chattirams but the entire Devasthanam establishment was characterised by a lack of clarity as to income and expenditure, with no statements of yearly transaction. Some temple accounts were missing.³⁰ to imperial officials this loose accounting and appropriation had only material advantage as its aim.³¹ It must also be seen in the context of the struggle to protect or expand royal authority. The sums mentioned in connection with Zamindari management were relatively insignificant in the context of the financing of major litigation control over temple and Chattiram accounts served as an important expression of continuing royal authority in the context of the Permanent Settlement a time when supervision over the movement of cash, as opposed to land, was acquiring new political significance in the redistributive schemes of such Indian monarchy, Ramnad and Sivaganga Zamindars argued continually that maintenance of their status required such management responsibilities and they struggled to remain managers of the Devasthanam managements when their Zamindars went under the Court of Wards.³²

5. Maintaining the social supremacy

A. Participate of temple rituals

For maintaining the social supremacy Zamindars followed several kinds of activities to prove their name and fame. Zamindars were

always eager to celebrate festivals and spent more for projecting them as superior to others. Zamindars of Ramnad yearly celebrated the Navaratri festival or festival in honour of goddess Durga for Navarathiri or 'Nine Nights'. Before conducting the celebration of Navaratri, Raja of Ramnad used to organise and participate in the celebration of Kali and Ayyarnar temple festivals in Ramnad.³³ Both Navaratri and Pongal a harvesting festival were celebrated in the 'Raja Sabai' or Royal Darbar of Ramalinga Vilasam, Palace of the Sethupathi. During the festivals of Navaratri and Pongal there was a special meeting held by the zamindar with the head of the temple, Zamindars' officials and Brahmins. These official and others were offered fruits, cloths and sheep to Raja of Ramnad based on their economic status. Ramalinga Vilasam was the main palace where Raja of Ramnad announced the royal gifts, information to the public and officials. During the darbar the place was used to offer food, *Prasadam* and coconut.³⁴

B. Flourishment works of Sethupathis

Baskara Sethupathy was an exceptionally enlightened Zamindar and his brother Raja Dinagara Sethupathy were English educated rulers. He was the only person who had western education among other Zamindars. He was to donate the land and money for patronising poets, establishing school and other such charitable activities.³⁵ The Sethupathis of Ramanathapuram were great patrons of Tamil literature. He supported by the cousin of Pandithurai Thevar to form the fourth Tamil Sangam at Madurai in 1901. There is no doubt that during the first quarter of the 20th century. Madurai Tamil Sangam had a very notable record of work to its credit in the field of promotion of Tamil learning and research, a record that has not been beaten by any other organisation till date.³⁶ Baskarasami Sethupathi initiated and built the Sethupathi High School at Madurai.³⁷ The most important was that of financing the visit of Swami Vivekananda reached Ramnathapuram in 1882 and met the then scion, Bhaskara Sethupathi at his palace, and stayed there as the official guest for eight days.³⁸ Initially, it was Bhaskara Sethupathi as the Raja of Ramnad, who had earlier decided to go to US to attend the Parliament of Religions as the representative of Hinduism. But after conversing with Swami

Vivekananda, he decided that Swamiji was the right person to attend the conference. Vivekananda decided to accept the Raja's offer. When Vivekananda returned from USA after his grand success, as he was about to land at Rameshwaram, the overjoyed Raja was waiting with his entourage to give him a royal welcome. Because of the achievement of Swamiji and as well as the regard, the Raja had for him, he bowed his head and offer, by jumping from the boat to the land. Then the Raja unyoked the bullocks from Vivekananda's ceremonial chariot and pulled the conveyance manually with his entourage, till it reached his palace. Later he erected a victory pillar of 40 feet height with Upanishad expression *Satyameva Jayate* to commemorate the success of Swami Vivekananda at Chicaga.³⁹ The rulers of Ramnad were secular minded through they were devoted to the cause of constructing temples and maintaining the existing ones. They were tolerant towards other religions and they expanded strong and solid support to other religion like Christians. Muthuramalinga Sethupathi denoted Tenjiendal village of Ramnad taluk to the Church.⁴⁰ The Sethupathis' lived with a principle of generosity and bravery. They gifted and donated most of their property for the welfare of the people. They actively participated in promoting the Spirituality of the Nation.⁴¹

From centuries back, the Sethupathis have been prominent donators of property to government, trusts and for welfare of people. Some of the buildings such as Collectorate of Ramnad, Ramnad Government Hospital, and Archaeological Research centre/museum and so on...are some on the list.⁴²

6.Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, it could be concluded that in the field of Philanthropy Process of Ramnad Zamindars many changes had taken place because the Act of Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Act) Act XXVI of 1948 removed all sources of their wealth and today, the former Sethupathis are just well – known prominent magnates of Tamil Nadu. But, the Sethupathis Philanthropy activities by running Sethupathy Mannar Memorial Trust by current generations.

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URBANISATION AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN COLONIAL MADRAS CITY

Dr.J. Jeyakumari Gnanadeepam

From the nineteenth century, urbanisation resulted in the development of towns. In order to respond the growing migration of people and urbanisation norm scale to the towns, the Government was faced with the challenging task of maximizing Madras contribution. The British administration created many facilities in and near Madras, much of which depended upon its capacity to mobilize support of the people. To

achieve this end, the Government put into action the entire administrative machinery at its disposal. With the arrival of more company servants in cities different steps were taken to tackle the requirements of accommodation the migrants in their respected places. For this purpose it initiated steps taken by legislative and administrative process. In addition the government took next step for planning by

another agency called municipal administration, which did much concerned work in every town.

The municipal administration of the type of English borough had its origin in the Residence Towns. In the later part of the seventeenth century each of the Company's presidencies had an English town centre with Indian suburbs, and were at first directly governed by a president and council. In 1687 the East India company got a charter from James II giving them power to establish a corporation in Madras. Accordingly a municipal corporation, the first of its kind in India under the British rule, was introduced in Madras in 1688. The Municipal Government of Madras was on the model of Municipal Corporation. When the Company's Charter was renewed in 1793, an attempt was made to introduce municipal institutions for the Presidency towns. This Charter was thus the first act to clauses for the statutory enforcement of municipal administration. This act enabled the Governor-General to appoint Justices of Peace for the towns, who were mainly the senior servants of the Company in the beginning; but gradually they included prominent citizens of the town both Indian and British and they were given power to appoint scavengers and to repair the roads by collecting a tax on houses and lands.

Meanwhile, the Bengal Act X of 1842 provided the first formal measure of municipal organisation in this Presidency. But the Act did not operate properly. Since the act empowered another committee to impose direct taxes, the people did not like it. India Act XXVI of 1850 allowed the establishment of municipalities in mofussil towns. In Tamilnadu the provisions of this Act came to be followed. The Act authorized the government to introduce municipal administration in any town. Yet the inhabitants were desirous of having better provisions for constructing, repairing, cleaning, lighting or watering public streets, roads, drains or tanks or for the prevention of nuisance for improving the town in every manner. In the beginning, the municipal authorities began levying taxes in the municipalities and towns. This Act gave the right to the municipalities for the voluntary levy of roads and cleaning the streets. This Act also failed for the reason of imposed taxes against people. So the government never enforced this Act.

After the Council Act of 1861 the system of municipal government was remodelled by the local legislatures and the history of the municipality in each Presidency town was different. The Report of the Royal Army Sanitary Commission in India in 1863 on the unhealthy condition of the towns led to the passing of a series of acts which authorized provincial governments to establish municipal governments in towns and entrust them with the functions relating to lighting, sanitation and water supply. With the passing of the Town Improvement Act, Madras No. X of 1865 municipal committees with non-officials was introduced.

Further on account of the increased population, economic resources and consequences of industrialization of Madras, the British Government decided to develop municipal government in the Presidency. It has been a model for other municipalities in the State for introducing many welfare and novel schemes in the civic fields.

The migration of people in response to the needs of a rapidly evolving industrial and commercial economy was reflected in the growth of cities. As more people congregated in urban centres, the town evolved into a large city and finally into the metropolitan region. For an ever-increasing number of people, the city determined the way of life⁹ Step by step, as the city developed, life for the urban dweller became increasingly complex. Gradually as the individual found himself incapable of dealing with the problems around him, municipal intervention took place on his behalf and the thrashers of sustained and rapid urban growth was modified by the introduction of many municipal services. Protection of health, facilities for education and provision for the citizen's welfare were assured. So rapidly did these functions develop that today these are regarded largely as common place. Further attention is usually drawn to the physical aspects of the city, its streets and highways its play grounds and green space, its schools, hospitals and other buildings¹⁰ The first attitude of the people towards municipalities was one of dislike and they always pointed out the advantages of increased taxation. It was also a period of great distress caused by the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. The feeling of passive opposition generally felt at first, quickly because of

indifference and there were few indications that the people felt a real interest in the operation of the Council.¹¹ It was found that the Council just collected the taxes arbitrarily fixed by the Government and did not show any enthusiasm for providing lighting and water supply. Further, the Voluntary Education Cess Act IV of 1863 had practically remained a dead letter.¹²

Lord Mayo's Resolution of Provincial Finance in 1870 introduced a scheme of financial decentralization, which was a great step in the evolution of local self-government in India. It passed on to the provincial governments certain civic departments in respect of public expenditure. The principle of the imposition of local taxes for local purposes was also put into practice.¹³

In addition to that major constitutional changes were effected by the Towns Improvement Act III of 1871 which increased the number of municipal activities and extended the elective principle.¹⁴ This Act instructed the municipalities to follow the guidelines of the government.¹⁵ The qualification for the post of the Commissioner was made more elastic because government wanted to appoint even a non-resident as a commissioner subject only to the proportion of officials on each board, for it was thought that "the occasional presence of a European officer as a working member of the commission was essential to the efficient working of the Act"¹⁶

The next phase in the development of local self-government was marked by Lord Ripon's famous "Resolution on local self-government" introduced on 18 May 1882. Its main object was not to improve the administration, but to give political education to the people¹⁷ for, there developed a growing demand among the people for a greater share in the administration of the country. Following Ripon's policy decision, in 1882 the Madras Government established municipalities in all major towns in the Presidency. For the first time the term "municipality" was introduced into the title in the place of "towns" improvement". In these municipalities three fourths of the councillors were to be elected. Since the District Collectors were not able to deal with the work of the municipality as well as his other responsibilities, they ceased to be presidents and were given a

supervisory role. Chairmanship was handed over first to a nominated and then to elected non-officials.¹⁸

The Municipal offices had collector, magistrate, five elected members and councillors. They concentrated and devoted on the welfare of the people. The power to levy and collect taxes was considered one of the chief characteristics of local autonomy.¹⁹ One of the first to be established was allowed to raise its revenue from house tax, profession tax, vehicles tax, tolls and license tax.²⁰ The council spent a major part of income on the maintenance of police and the remainder on the repairs of roads and drains and on sanitation. As a result of these, urbanisation posed new challenges. The municipal council had varied duties to perform for, it was the council's responsibility to provide all civic amenities to its citizens.

Municipal services were classified into three categories - personal services, community services and remunerative services.²¹ Personal services such as education, public health and sanitation were intended to promote not only individual but also social welfare. Water supply, drainage and communication stood at the top of community services, while electricity and transport were considered remunerative services.²² In the early stages provision of education formed an essential work. Elementary education was within the purview of a municipality; but it was optional to give secondary education.²³ However, elementary education did not make much progress until 1882. The Committee on Local Self-Government in Madras suggested that the revenue and expenditure regarding education should be transferred to local management.²⁴ This Method too did not produce the desired effect due to inadequate fund allocation for education of the masses. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Indian leaders demanded that elementary education should be made free. Accordingly the government of India directed provincial governments proposing the abolition of fees in all the elementary schools. The Government of Madras accepted the suggestion of the central government in 1908.²⁵ In spite of this the standard of education remained low in municipal schools. During this period the council did not start any high school, but there existed some privately ran high schools in the municipal

area. In addition christian missionaries established their educational institutions. The upper middle classes mostly sent their children only to these schools. These directly helped the improvement of the town.

As a large commercial and educational centre, each city in Tamilnadu organised own systems and practice of various kinds of festivals throughout the year. Since thousands of people from far and near visited the cities daily, the Municipal Public Health Department had a vital role in bringing the city into a healthy city. The increasing population of the Madras province posed many health problems and the Health Department of the municipality had to combat epidemics and diseases from its very inception. It took all possible preventive measures to check the spread of communicable diseases and started many hospitals to give medical relief following the Act of 1871²⁶

The government took the expansion of public health activities both at the headquarters of the state and in the districts, including the appointment of public officers of the first and second classes in the municipalities and adequate sanitary inspectors. The health officer went through the scheme for town improvement, approved plans for construction of new buildings and inspected markets, slaughter houses and water supply sources. Although controlled by the provincial government, the other members of the public health department were appointed by the executive authority of Municipal Administration.

In 1834 the Madras Corporation started the Madras Medical School. It trained medical practitioners for the first time in art of surgery. In 1871 the Madras Municipality started a dispensary at Black Town and another at Triplicane.²⁷ Commencing from 1884, the corporation made an annual contribution of Rs.20,000 to the general hospital maintained by the Provincial government with a view to extending free medical service.²⁸ From 1885 onwards every municipality maintained at least one hospital or dispensary for the benefit of the poor and the needy.

The medical aid in respect of maternity and child welfare was awful and inadequate. During 1875-1895, municipal councils were directed to raise at least hut pavilions for lying in cases and to attach them to hospitals and dispensaries

having women's wards.²⁹ The council gave the much needed maternity relief to the women of the city. As early as in 1875 Government directed the Municipal Council to give training to selected villagers in nursing and appointed as mid-wives in their hospitals and dispensaries.

Often epidemics like cholera, plague, dysentery and small pox broke out in Tamilnadu especially during festival times and these were very often brought to the town by the floating population. These deceases were intimately connected with poor water supply. The health department canied on vaccination work vigorously and also erected segregation sheds for the use of ill-housed patients. In 1880 thirty nine Deputy inspectors were appointed for the vaccination works. The vaccine success rate in Madras has always been phenomenal. The number of vaccinated during 1883-1884 was 23644. In this time 15094 inspectors attended the vaccination works. When compared in 1920, it was raised to appointment of one hundred and ten inspectors.³⁰ In spite of these the death-rate per mile of population in 1876-1886 was 21.3 percentage in the Madras Presidency.³¹

Next in importance came sanitation. Sanitation formed one of the oldest and at the same time one of the youngest among municipal enterprises. Sanitary Commissioner was appointed to inspect all 'districts of the Madras Presidency. He appointed district sanitary officers to assist his work. Among his primary duties were to advise the municipal president on all matters connected with medical and sanitary administration of the Presidency. In every six month, the municipal president was instructed to inspect atleast twenty villages compulsorily.³² The same method was effected in sanitary administration in all municipalities. Another major problem of the inhabitants of the towns was lack of public conveniences. The latrines were mostly neglected in all district municipalities. As its main duty the municipalities took efforts to construct public latrines in their vicinities till 1885. Yet, in many towns, streets, open spaces and river banks were used as open toilets. This was the plight even in 1920. As reported: "Until 9 a.m. most of the lanes and the streets in some municipalities constituted unrelieved series of public urinals".³³ Several towns did not have latrines and in some these were inadequate and as a result open spaces and

corners of streets were used as latrines. Even in 1890 in all municipalities there were only 958 latrines. In 1891 there was only one latrine to 1000 inhabitants of the Madras Presidency. In 1982-93 due to the indifference of the authorities the number declined from 1,191 to 1164. According to the annual report in Madurai, the second largest town in Tamilnadu there were only ten public latrines. Infact, until 1947 most of the municipalities experienced erratic sanitation facilities.

Large-scale community services such as water supply, drainage, communication and electrification formed part of welfare services. Municipality spent a major portion of its revenue on these works. Water supply formed another basic requirement of urban centres of Tamil nadu. Besides providing good drainage system, keeping clean the city and the environment also became the duty of the government. Water supply and drainage were the integral parts of the town planning for, protected water and good drainage system and sewage disposal formed the basic needs of the people living in a town. For many years polluted water was responsible for epidemics in the cities. The bacteriological examination conducted in this regard found the water the impurities.³⁴ Responding to the demands of the public the first attempt to supply protected water was made in Madurai during 1886-1908.³⁵

Closely associated with drinking water supply was the provision of an efficient system of drainage for the city; but this had been a

grossly neglected field of activity in all municipalities of Madras State. Adequate water supply and a good drainage system were the two important needs of a city. If the municipal organisation wanted to satisfy the people in these two fields, it had to plan elaborate schemes and that involved adequate funds and governmental involvement. In 1889 the sanitary Board of the Madras Government prepared the drainage schemes for certain towns in the Madras Presidency.

Madras Municipal Council approved the scheme and started executing it immediately. Thus offering toilet facilities, water supply and drainage system became important aspect to fulfil the infrastructural facilities for urbanisation for, urban development communication formed one of the remunerative services of municipalities.

Thus the above facts reveal the significance and importance of the facilities of different varieties for the implementation of urban programmes. They in turn satisfy the needs of the 'urbanisation activities. Administrative measures also helps very much for further development in Madras city. Even though the development of towns became a fascinating phenomenon of the nineteenth century, municipal administration added to the potentiality of an urban character. However the municipal intervention took place on his behalf and the thrashes of sustained and rapid urban growth was modified.

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IMPACT OF ANCHAL POSTAL SERVICE IN THE EVERY DAY LIFE OF TRAVANCOREANS: A SCRUTINY

Dr. Jibin Mathew

Introduction

The need to communicate with others is one of the natural impulses of human beings. For speedy and effective communication with others man had endeavoured to find new modes of communication. Even in the dawn of human history, it can be found that human beings had been engaged in innovative means to evolve methods to communicate with people living in distant places. In the history of Travancore the role of communication in the development of the state is extremely important. In the course of the administration of India, the British colonial Government had established new methods of communication. They were interested in introducing such reforms in Travancore also. Travancore was a state, which had its own system of communication such as the Anchal service. It also had the British Postal service. The invention of telegraph could revolutionise the history of the world. It could also add a new chapter of communication in Travancore. Though the telephone arrived only in the 20th century, this new system could achieve an astonishing development here. With the advent of the Radio all modern systems of communication became a part of the lives of people this chapter outlines the growth of all these new systems of communication in Travancore.

As a part of the colonial intervention in the erstwhile Princely State of Travancore, the British colonial masters tried to modernise the existing system of administration. One such attempt was

the reforming of the postal service. Anchal or Unjel¹ was the Indigenous postal service existed in Travancore. The term Anchal was derived from the Latin word 'Angelus' which means messenger. While we trace the history of the Anchal postal system, we find that its development was slow but steady, and to some extent it was the need of the age. Travancore was one of the few states, which had its own postal service. The Anchal department was one of the oldest departments in the state, even before the introduction of the penny postage in England.² Anchal history can be mainly divided into two stages. The early stage started from the beginning of the 19th century and it ended in the 1860's and the later one commenced after 1860's. The former stage was exclusively confined to the service of the government while in the later one, i.e. after 1860's; the department was kept open for the public. Though it was started as mere mail carrier form, later the department developed much and had its roots all over Travancore. The other main services provided by the Anchal service were Savings Bank, Hundi Service³ or Money order System, Transit Anchal service, Anchal Insurance, it even act as public call stations etc. In order to get the services of Anchal in the nook and corner of the state, government of Travancore divided the Anchal service into two types i.e., Departmental and Non-Departmental Anchal office.⁴ The Anchal postal service played a pivotal role in the life of travancoreans and had its lasting impacts in all walks of life.

Impact of Anchal Postal Service

Anchal service one of the most popular and accessible department for common man in Travancore, the *Anchal* service functioned as a stockist and supplier of medicines like quinine, chlorodyne etc. Chlorodyne was a medicine used to treat cholera, Quinine is a medicine used to treat malaria and babesiosis. A sum of Rs.1299 was collected during the financial year 1899-1900 from the sale of both medicines.⁵ All the Anchal offices were distributed quinine and chlorodyne during the year 1897-98.⁶

The Anchal goods were transported from one office to the other by carriers as head loads. After accepting the bag from one office the messenger had to carry it on his head and run towards the next Anchal office. They were called "Anchal Runners", who had to run seven or eight miles carrying the load. When he reaches the next office another runner would be waiting there from the neighbouring office with a similar load. After exchanging the loads the first runner had to run back carrying the load on his head. The time schedule fixed for covering the distance by running was 12 minutes per mile.

The Anchal runner was provided a baton of about two feet length and one inch diameter. On its top there would a bronze bell which had to be rung while he ran. Whoever who came across the path of this Anchal runner had to stop and give way to this man who carried the letters and messages. Nobody, not even the vehicles of the highest police officer had to stop and allow the Anchal to pass. This rule had to be followed very strictly. The violation of this rule would invite heavy punishment. This kind of relay running could cover a maximum distance of about 40 to 50 miles per day. Hence, a letter posted from Thiruvananthapuram could reach the northern border of Cochin State, viz. Kunnankulam after 4 to 5 days. The exchange of Anchal goods between the states took place at Aluva.⁷

The old and the new thus coalesced in the romanticized figure of the runner, whose more extraordinary exploits, which included being exposed to 'mail dacoities', tiger attacks, and cobra bites, provided fascinating source material for the newspaper and periodical press. The runners themselves frequently invoked the hazardous nature of their occupation in their attempts to negotiate better terms of

employment. The hakara, carrying the familiar bamboo stick and mail bag with jingling bells on his shoulder, remained an important figure in the communication landscape even in the twentieth century, despite the introduction of more 'modern' means of communication.⁸

In the early 20th century letters and messages sent through post or Anchal were carried from one post office or Anchal office to the next one and back by Anchal runners of 'Post Runners'. The service of the Anchal post runner from Kumili to Munnar was stopped due to the opening of the motor road from Muvattupuzha. Before that the Anchal runner had to leave the office at 6 in the morning carrying the mail bags, run the distance of 12 miles through difficult routes. The bags would be handed over to the next runner who would carry it, and run the next twelve miles. In this way the mail bags would go forward and would reach the destination exactly at the stipulated time. Each Anchal runner would run back to his office carrying the return mail bags. To cover a distance of 65 miles two days were required.⁹ The average speed of the Anchal runner had to be three miles an hour. The mail bags were carried only in day time because of the dangerous route and the presence of wild animals in the hilly and forest lands. Even after the stopping of the service of the runners officially, for extremely difficult places such as Kumili, Vandanmetu, Devikulam, Oodumbanchola their services were utilized. During the rainy season the work of such Anchal runners would have been extremely difficult in the leach infected forest paths.¹⁰

In literature too, there exist a same experience it shows how How the Advent of modernity had affected Traditional life. Onakkan had received the job of an Anchal Runner very early in life. Being a member of the lowest category social circle, the job was quite helpful to him. He used to carry out his duties running very fast even through dense forests. Then, due to the beginning of transport systems the practice of carrying Anchal goods by buses commenced. One morning Onakkan realizes that he has lost his job. The work done by him all those years had become unattractive and unwanted, due to the arrival of the bus service. His future also becomes uncertain. The story ends symbolically with his death by the same bus running over him.¹¹

Thakazhy Sivasankara Pillai, in his celebrated novel *Kayar* describes the life and work of a village postman in the 19th century. He writes about the times when the postman bringing money orders to the house as a symbol of good fortune and plenty. The Postman performed the duty of not only bringing letters to village houses, but also took the trouble of reading the letters to the villagers who were generally illiterate. The messenger who brought telegram messages was often regarded as an ill-omen, the symbol of the God of Death who came with the warrant of death. The novelist pictures the post man who brought telegrams as receiving the curses of the relatives of the dead man. In Travancore, the Post man had actually involved with the daily lives of the individual in society.¹² Post office junction at Nagercoil, declaring a bus stop.¹³

Due to the effort of Mooloor S Padmanabha paniker's efforts the Anchal office at Mezhuveli was opened to the public on 1st May 1930. Mooloor posted a letter there to Kandathil Varghese Mappila, the editor of the daily Malayala Manorama, and bought stamps and envelopes from the new post office. He recommended a Pulaya Youth named Valayudhan to be appointed as peon, so that untouchability could be removed. He knew that the Savarnas would be forced gradually to accept the services rendered by the lower caste Government employee. Thus he tried to demolish the outdated customs and practices in the life of the people.

The services of Anchal offices were essential to all sections of the people. The employees of the Anchal services could visit and distribute letters to all homes in the villages irrespective of caste difference. The employee of lower castes thus got legal protection to use public roads and mingle with all sections of society. In short, the appointment of the lower caste employee could change the mindset of the people and bring in social transformation gradually.

The Anchal services could tremendously influence the formation of public life in modern Travancore. People could communicate with each other about the well being of others, exchange news and views on life, and also make personal enquiries. In short, a new public consciousness could be moulded through this

medium. Mooloor made use of this opportunity well to the advantage of the society. Living in the small village of Elavum thitta he could spread his ideas far and wide through Anchal services. He sent letters that created similar mind sets in different people living in different areas.¹⁴

Since a sizeable population moved to Ceylon in search of job, sanction was given to start a Post office in Mayyanad. The Anchal Post master after his official duties the Post master used to give lessons in English to the village students. In fact, he was more than an individual, an institution. He was popular and respectable as a Post Master, teacher, and a writer for the people who could write letters and petitions in English and one who wrote a book in English.¹⁵

The Anchal office was at the buildings of the Pozhikkara temple, in Quilon district where the so called Avarnas like Ezhavas etc were not allowed to enter the office. If one shouts aloud waiting outside of a distance for sometime the peon or master would be kind enough to come out and enquire what the need is. Then the officers would tell him to place the money and stand away. The price of a post card was 4 *kasu* and the cover had the cost of 8 *kasu*. After placing the money on a leaf one has to wait at a distance.¹⁶ It was like a game of hide and seek involving movement like a weavers' shuttle. This illustrates that caste rigidity and segregation reigned supreme in Travancore during the 19th century. This kind of incidents was common even in Government offices which were situated near temples.

The activities of the Anchal Savings Bank in Travancore enhanced the people's habit of saving money, which strengthened their economic foundation. The savings Bank in Anchal offices which were only 6 in number in 1912-13 rose upto 166 in 1947-48. The famous dramatist and director N.N Pillai, in his autobiography, Njan, has written how an amount of Rs.80 taken from his investment of Rs.83 in the Anchal savings Bank, had helped him as a capital to go for Malaya.¹⁷ It highlights the importance Anchal Savings Banks had in the lives of the people in those days. Like that money orders, Hundi service etc also together with Anchal service, had a significant role to play in the economic mobility of the state.

The Anchal service which was prevailed in Travancore emphasized more on service sector rather than a profit motive establishment. The following table illustrates the details of Income and Expenditure Statement

Year	No. of Anchal offices	Private and official covers carried.	Receipts Rs.	Expenditure Rs.	Net Revenue Rs.
1900	101	2959541	61284	75994	loss, 14710
1905	150	3787696	78235	102548	loss, 24313
1910	192	8625758	90234	122657	loss, 32423
1915	211	10788171	189954	174489	Profit, 15465
1920	222	13104442	252778	197739	Profit, 55039
1925	241	17736568	325912	266680	Profit, 59232
1930	298	20977618	416925	383068	Profit, 33857
1935	340	21323394	418271	381406	Profit, 36865
1940	368	23,965,419	4,84,000	4,00,000	Profit, 84,000
1941	371	24,387,146	4,88,000	3,96,000	Profit, 92,000
From 1941-48 source materials are not available in Administrative Reports					

The table shows that year 1900, the number of Anchal offices were 101 and the figures show a loss of Rs.14710. At the same time during 1941 the number of Anchal offices were raised to 371 and registered a profit of Rs. 92,000/-. However, it is a fact that Anchal service which prevailed in Travancore was more emphasized in the service sector rather than a profit motive establishment as stated above.¹⁸

Conclusion

The various means of communication prevalent in the princely state of Travancore included the Anchal, the British post and Telegraph, the Telephone and the Radio. The prime position in the communication system was held by the Anchal Postal Service. It provided its service to every nook and corner of the state. The popularity of the Anchal service was due to its variety of business like Savings Bank, Hundi, and Insurance etc. Anchal offices too provided public call offices throughout the state. The Anchal service brought about a revolution in the communication history of Travancore, which led to much larger contacts between the people and the consequent modernisation of the social order through increased social mobility. It facilitated factors for the development towards a Modern state.

End Notes

1. The term ANCHAL is derived from the urdu word UNGEL which means message, narrative or story. Vide, N.S.Mooss, *The Travancore Anchal*, Vidya Sarathy, Kottayam, 1973, p.40.
2. The Penny post is one of the several postal systems in which normal letters could be send for one penny. It started in 1840 during the Victorian Age in England. In 1856 it became compulsory to pre- pay postage in Britian. It was stated that the fee being one D (one penny) for letters or Two D (two pennies) for, if the letter was collected from the writer and delivered. Rowland Hill was believed to be the father of the penny postal service. vide, Rowland Hill, *The Life of Sir Rowland Hill and The History of Penny Postage*, Vol.I, London, 1880.
3. The introduction of 'Hundi' or money order system was introduced in Travancore in the year (1077 M. E) 1901-02. It was an improved forms of the British Indian system of the money order form with the provision for the payee to communicate with the remitter. The Hundi is on order granted by the *Anchal* office for the payment of a sum of money through the agency of the *Anchal* office. A remitter is a person who sends money-using hundi. A payee is a person named in a *hundi* to whom the money is to be paid. The amount for which a single *hundi* was issued must not exceed Rs.500 and no person was allowed to obtain several *hundies* in a single day. Vide, Jibin Mathew, 'Development of Transport and Communication in Travancore (1860-1948): The Socio-Economic Impact' Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Calicut, 2019, p.177.
4. *Anchal* offices were of two types, Departmental Anchal office and Non-Departmental office. Departmental Anchal office was under the direct control of the government. It enjoyed the privilege of direct transactions with the palace and functioned as a savings bank. If an Anchal office was not housed in a government building, the government hired private building on rent. While Non-Department office was started With a view to extend the benefit of the Anchal service to localities where it was not feasible to open regular departmental offices, the darbar had resolved to open non-departmental offices, and place them in charge of person to whom a small remuneration was allowed in view of the work they did. Three such offices were opened in 1092ME (1916-1917). Non –

- Departmental Anchal offices were either experimental or permanent. They were placed in charge of masters who were not full-time officers and did not belong to pensionable service. They were paid a monthly salary of Rs 10, but were not eligible for any leave with allowances. There were 181 non-departmental *Anchal* masters in the state in 1944. *Ibid.*, pp.179-180.
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 10. *Ibid.*, p.155.
 11. The story of an Anchal Runner Excerpts from S.K. Pottekatt's Mail Runner. Vide, S.K.Pottekkatt, *Pottekkattinte Kathakal Sampoonam Vol.I*,(Mal.), D.C.Books, Kottayam, p.360
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BUILDING POLITICS: A STUDY OF POWER AND ARCHITECTURE IN MAHE WITH RESPECT TO THE ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS

M.U. Jidhu

Introduction

Architecture is not an independent entity. It is influenced by multiple elements. Factors like climate, availability of building materials, social and economic conditions of the area, and the existing dominant ideology all play important role in shaping architecture. The built spaces and the political contexts have a complex relationship. The colonial influence in Indian architecture is a totally different genre. Establishment of dominance was an integral part of the architectural policy combined with elements of protection and security, taking in view of the political conditions of the period. During the earlier period of the colonial process, the European powers were conflict with each other and also with many of the local rulers for gaining power. And this is very much reflected in the architecture. French and the British were in constant competition with each other and the present paper tries to look into the relation between the struggles for power and the nature of built spaces in Mahe upto AD 1817.

French East India Company was established in 1664. They were the last European power to reach India. The French had to face stiff competition from the English and had to be content with a few places. The main centers

of the French were Pondicherry, Yanam, Chandernagore, Karaikkal and Mahe.¹ The French were more powerful than the Portuguese and the Dutch and lasted for much more time. Unlike the Portuguese and the Dutch, the French were more settled. The contributions of French to architecture are thus more elaborate. The French architectural style was more planned and complex. The earliest constructions of the French, like any other colonial power, were defensive structures.² Pondicherry was the capital of the French possessions in India and the French architectural style is more evident here.³

The French gave much importance to town planning and this is evident in Pondicherry. The entire town was fortified and was divided by a canal into two sections- French and Tamil. Areas were set aside for residential, administrative and commercial buildings. The white town (*ville blanche*) of Pondicherry developed between 1724 and 1754 and the town had adopted iron grid planning system.⁴

Building structures were not just for defense, protection and convenience but also symbols of ones wealth and power. When two colonial powers are in constant conflict these architectural symbolisms become evident. The French and the British competed for power and

their architecture also reflects this. The French built the Government house at Pondicherry in outmost grandeur and it was supposed to be display of their power. It is said that the Calcutta Government house built by the British was influenced by the Government house at Pondicherry. The building was also the British reply to the French who accused them of having interest solely in mercantile ventures.⁵ Many architectural elements of the French were also copied by the British in their constructions. Another important part of the conflict is the total destruction of the rivals place after its capture. Anything that stands as a reminder of the glory and grandeur of the enemy is to be destroyed. Pondicherry was captured by the English in 1760. The town was completely ransacked. The white town was totally destroyed. Hardly any building was left intact. Forts, churches, government houses and even private houses were demolished by the English.⁶ The French had to rebuild afterwards.

The French in Mahe

Mahe was the only French territory on the Malabar or western coast of India.

The French had a factory at Calicut and a temporary settlement at Tellichery but it was Mahe, which became the stronghold of the French. Mahe or Mayyazhi was a small hamlet in north Malabar and it became the main seat of the French in Kerala by the eighteenth century. Mahe is bounded by the Ghats in the east and by the sea in the west. The name Mahe is said to have been derived from Mayyali or Mayyazhi. It was also referred as Mazhayyikara in a record from 1724. Mahe was part of the territory of the local ruler of Badagara and was given to the French in 1721.⁷ The presence at Mahe ensured the French trade in pepper and other spices. The French had to face constant opposition from the English, who was settled in the near by place Tellicherry.

Much of the constructions in old Mahe were destroyed by the British but the French records have left the plans of the buildings constructed by them.⁸ These plans are elaborate and show the topographical and natural features of the area and are of very much value in reconstructing the history of the period.⁸ Mahe was placed under the control of an administrator answerable to the French governor at

Pondicherry. The various departments like health, transport, ports, and public works were all controlled by the governor. Branches of these departments were established at the subordinate French territories like Mahe.

Building activities and the Anglo-French conflict

Jean Deloche in his work, 'Old Mahe' mentions the various phases of the development of Mahe. It is said that in the earlier phase the French gave importance to defensive works. The tendency to give importance to defense and protection is evident in the constructions of all colonial powers. Here the French were more cautious because they were a tiny group in the midst of the vast English rule and in case of any attack they had to wait for the forced to arrive from Pondicherry. And hence the French gave due importance to fortifications. The French set up a factory, built a fort and magazines at Mahe. The earliest construction of the French was a mud fort which was renovated in 1728 AD.⁹ Inside this fort enclosure was the main buildings of the factory, the chapel, the officers rooms, barracks, guardrooms, storerooms, kitchen, bakery and in the middle, a parade ground.

The period from 1728 to 1761 was a period of peace at Mahe and many building activities took place during this period. The French had a good squad of engineers and they gave considerable importance to military constructions like fortifications, given the nature of tension the French had with the English. The French fortified as many places they could and also made an earthen retrenchment with a thick bamboo plantation along the line from the Mayyazhi river to the sea. Two new forts, fort Conde and fort Dauphin were constructed by the French in 1740. These forts were roughly star shaped with pentagonal bastions and it included barracks, guardrooms, magazine rooms and a jail. The structures were surrounded with a ditch. Another fort called fort Saint Georges was built in 1742.¹⁰ Many other construction activities were taken up. The town developed and the hospital, warehouses and the church of Saint Therese was constructed during this period. The town plans shows the effort and extent of planning to transform the place. The French also received the help of locals in building activities.¹¹

The English captured Mahe and Pondicherry in 1761. Almost all buildings in

Mahe whether it may be the government buildings, private property or structures like church, everything was demolished. The town was plundered.¹² Mahe was totally destroyed and when the French recovered it in 1765, they were left with the great task of reconstructing it. In the days that followed the building activities of the French comprised of the reconstruction of the old buildings from what was left of it and also the undertaking of new defensive works. Government house, warehouses and hospitals were renovated. But by this time the French had to face severe economic constraints and many construction activities had to be stopped.¹³

The French understood the weaknesses in their defensive system and realized the need for more precautions. New fortifications were to be made and they planned a fortification that surrounded the entire town with bastions at regular intervals but the project was not implemented as the English again attacked Mahe in 1779. It is said that this attack was more severe than that of the one in 1761 and that every standing stone was brought down. The entire fortification was destroyed with mines and the recently renovated structures were pulled down. Moreover the wooden structures like roofs made of teak and furniture were carried away to Thalassery¹⁴

In 1785, Mahe again came into the hands of the French. A few renovations and constructions were made but Mahe again fell in to

the hands of the English in 1793. The peace treaty between the French and the English in 1814-15 made the French accept the paramountcy of the British government over all parts of French India and also restricted the French from fortifying their settlements and were restricted to maintain just enough troops to maintain law and order. Mahe was given back to the French in 1817.¹⁵ The English had established themselves as the most powerful of the colonial powers and the French colonies were like just another Indian princely state.¹⁶

The French had built some magnificent buildings at Mahe. The place was a well planned. Like any other colonial city, in its earlier phase importance was given to defensive structures like forts. The given location and political environment of Mahe required them. The period of peace saw more elaborate construction activities like government buildings and churches. The frequent conflicts with the English destroyed the town and even then the French tried to rebuild after every attack. The destruction of the enemy territory to its last standing brick is not new in colonial rivalry. Eventually the French were left with very less resources and this gave a set back to building activities. Prolonged period of peace at Mahe would have left us with beautiful buildings and structures of excellent French architecture.

End Notes

1. J. B. P More, *Freedom Movement in French India*, IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p.xvii.
2. When the French reached Pondicherry, the first thing Francis Martin (French official) did was to visit the native ruler and obtain permission to erect those types of buildings that would provide his people security. Later he obtained permission from Sambaji, son of Sivaji to make a regular fortification in Pondicherry. A Capuchin monk, Father Louis is credited with the planning of these defensive works. G. B. Mallerson, *History of the French in India*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1986, pp. 23-27.
3. The French built many magnificent buildings in Pondicherry. Many of them were elegant and are known for the richness of detail. The architectural style was not merely French and had influences like for example Franco-Italian. Some of the remarkable structures are the French government houses in Pondicherry, which is said to be more magnificent than the residence of the British governor at Calcutta: the Palais de Justice and several other buildings. Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*, Faber and Faber, London, 1968, pp. 94-97.
4. S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Urban Growth of Pondicherry and the French: A Study of the Town Plans 1702-1798* in Mathew. K. S, Jeyaseela Stephen ed., *Indo-French Relations*, Pragati Publications, Delhi, 1999, pp. 116-119.
5. Preeti Chopra, Pondicherry: A French Enclave in India in Nezar AlSayyad ed., *Forms of Dominance*, Avebury, England, 1992, p.127.
6. M. P. Sasidharan, *Papers on French Colonial Rule in India*, Red Star Offset Printers, Calicut, 1997, p.54.
7. J. B. P More, *Freedom Movement in French India*, IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p.3.
8. The French engineering department took great effort in keeping the plans of the buildings and related maps. These plans and maps were collected and sent to the Depot des Cartes et plans des Colonies (depot where the plans of the buildings constructed in the French colonies) at Versailles. Plans, maps, engineers projects, architects drawings were all preserved. This section was created in

1778. Alexis Rinckenbac, *The French Military Engineers and Geographers in India, 1750-1778*, in K.S. Mathew, S. Jeyaseela Stephen ed., Indo-French Relations, Pragati Publications, Delhi, 1999, pp. 124-131. Several plans of Pondicherry town are also available. One reason for this abundance of these plans is that the commercial companies which were present here wanted to give detailed accounts of their possessions. The second reason is of strategic importance. The colonial towns had to face frequent attacks from rival powers and hence town plans were given to higher officials or military engineers so that they could design the best form of defense. Francoise L. Hernault, Pondicherry in the Eighteenth Century: Town Planning, Streetscapes and Housescapes in K.S. Mathew, S. Jeyaseela Stephen ed., Indo-French Relations, Pragati Publications, Delhi, 1999, p. 178.
9. Jean Deloche, *Old Mahe (1721-1817)*, French Institute, Pondicherry, 2013, p. 3.
10. *ibid.*, p.7.
11. *ibid.*, pp. 13-19.
12. An agreement was drawn between the French and the *vazhunnavar* (local rulers) in 1726. It had 15 articles, of which article 12 bound the *vazhunnavar* to provide the services of the stone cutters and masons to the French on payment of wages by the French. M. P. Sasidharan, *Papers on French Colonial Rule in India*, Red Star Offset Printers, Calicut, 1997, p. 22
13. Jean Deloche, *Old Mahe (1721-1817)*, French Institute, Pondicherry, 2013, p. 24.
14. *ibid.*, p. 32.
15. C.A. Innes, Malabar, The State Editor Kerala Gazetteers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, p. 71.
16. M.P. Sreedharan, *The French in Kerala* in P.J. Cherian ed., *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Kerala State Gazetteers, Trivandrum, 1999, p. 264.

THE GLIMPSES OF THE EPIGRAPHS OF BHAKTHAVATSALESVARA TEMPLE AT TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM

Dr. D. Kalyani

Tirukkalukkunram is one of the ancient and sacred places in Chingleput region. Geographically it lies on 79°59'04"E and 12°36'58"N in the present Kancheepuram District. It is located at about 14.48 Km south east of Chingleput and 9.56 Km from Mamallapuram the sea port of the Pallavas of Kancheepuram.¹ The town is midway between Chingleput and Sadras road and is connected by a number of buses plying from Madras to Mamallapuram, Madras to Sadras and Madras to Madhurantakam via Thirupporur.

This place is said to have existed since Iron Age. A cairn circle with cist and urns have been discovered from this village, which is reported by the department of Archaeological survey of India.² Tirukkalukkunram is also known as Pakshithirtham, Dakshina Kailash and Rudrakkottai.

The hill is the embodiment of the vedas and was called as Vedagiri.³ The village is mentioned in Sundramurti's Devaram as Kalukkunram i.e. "*The hill of the Kites*", two rishis worshipped the Lord of the hill, who had been cursed to be kites. The name of the temple was called as *Mulasthanana*. There are two temples, one is rock cut cave, which is called as *orukal mandapa*. This cave temple was created by the Pallava kings Mahendravarman and Narasimhavarman, during 7th C.E. The deity is called as

Mulasthanattapperuman adigal. The other one is structural temple located on top of the hill. The temple is embellished with beautiful sculptures. S.R.Balasubramaniam ascribed the temple to Rajasimha alias Narasimhavarman II i.e. to early 8th C.E, based on the Somaskanda panel and lion pillar of the temple.⁴

At the foot of the hill there is another temple called Bakthavatsalesvara temple with tall gopura at the entrance of the temple.⁵ This temple is assigned to the Pandya period i.e. 13th C.A.D. These three temples bear nearly 98 epigraphs, the earliest one is assigned to Pallava Narasimha I (630 A.D) These epigraphs are assigned to the Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas and the Telugu Cholas. Most of the records are votive in character. However, some interesting information is also found in the epigraphs. The epigraphs related to land endowments and the crime administration are taken for an in depth analysis.

Gift of land

About 30 epigraphs of Thirukkalukkunram provide information about gift of land and the villages made to the temple. These records reveal the fact that land was endowed for the matha, burning perpetual lamp in the temple, construction of shrine, for conducting festivals. They endowed land as devadana, sold four

villages for 500 panam is also mentioned in the epigraphs. The land measuring scale i.e. 16 cankol, of the region is also engraved on the prakara walls of the temple.

Besides, four epigraphs are related to the Building of Hall, consecration of new image, construction of new Vinayakar temple and the name of the builder is also mentioned in the epigraph.

Two epigraphs are related to crime occurred in the temple and forty seven epigraphs are associated with the endowment of lamp, for which cow, sheep, money, panam, buffaloes and ornaments were given.

The Pallava and renewal of land grant

A Pallava record reported from Thirukkalukunram is related to Narasimhavarman. The epigraph mentions the name of the king as Vatapikonda Narasimha Pottarasar, who endowed land for worship as *Valipattuppuram* to the god Perumanadigal of Mulasthanana of Thirukkalukunram. The territorial division reveals the fact it was a *tankuru* i.e., an independent Village of Kalattur kottam. The record was issued by Narasimhavarman around 630 A.D.⁶

The imprints of the Cholas in Tirukkalukunram

Aditya I, the Chola ruler captured Tondaimandalam and ruled for about 27 years. A record from Tirukkalukunram, dated in his 27th (898A.D) year of his reign, mentions the renewal of the gifts of some lands to the temple at Tirukkalukunram, made by Skandasishya and continued by Padavikonda Narasingappottaraiyar. Both these rulers belong to Pallava dynasty. It reveals the fact that Aditya I conquered the Pallavas and annexed Tondaimandalam. The request to renew the grant was made by Puttan, son of Gunavan of Andurai.⁷

The next record issued by Rajadhiraja I refers to the endowment of land for the services to the deity Brahmisvara, which is located on the hill of Tirukkalukunram, which is mentioned as Ulagalanda Solapuram. The land was sold by Serai Satyapavai by the Nagaram. It is to be noted here that Tirukkalukunram was a mercantile city of the Cholas.⁸

Another interesting fact is that a copper plate grant was engraved on the south wall of the second prakara of the Vedagirisvara temple. The copper plate was preserved at Rajendrasola vinnagaralvar at Vanavamadevi Chaturvedimangalam of Kumili nadu of Amur Kottam. The village Srivanavanmadevi was created by Udaiyar Rajendra Choladeva, the boundary of the endowed village was fixed by the king, which was engraved on the copper plate grant and also on the stone. It fixed the boundary of the village and endowed as Devadana Brahmadeya. The grant was engraved by the order *Puravuvuri Tinaikalattar*. Besides, other officials who supervised the grant were Karambichettu Swamithithan, Muppural Kumarasamy Kramavittan, Uruputtur Govindaputtan, Kranji Toranakramavittan, Kuravi Kumarasami bhattan, Tirukkalukunram Sri Maheswara kankani, Neminandhi Adigal, Nambi Siva Panditar, Sivabrahaman Dakshinamurthibhattar, Panmahesivara bhattan, Palavillakku Pillai Tevar Sundara Pidarar, Vellala Sadaiyur Kizhan Kailayam Ponnambalanum Barasivan kula. These officials followed the elephant which marched through the boundary of the village.

The boundary of the land mentioned in the epigraph, it crossed and encircled various viz., Agil, Iluppai banyan, vila, and the balipitha, the hillock, Naraipakkam, mahadevar temple and finally ended in the Vaiyyarru eri. This inscription was written by Pichchantan.⁹

Kulottunga I

A record of Kulottunga I dated in his 42nd regnal year (1112A.D) mentions, a resident of Rajarajapuram paid 10 kasu to the temple authorities, and they purchased land from the villagers of Vanavanmadevi Chaturvedimangalam. The endowment was made for the maintenance of the Naminatha Adigal matha. According to historian Kanagasabhai, the person whom the matha was named is one of the 63 devotees of Siva, whose lives are described in the Periyapuranam.¹⁰ The matha seems to have been associated either with saiva or the Jains. The village Tirukkalukunram belong to Kalattur nadu of Kalattur Kottam and Vanavanmadevi Chaturvedimangalam belongs to Kumili nadu of Amur Kottam. The boundary of the endowed land was on the east by Urodagam, in the south by Talaivedu, in the west by

Uragambakkam and in the north by Tandurai. The land purchased was situated in Kiraipakkam.¹¹

Vikrama Chola: Sale of forest land

Two inscriptions issued by Vikrama chola during his 3rd and 9th regnal (year 1121 and 1127 A.D). The former record mentions the sale of forest land at Sevur alias Uttamachola Kattalai madapuram, to the temple by Paramesvaramangalam alias Cholakulatilaka Chaturvedimangalam in Sembur nadu of Sembur Kottam in Jayankondasolamandalam. Sevur was a hamlet of Paramesvaramangalam.¹² The latter record mentions that the forest land was sold for 5 kasu, by the Uravar of Amanambakkam, for the offerings to the deity. The Paramesvara mangalam would have been established by the Pallavas and Amanampakkam denotes the settlement of the Jains.¹³

A record of Vikramachola (1128 A.D) registers the gift of land, free of taxes by the assembly of Sembakkam alias Parakesarinallur in Sirukunra nadu to provide for the celebration of festivals in the temple of Subramanya.¹⁴

Kulottunga II

A solitary record of Kulottunga II, issued in his 3rd regnal year (1136 A.D) is engraved on the bund of the tank known as Sankha tirtham in the village. It registers the endowment of 32 veli of land in the village of Kulottunga Cholanallur to meet the expenses of worship and maintaining a flower garden and repairs to the temple. Kulottunga Cholanallur is mentioned as Maraignana Sambandar Sthala.¹⁵

Kulottunga III

An epigraph engraved on the northern Prakara wall of the Bhakthavatsala temple, mentions 550 kuli land was gifted to the deity. The epigraph was issued by Kulottunga III in the year, 1199 A.D¹⁶

Land as Tirupudiyappatti

Kulottunga III, who is mentioned in the epigraph as Tribhuvanaviradeva, who was pleased to take Madurai and crowned head of the Pandya, issued an Inscription in his 24th regnal year (1202 A.D), gifted land as tirupudiyappatti to the temple by a resident Sirukunram alias Viracholanallur, Sirukunra nadu was a sub division of Amur Kottam of

Jayankonda Cholamandalam. Thirupudiyam means the salary or the income, Patti means the land given as kani to the temple.¹⁷

Yet another record of the same ruler, registers the sale of land for 700 kasu at Kilamaiyur, the northern hamlet of Madhurantaka Chaturvedimangalam, by two Brahman brothers of the village, and endowed to the temple by the headman of Nayar in Nayar nadu of Pulal Kottam of Jayangondasolamandalam. The Brahman brothers also endowed 1300 kasu for a perpetual lamp in the temple. The gift was made for the services to the temple.¹⁸

Yet another fragmentary record of the Kulottunga III (1203 A.D) registers a gift of land by purchase, for burning a lamp in the temple of Tirukkalukkunram Udaiyar. The liquid measure is called Selvirajakesarikal and also mentions the alumganattar of the Chaturvedimangalam.¹⁹ In the same regnal year, one Tillaimuvayiranambi and his brother Ramabhata purchased 4 patakam of land for 100 kasu and granted to the God Tirukkalukkunra Nayanar.²⁰

Kulottunga III is mentioned as, Tribhuvana Chakravartin Konerimaikondan, who issued a record in his 34th regnal year and 240 days, refers to the gift of 12 veli of land in Paranarginayur as madappuram Iraiylili to the matha called Uran matha, situated in Ikkattukottam in Jayankondasolamandalam. The endowment was made for the maintenance of the matha. The tax exempted were Antarayam, Pattam and madappuram. The record was attested by vanadhirajan, Sethikularajan, Tondaiman and Singarajan.²¹

Sale of house sites

Kulottunga III issued a record in his 38th regnal year (1216A.D) which registers a sale of house site, belonging to the temple to a native of Vidaiyur at Palaiyanur nadu of Manayir Kottam, the land was sold for 400 kasu for paying the Masons (tachchar) who constructed the mandapa in front of the temple.²²

Similar type of endowment was made for the maintenance of the matha. The land was sold to Sivadavanapperumal Aghoradeva – Ravalar, by a Mahesvara of Vaippakkam in Mondur nadu of sembura kottam.²³

Yet another record of the Chola king registers the gift of land by Madan Kulottunga

Chola Gangareyan to the temple. The record mentions a new tax term called Puravuvuri Kattalai.²⁴

Kopperunjinga and land endowment

An epigraph of Kopperunjinga II dated in his 13th regnal year (1256 A.D), it mentions the tax free gift of land as devadana including gardens and wet land to the temple by Karippillai alias Rajagambhira Kadakkangon (nadan). The taxes exempted were Nilattu Kadamai, Nelayam, Kasayam, Erimpinattam.²⁵

Yet another record of Kopperunjingadeva issued in his 20th regnal year (1263 A.D) refers to the gift of land as devadana to the deity on the hill of Tirukkalukunramudaiyar for the services and worship conducted in the month of Adi. The following taxes were exempted i.e., Kadamai, Sekku kadamai. The endowment was made by Karippillai alias Rajagambhiran Kadakkakondan.²⁶

Pandyas: Gift of land

A record of Sundara Pandya I (1259 A.D) begin with the astronomical details as Ikshava Nayanar, Purvapaksham, Panchami, Tuesday and records the endowment of land entrusted to the temple authorities by Kaman Arasan alias Adiyaman tevar of Pandimandala Madakulakizh Madurai Nayinar, Rajakkal Nayanar. The land was purchased and gifted to the temple for the maintenance of flower garden (Nandavanam) and offerings to the deity. The boundary of the endowed land is mentioned as on the south Tiruvenkadudaiyan garden to its south and west wet land north Tamuladharaiyavadhi and on the east Tiruvidhi Sevvai, the land includes the tress and the well. The land was purchased for 2000 kasu.

Several persons signed in the epigraph as witness viz., Anjeluttan, Vaiyakkiyadevan, Simbul Andar, Isandevan, Aludaiyan, Tondarkal nayanar, Kuttaperuman, Tiruccirambalamudaiyar, Kalakalabhattachan, Panmahesvara bhattachan, Rudrabhattachan, Sivamuttibhattachan, Anganappillai Sadasivabhattachan, Tillai Nayagabhattachan, Devakanmi Ponnambalakuttan, Koil kanakku Ani uradaiyan Narpattenayiravan, Ani uradaiyan kondarkanayaka Vellalar, Nyayattar Vanarayar, Villavadarayar, Irungolan, Kankan Ponnambalakuttan Soliyataraiyan Mullipakkilan

Kalingarayan, Vikrama sola Muvendavelan, Nandi Mangalakizhan, Karaikandadevan. Tiruvaiyaru Poliyermnran, Mappudi Peruman and the list of signatories still extends further in the epigraph.²⁷

Yet another epigraph of the same king mentions the gift of Iraiylil devadana land, by Ennayira Veliparru Nattavar, to the temple of Tirukalukunram, Kalatturnadu of Kalattur Kottam. The land was gifted for the expenses in connection with the festival of Avanitirunal. The land was endowed as Kudininga Devadana and the land was located in Amur kottam.²⁸

Sundara Pandya I's record dated in his 15th regnal year 1267 A.D, mentions the sale of four villages viz., Ulundamangalam Mudavur, Kurumugai and Tattalur as Tirunamattukani to the temple by the assembly of Vanavanmadevi Chaturvedimangalam for 500 panam.²⁹

Jatavarman alias Tribhuvana Virapandyadeva

Virapandyadeva issued a record in his 13th regnal year mentions the gift of a village for the festival called Kalingarayan Sandhi, endowed by the inhabitants of Kalattur Paruru, to the deity called Tirumalai Aludaiya Nayanar.³⁰ During the reign of Kulasekhara deva, a record was issued for the auction of land called Amilapallam by the nattar of Tirukkalukunra paruru.³¹ On the south wall of the central shrine in the Vedagirisvara temple a record is engraved in four lines, which states that the temple was constructed by Arivatpakkilan Sattan Mahipalan. The epigraph did not bear any date or the name of the king.³² Yet another record is engraved on the south wall of the varandha round the central shrine in the same temple, according to the epigraph one Suryadevan of Puvanur setup the image of Vinnayakap pillaiyar and a shrine, and flight of steps to climb up the hill.³³ A fragmentary record mentions the gift of land as Kavalkani for guarding the village, by the assembly of Madhurantaka Chaturvedimangalam.³⁴ Two fragmentary records marked on the upana of the south wall of the first Prakara of the temple, represents the Padinaru Sankol, according to the standard of Tiruvuragam. The measure of this length is equal to six makkani. Similar record refers to the gift of veli of land as devadana irayili to the Subramanya temple. The king seems to have endowed the land to the deity.³⁵

A record which is devoid of the name of the king and date, mentions that a land was purchased and gifted to the deity for its midnight service by a resident of Ilanallur.³⁶

Epigraphs on crime and theft

Crime administration was one of the major administrations of the Cholas. Despite the fact that the king was the head of the judicial administration, yet the village assemblies exercised large powers in this matter. The distinction between civil and criminal offences was less known, there are few instances are noted in the epigraphs.

Two records engraved on the south wall of the first prakara of the Bhaktavatsaleswara temple of Tirukkalukunram, issued by Kulottunga Chola II, in his 12th regnal year, registers the gift of lamp made by Eluvan Vanji Muttaraiyan, a hunter of Kudappakkam, in Mattur nadu, to secure merit for Nakkambi pattala llavaraian alias Selvan, a native of Koduvur, who was killed accidentally in a hunt by an arrow aimed at an animal by the former, and to pacify the father, elder brother and other relations of the victim.

In another instance, during his 6th regnal year one Vikramadityan Kamban alias Vikramasolapperaraiyan of Kunrattur, a hamlet of Madhurantaka Chaturvedimangalam, a taniyur in Kalattur Kottam of Jayankondasolamandalam. Vikramadityan besieged during night the residence of Raman Ambalakuttan Tennattaraiyan of Malaiyanur, who was a general under Edirisola Sambuvaraya stationed at Mukkattappattu in Sembur Kottam, owing to some feud existing between these two persons and killed him. Malaiyanurudaiyan Raman Ambalakkuttan belonged to Panaiyur nadu of Miladu alias Irungolappadi. His wife Vembu committed Sati by entering the fire with her husband. Ramanambi alias Irungolappadi Nadalvan, the elder brother vowed vengeance on the offender for his brother's death.

Edinlichola Sambuvaraya, the chief of these two persons and the elders of the nadu arbitrated that the offender Vikramadittan Kamban should maintain two perpetual lamps for the merit of the two deceased persons and that Irungolappadi Nadalvan should cease his enmity. Hence, he dropped his vow, accepting this arrangement and wanted lamps to be maintained in the

Tirukkalukunram temple, according to the arrangement Vikramadittan Kamban made the present gift of lamps. He also agreed to endow 90 sheep and 31 Cows to the temple. For a cold blooded murder the victim was made to two burn to lamps in the temple.³⁷

Yet another record of the same king dated in his 35th regnal 1213 A.D. refers to one Periyar, son of Naminandi Adigal was caught red handed with the *tiruppattam* of the deity, stolen by him, was ejected from the house in the Western street of Madavilagam, was confiscated and sold to Talaikkaviri Palarvayan Uyyavandan alias Anantadeva of Mayilappur in Puliyur nadu of Kulottungachola valanadu. The amount got in confiscation was utilized for paying the masons and other workmen employed in the construction of the steps to the hundred Pillared mandapa in the third prakara of the temple.³⁸

Gift of lamp

Besides the endowment of land, nearly 47 epigraphs speak about the endowment of lamp, sheep, cows, buffaloes, money and ornaments to the deity of Thirukkalukunram. It is interesting to note that ½ lamps have also been endowed to the temple,³⁹ lamps were repaired⁴⁰ and explains the preparation of panchakavyam.⁴¹

Conclusion

The above analysis reveals the following facts, the land and villages were purchased and endowed as *devadana irayili* for the service of the temple, festivals, for the payment of the masons, creating gardens, mathas, construction of temple, shrines, consecration of images. The land was also endowed as *thiruppudivyappatti*, *Kavalkani*. The land measuring rod, the 16 can kol, was used in this region, which is the standard of Tiruvuragam. The land was also endowed by two Brahmin brothers and the assembly of various nadus. The endowment was also made by the persons of Pandimandalam, Manavil kottam, and Amur kottam.

The instances of murder and theft reveal the fact, even for the heinous crime the culprit was made to burn perpetual lamp in the temple and in the theft case, the property was confiscated and sold, which was utilised for the temple services.

The epigraphs of Thirukkalukunram reveal the fact that it was a nagaram and a strategic place in the Tondaimandalam region.

End Notes

1. M. Gopalakrishnan, *Gazetteer of India – Tamilnadu State Kanchipuram and Tiruvallur Districts, Vol.II*, Government of Tamil Nadu, Commissioner of Archives & Historical Research, Gandhi – Irwin Road, Egmore, Chennai – 600 008, (2000) pp.1754 – 1755
2. K. Rajan, V.P. Yathees Kumar, S. Selvakumar, *Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu, Vol. II*, Heritage India Trust, Tanjavur, (2009) p.241
3. S.R. Balasubramanyam, *Early Chola Art Part – I*, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi p.220
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IMPACT OF FRENCH COLONIALISM ON RELIGION IN PONDICHERRY

Dr. M. Kasthuri

Introduction

Indian culture is basically a religious culture and there are different religious communities in India and each exists with divisions and subdivisions in themselves. People belonging to different religions have their own places of gathering to perform religious activities. The people believed that the religion gives the eternal happiness and the moksha. As there are references to gods and temples in Tamil country during the ancient period, there should have been images or idols for worship.

The Pondicherry region is geographically a part and parcel of ancient Tamilagam. The Ancient name of Pondicherry was called 'Vedapuri'. By the time of French arrival it was known as Puducherry or new settlement. Before the French occupation, Pondicherry was a small fishing village. Its population consisted of Hindus mainly and with a small population to Muslim

community. Jainism and Buddhism had together disappeared from Pondicherry and there were no Christians in Pondicherry. During the period of the French settlement, the French administrators encouraged conversion of native people to Christianity by extending concessions and privileges in administrations.

An attempt has been made in this paper to highlight the French settlement and the attitude of French towards the natives and their religious institutions in Pondicherry.

French Settlement

Vasco da Gama discovered a sea route to India in 1498, since Ottoman Turk captured and sealed Constantinople in 1453 A.D. The Portuguese soon started a trading post at Pondicherry. Due to stiff resistance of Nayak rulers, they abandoned the post. Later the Dutch, the Danes and the English followed them¹.

Finally the French came and obtained permission from Sher Khan Lody to carry on their trade from Pondicherry.

By 1706, Francois Martin obtained the village of Kalapet, Ozhukarai, Murungapakkam, Odiam, Pakkumudayanpet and Karuvadikuppam. In 1708, Herbert, acquired the villages of Ariyankuppam from the Nawab of Carnatic. In 1740 the Nawab also granted the village of Thondamanatham, Abishegappakam, Vazhudavaur, Thirukanchi, Odiampattu and Koodapakkam to the French for their help against the Marathas². During the period of Dupleix, the French settlement was further extended to Villianur. It was in this manner Pondicherry region came under the French control. There frequent battle between French and British and Pondicherry had gone under the control of the British for three times in 1761-1765, 1778-1785 and 1793-1815 respectively. From 1816 onwards Pondicherry remained as French possession permanently up to 1954 when the de facto transfer of power took place³.

Conversion to Christianity

The influence of the French colonial policy in Pondicherry helped the spread of Christianity in the region. In 1674 French Governor François Martin invited Capuchins Missionary from Madras⁴. St. Lazarous church, first chapel of European Christians was built in 1686 in Pondicherry. Francois Martin and his successors gave preference in employment and economic fields to those who embraced Christianity. There were many converts from Mudaliars, Vellalals and Reddiars.

The French Capuchin and the Jesuits missionaries volunteer help also lead to the conversion of many Schedule caste people to Christianity. Generally even after conversion, the converted Schedule caste people were segregated from the higher caste Hindus by the erection of a wall inside the Church by the Jesuit padres at Notre Dame de la Conception Church. This system of segregation was protested by the Schedule cast Christians. On behalf of the high caste Christians, Kanagaraya Mudaliar, Courtier went to see the priest and also the Governor and settled the matter. But instead of the separating wall, a wall of chairs and benches were made. Thus the segregation continued and the change of religion did not bring any change in the

conditions of the Schedule caste Christians. With the help of Christian reddy, 13 years old boy was secretly taken to the Church of St. Paul, new Samba kovil, baptized and kept within the premises without knowledge of his parents⁵. Fr. Tachard's letter stated that 2000 native people were converted to Christianity in 1703. In 1725, there were increased to 3000 Christians⁶. Thus French colonialists followed an active policy in respect of the propagation of Christianity and converted large number of natives to Christianity.

Destruction of Hindu Temple

People in the Pondicherry city were offered great importance to Hindu religions and they follow the concept of peace. Hinduism was at its pinnacle during the Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagar period. During the French colonialism the intolerance of the Christian missionaries particularly the Jesuits to the religion of the Hindus started during the rule of the very first Governor. Francoise Martin obtained the right to coin the Kasu in copper, panam in silver and pagoda in gold. The pagoda had a lilly on one side and the image of Vishnu on the other side. The padres of both the Capuchin and Jesuits appealed to replace the image of Vishnu by that of Louis XIV. But Martin rejected their appeal as without the image of Vishnu the coin would not be legal tender anywhere in India⁷. Thereupon the vindictive padres began obstructing the celebration of Hindu festivals and aimed to the destructions of temples.

The monument of Vedapuriswarar temple was very old and unique in Pondicherry. This temple dedicated to Lord Shiva and also known as the Eashwaran Dharmaraj Koil, located in the Mahatma Gandhi Street. According to the scripts found in the diary of Dubash Sri Ananda Ranga Pillai, a big Siva Temple was existing with suyambu lingam, Vedapuriswarar as the main deity in Pondicherry which was called Vedhapuri during the Chola's period, but now there the Genmarakkini Madha Koil is available⁸.

On 17th March 1746, the priests and servants of Vedapuriswarar temple discovered that the previous night two unknown fellows had gained entry into it and Poured liquid, human excrement on the images of the gods around the altar and into the shrine, that they had broken the pot of filth on the image of Nandi, and that they

had then left through the broken wall of the compound. The Mahanattars were informed and then conducted a meeting of all castes, from Brahmans to Paraiyas, was held in the courtyard of the Perumal temple at 9 a.m. Dupleix heard that news and sent Krimasi Pandit to disperse the gathering. He rushed to the temple, where the people said that they have met together with the view of reporting this to the Governor. When the Pandit went back and reported it to the Governor, Dupleix sent for Chinna Mudali and Ananda Ranga Pillai, and directed them to bring the Mahanattars. When they were taken to his presence at 2 p.m., the Governor asked them to report all they wanted to say to Pillai and not hold meetings. Meanwhile, he had ordered for 100 or 200 Muslim Mahe sepoy for shooting them down. But the force arrived after the Mahanattars had left, and were asked to guard the four gates of the town so that none could go out. Pillai writes that the Governor acted as a 'senseless man'⁹.

On 31st December 1746, again at seven o'clock in the evening, an earthen jar filled with excrement was thrown from within the grounds of the church of St. Paul into the temple. The heads of all castes of Hindus reported the matter to Ananda Ranga Pillai who represented to the Governor. The Governor sent few persons including Tanappa Mudali into the temple. They inspected and reported that the senior priest Father Coeurdoux was responsible for the mischief. Dupleix asked them to give their statement in paper, and he would write to France regarding the affair and take such action. Dupleix summoned and told Father Coeurdoux that because of the "Anti-Hindu mischiefs of you and your colleagues, the town's people are leaving Pondicherry"¹⁰. Yet, Vedapuriswarar temple continued to be an eye-sore to the Jesuit priest Father Coeurdoux and the Christians wanted it to be pulled down¹¹.

On September 7th and 8th 1748, when Pondicherry was under British siege, the condition was very favorable to the priest for the destruction of Vedapuriswarar temple. When some 16 or 17 persons like Mudalis, Chettis, Velalas, one Agamudayan, etc. came and request the intervention of the Ananda Ranga Pillai to stop it, he replied that in a matter in which the Governor and his madam Dupleix and the Jesuit Council had already taken a decision, nothing

would come out of his speaking to the Governor and he direct them to rush and save as much as possible¹². Each man was severely beaten when they were removing the idols, vahanas and temple records. Father Coeurdoux kicked the lingam, broke it with a hammer, and ordered the Coffrees and Europeans to break the images of Vishnu and the other gods and the vahanas. Madame Dupleix went in person and encouraged them. Varlam, madam's agent also kicked the great lingam with his sandals, and Madame Dupleix and the priest spat on it¹³.

When Godeheu replaced Dupleix, the Mahanattars presented a petition to him requesting permission to rebuild the temple. On 19th October 1754, Godeheu observed that the Company could never contribute anything and that their order must be had before it was rebuilt. The Pillai interceded to tell the Governor that his predecessor had unjustly destroyed it because of the temple stood in the middle of the street, that their own church had to be built there, and that a temple would be built elsewhere. He did not agree and he gave up the idea, and wrote to France accordingly¹⁴. On 3rd April 1767, the council granted permission to build Vedapuriswarar temple, Pillaiyar and other few temples and granted neither site nor money by the company¹⁵. Finally in 1777, Diwan Sri Kandhappa Mudaliar took lot of efforts to apprise the Governor Sri Guillaume Leonard de Belcombe about the people's mental agony and also obtained permission to build a new temple, besides donating his land for construction of the temple. The fund collected for the war and donations from the public was utilized for construction of the temple¹⁶. This temple is reported to have been constructed in 1780.

Sri Manakula Vinayagar Temple is situated at the heart of the White town of Pondicherry. The temple is 400 years old. The temple is dedicated to the worship of Lord Ganesha. As per historical notes, the present Sri Manakula Vinayagar Street was called as weaver street during Francois Martin's time and prior to his time. Sri Manakula Vinayagar seated under the Peepul Tree on the bank of the tank and worshiped by the weavers. Sengunda Mudaliars and Devangu Chettiars, the weaving communities raised a wall around it and made an entrance door¹⁷.

The Christians said that, Pillaiyar should not be taken out for procession during Easter and on Sundays. The Governor also issued an order to this effect in 1701. Besides attempt were made to demolish the temple and break the idols by bigoted Jesuits in 1706. This caused unrest among the people, and 15,000 of them gathered to set off towards Chennai. As they were all workers at a textile factory, the authorities revoked their decision fearing that work would be affected¹⁸. However the French man throws Aathi Vinayagar into the sea several time, it said that Aadhi Vinayagar came back and seated himself in the temple. This type of incident kept happening again and again till, strongly, Dupleix the great French leader, himself developed an affection for the idol. Such are the winning ways of Lord Vinayaka. Hence this Devasthanam is also called Vellai Pillaiyar Koil, worshiped by the white people¹⁹. In January 1752 Dupleix also wanted to turn the Villianur temple into a fort. The merchants told him that in that case no weaver would remain there. So he agreed to build a small fort by walling off a portion of the temple²⁰.

The Muslims React

When the establishment of the Muslim power at Gingee, Islam began to spread in Pondicherry. During the period of Dupleix, when Pondicherry was visited by Muzaffar Jung, the Nizam of Hyderabad and Chanda Sahib, the Navab of Arcot, there was a number of Muslims. And thereafter a large number Muslims settled in Pondicherry and they built Mousques²¹.

Kuthbhamosque is believed to be the first mosque built in the White Town of Pondicherry. Governor Dupleix and Madame Dupleix had ordered the ancient Muslim mosque too that stood opposite to and west of the Capuchins' church to be pulled down simultaneously. When

their men were demolishing the walls round the mosque, some Lubbays went and informed Jemadar Abdul Rahman of the Mahe Sepoys. He rushed to the Governor, salaamed and said, "If you pull down the mosque, not a Sepoy will be left, for they will fall upon the workers and perish"²². Dupleix at once revoked his order due to the timely intervention of Abdul Rahman. Later, the French issued an order to vacate the entire region and shift this mosque. Orders were also floated to move the entire Muslim community out there to the southern end of the canal, Present location of Kuthbha Mosque at Mulla Street in Pondicherry.

Conclusion

Before the French arrival, the Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Islam were already existing in Pondicherry, but the Hindu temples of Pondicherry proved the glorious period of Hinduism. During the French colonialism, Hinduism and Islam had to face the onslaught of Christian Missionaries and French administrators. With the interference of Madame Dupleix and father Coeurdoux, Dupleix ordered to destroy the venerable Vedapuriswarar temple, Manakula Vinayagar Temple and Kuthbha mosque and etc. Their intolerant religious policy to the Hindus and Muslims largely irritated their religious sentiments. The effort for propagation of Christianity and conversion of natives did not prevent the differentiation of caste among the natives. With the declaration of republic in France after the French revolution there was a remarkable change in the attitude of the French towards the natives and their religious institutions. However the despicable religious policy of the French administration for more than a century is an ever memorable event in the history of French India.

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ALAGARKOVIL TEMPLE

P. Kayalvizhi

The lord Alagar temple of Alagarkovil has been undergoing several additions and changes during the centuries. Perhaps at the time it was originally constructed, it must have been a simple structure with a *garbhagrigha* and a *Mukhamandapa* together with an *antarala* and *pradakshina* surrounding it. Alagarkovil is a temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu. This temple located at a distance of 20 km from Madurai, on the foot of Alagarmalai is surrounded by the natural splendors of the forest. This Vaishnavite temple is prominent for its attractive sculptures along with beautiful mandapas. It is said that pilgrims visited Alagarkovil even in the early period of the Sangam times. This place seems to have been a prosperous village once. The temple and the village were surrounded by a high-walled fort, which no doubt was built by some ruler in early times who valued the strategic position of the place.¹

Samantha-Narayana-chaturvedimangalam

Alagarkovil temple is located under the control of Kilraniya-*Muttam*. There are several inscriptions which say it as Kilraniya-*Muttathu* Tirumalirunjolai.² Alagarkovil was a Brahmadeya settlement and hence it is record in Pandya king Konerinmai-kondan 9th regnal year as a Samantha-Narayana-chaturvedimangalam,³ king making over to the shrine of Tirukkottiyur-tanda-perumal, the rent due from the lands in three villages which had been given in the 36th year (of his predecessor) to 32 Brahmanas of the agrahara Samantha-Narayana-chaturvedimangalam founded at Tirumaliruncholai-Tiruppati by Chakrapaninallur Pallavarayar.

The Main Deity

Alagar means an attractive man; His hill abode is called as Alagarmalai. There are references quoted in these anthologies of Sangam literature and post Sangam literature, which mentions Alagarkovil by the name of Tirumalirunkunram,⁴ Irunkunram,⁵ Tirumalirunjolai,⁶ Malirunjolaimalai⁷ and Tiruvarai⁸.

The main deity is called by various names such as Solaimalai⁹ *Arase*,⁹ *Mayar*,¹⁰ *Mayavan*,¹¹ *Tirumal*,¹² *Kannan*,¹³ *Mayon*,¹⁴ *Alagar*,¹⁵ *Govinda*,¹⁶ *Solaimalaipperuman*,¹⁷ *Malirunjolai Ninra Sundaran*,¹⁸ *Malirunjolai Manivanna*,¹⁹ *Tirumalirunjolai Ninra Kovalar Govindan*,²⁰ *Tirumalirunjolai Ninra Nangalbiran*,²¹ *Tirumalirunjolai Ninra Vanavan Kon*,²² *Tirumalirunjolai Ninra Kesava Nambi*,²³ *Tirumalirunjolai Ninra Murti*,²⁴ *Tirumalirunjolai Ninra Nalandigal Naranan*²⁵ and *Tirumalirunjolai Ninra Adar Paravaiyane*.²⁶ Other names include *Tirumalirunjolai Paramasvami*,²⁷ *Tirumalin Paramasvamigal*,²⁸ *Ipparamasvamikalukku*,²⁹ *Alagar*,³⁰ *Tirumalirunjolai ninraruliya*,³¹ *Tirumalirunjolai Ninrarulina Paramasvamigal*,³² *Alagar Tiruvadi nilai*,³³ *Appan Tiruppati Tiruvengadamudaiyan*,³⁴ *Svami Alagar*,³⁵ *Ivviraivan*,³⁶ *Alagarum Nachimarum*,³⁷ *Tirumalirunjolai Ninrarulina Alvar*,³⁸ *Alagar Sirukkar*,³⁹ *Alagar*,⁴⁰ *Ari*,⁴¹ *Paramasamy*,⁴² *Mugundanandan*,⁴³ *Sundararaja Mal*,⁴⁴ *Malaiyalagane*,⁴⁵ *Karuppalagu*,⁴⁶ *Kanna Thensolai Poruppalaga*,⁴⁷ *Malaiyalagar*,⁴⁸ *Sundarattol-Alagar*,⁴⁹ *Madusudana-Mugunda*,⁵⁰ *Alangarar*,⁵¹ *Malirunjolai Malalangan*,⁵² *Mayavan Malalangan*,⁵³ and *Baintulai*

Malaiyalagane.⁵⁴ Above mentioned names revealed from *Paripatal*, *Silappathikaram*, *Nalayira Divya Prabandam*, *Alagar Kalambagam* and *Alagar Pillaitamil* and inscriptions.

Sub-Deities

The *Vaishnava* creed, temples of Vaishnava creed are very few in number in the region. All these temples are in good condition and attractive too for their architectural workmanship. Alagarkovil temple, the parivaradevatas, besides Lakshmi and Garuda are Kshetrapala Sannithi, Murugan sannithi, Valamburi Vinayagar Sannithi, Palliyarai Nachiyar, Srinivasa, Vishvaksena with Jayadevi, Narasimha, Hayagriva, Vishnu, Venugopla and Varaha placed in the niches of main shrine. Sculptures of a few important Alvars are found placed in the prakara of this temple.

Early Pandya Period

During the period of early Pandyas Alagarkovil has grown in name and fame. We know this from Periyalvar Pasurams. He has referred to Tirumalirunjolai, lord Alagar and also Pandya king Kon Nedumaran.⁵⁵ Periyalvar might have been contemporary of Pandya king Nedumaran.

Cholas

Alagarkovil temple has a total of three inscriptions of Chola rulers, which give evidence that the royal patronage extended to the temple by the Chola rulers. The earliest one dates back to the period of the Chola king Rajaraja Chola I. This damaged record begins with the historical introduction of Chola king Rajaraja I.⁵⁶ Another damaged inscription of Rajaraja Chola's 22nd regnal year mentions of a gift of land to the Alagarkovil temple.⁵⁷ This temple has Sundara Chola Pandya's 22nd regnal year inscription. This epigraph speaks of lamp donation made to the temple.⁵⁸

Later Pandyas

This temple has more than sixty inscriptions of the later Pandya rulers. These epigraphs testify the royal patronage extended to the temple by the later Pandya rulers.

Vanadirayas

In the course of the 13th century A.D., when Chola power was declined, the Banas became the feudatories of the Pandyas and settled down in the modern Tiruchi and Madurai districts. The

Banas held various officers under the medieval Pandyas and bore their titles and the names.⁵⁹

God Alagar of Tirumalirunjolai was the tutelary deity of the Vanadirayas. Alagarkovil was most probably their political capital. They made numerous beneficentiations to the temples at Alagarkovil and Srivilliputtur. They had the *Garuda* banner and Alagar *Tiruvullam* was their sign manual. These would indicate that they were ardent Vaishnavas.⁶⁰ Alagarkovil temple having epigraphs of the period there are references to some of the Vanadirayas rulers and their activities.

Vijayanagara Empire

It is important to state here that Tamil country came under the Vijayanagar authority only in CE 1371 Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka who was entrusted with the occupation of the Tamil country gave a devastating under to the Sultanate of Madurai. As a result, the whole South Indian states accepted the paramountcy of the Rayas. Subsequently the ethnicity of the Pandyas and the Cholas, these royals introduced so many innovations in temple architecture as well as in the modus operandi of the temple activities. The *Mahamandalesvaras* (governors) were assigned the work of temple improvements.⁶¹ During the period of Vijayanagara Empire Alagarkovil was well patronized. A ruining Raya gopuram (tower) was constructed by this empire.

Nayaks

The Nayakas of Madurai administrate as the subordinates of Vijayanagar and soon rose to great prominence. Visvanatha Nayaka, the son of Kotiyam Nagama Nayaka, has been credited with the founding of the Nayaka dynasty of Madurai.⁶² Alagarkovil has numerous inscriptions seems to record the gift made by the Madurai Nayak rulers.

Under the Control of the Muslim

Chanda Saheb was sent by the Arcot *Nawab* to take Madurai and Thanjavur. The Nayaka dynasty of Madurai came to an end after having ruled for a period of nearly two centuries.⁶³ During this time Madurai city and Alagapuri Kottai came under the control of Sanda Saheb and this temple condition was in very worsening situation. Alagarkovil wealth was looted by that Muslim invader.

Hyder Ali looted the wealth throughout Madurai region. He spoiled the Alagarkovil *Kalyana Mandapa's* beautiful sculptures. Apart from that he also captured Alagarkovil's wealth. Alagapuri *Kottai* and Tirumalai Nayaka palace were damaged by Hyder Ali. Before Hyder Ali's invasion Malik Kafur damaged Alagapuri *Kottai*. Hyder Ali was driven away from Madurai to Dindugal by a Muslim warrior Yusuf Khan in 1758. Yusuf Khan returned the wealth looted by Hyder Ali to Alagarkovil authority.⁶⁴

Modern Period

When the British established themselves in South India, they took over the management of

all the temples within their territorial jurisdiction in 1801 CE, and credited the income under the general revenues of the state. Later on, during the middle of 19th century, when they desired to relinquish their connection with the religious institutions, they conferred the administration of the temple of lord Alagarkovil. Thus, the epigraphs of Alagarkovil temple constitute the main source of our knowledge of the history of the temple. Coupled with literary evidences up to 9th century CE, the history of the temple could be viewed together from the beginnings of the Christian era up to modern times.

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TRIBAL DANCES IN TELANGANA STATE

D.Kishan

The folk dances and the folk-music of tribals in spite of the material advancement in the recent past have preserved and protected the ancient form of dance and music from its total annihilation and have given us ancient legacy in which the country can be proud of this rich heritage. Undeniably the tribal folk dances are a part and a very important part of their cultural heritage. Today tribal folk dances and festivals are a great attraction all over the country than ever before. An unusually emotional nature is the general characteristic of the folk dances. The major folk dances of tribals are Bison-horn (Koya), Gussadi, Demsa, Lambada and Chenchu.

Demsa Dance

Demsa, a folk dance of Raj Gonds is performed by both males and females. Sometimes the young boys attire themselves as females and perform the dance. This dance is performed independently by the male and female members to the accompaniment of music during the festive and marriage occasions. The musical instruments used during Demsa dance are 'Pepre', 'Dhol' and 'Khalikhom'. During the marriage ceremony the dance is performed by both males and females.

The females dance forming an outer circle round the 'lihi', a sacred design drawn on the ground with turmeric, vermillion etc., before the bridal pair in the marriage pandal. On the concluding day of the grand festival in honour of the 'Persa Pen' (Supreme deity) during the month of 'Vaisak' (April-May), the males perform the Demsa dance before the house of the 'Katoda', the clan priest. The Demsa dance is also performed by male members on the occasion of celebrations of the marriage of Chenchu Bhimanna, the God who protects the crops during the month of Chaitra (March-April) before the house of Devari, the village priest.

Gussadi Dance

Gussadi or Dandari is a robust dance performed by only Gond males. This folk dance is performed in the month of Ashada (June-July) on the full moon day (Purnami). The Gussadi dancers wear loin cloth and smear the entire body with ash or white lime. They decorate their bodies with black and red spots. They put on the

head gear known as 'Maljalina Topi'. This is made up of long peacock feathers decorated with mirrors and colorful glasses. Goat/sheep horns are also fixed on the front side of the head gear. Jingle bells of different sizes tied to a string are slung around the shoulders. Big bells which are generally tied to plough bullocks are also worn around the waist. The series of long necklaces made out of wild seeds are worn around the neck. Jingle bells are tied around the anklets also. On left side they put on dried skin of a bear or deer or goat. A small bag across the body is also slung in order to keep the belongings of dancer. The dancers carry a staff called 'Gussadi Rokali' (Rokali is a pestle). All the Gussadi dancers perform rhythmic and robust dance waving their hands systematically to the melodious tunes.

Lambada dances

Lambadi is the semi-nomadic tribe that is spread all over Andhra, but more in Telangana. They are also known as Banjaras or Sugalis. Their dances are inspired by the movements associated with daily tasks like harvesting, planting and sowing. The costumes, embroidered with glass-beads and shining discs are picturesque: matched by the abundance of jewellery worn by them. The jingling brass anklets, the hanging cowry bunches and the ivory bangles from wrists to elbows provide a natural rhythm to their dances. Dussehra, Deepavali and holy are the festive occasions when the Banjaras go from house dancing and receiving alms. Twenty to thirty Banjara women dressed in colourful costumes with shining brass vessels filled with water either on hands or waists present a group dance. The graceful movements of their waving hands and supple waists provide a feast to the onlookers. The dance performed by Lambadas is not vigorous. But when dancing to the beat of the Drums, it gains momentum. The language in which the songs are sung is also derived from the Lambadi dialect. They have very meaningful Folk songs set to senuous. Generally male performance give support of orchestra with Dappu: sometimes they even dance along with the female dancers, while giving rhythmic music to the dance. The duration of the dance is twelve

minutes. This dance is a very common sight in all the places of Telangana.¹

Koya dance

The Koya tribes of Andhra Pradesh are jewelers of forests. Their dances include, Mayura Nat (Peacock Dance). Bison-horn Dance this dance is performed by Koyas inhabiting the scheduled areas of Khammam, Warangal, East Godavari and West Godavari districts. They are numerically predominant tribal group living in Andhra Pradesh. They are also called 'Dorala Sattam'. The 'Sammakka-Saralamma Jathra' which is celebrated at Medaram in Mulug mandal Mulugu district is the festival of Koyas.

Kurru dance is performed by Koyas of Warangal district. Only male members of Koya tribe perform this dance. There will be 25 to 30 participants in this dance. They dance according to the tune played by six musicians i.e. three persons playing flute and three persons playing drums. They perform this dance after harvesting of crops, dibbling of seeds and during festival and marriage occasions. Most importantly, they perform this dance during Sammakka Saralamma Jathara which is an important festival of Koyas. Even during certain inauspicious occasions also, they perform this dance. It is exclusively performed by men, and Harvesting Festival dance is performed in the month of April every year. The dance consists of small steps, forming complex patterns on intricate rhythmical phrases of half-beats and quarter beats. The musical and rhythmical accompaniments mainly consist of the poodi and Mayunga. Poodi is a flute of three bamboo sticks with five holes on the end. Koya dance is performed by males and females and it is approximately 12-minutes.²

Gusadi dance of Gonds

Diwali is the biggest festival for the Raj Gonds of Adilabad district. As the harvest is over and the season is cool and congenial the Gonds dresses in colourful costumes and decorated with ornaments go to neighbouring villagers in troupes, singing and dancing. Such troupes are called Dandari dance troupes. Each troupe consist of twenty to forty members. 'Gusadi' is a part of Dandari and consists of two five members. This starts on the full moon day and goes on till the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Deepavali. Each member puts on a of peacock feathers and horns of the deer, artificial beard and

moustaches and goatskin to cover the body. Dappu, tudumu, pipri and kalikom are the accompaniments. The Dandari troupe dance accompanied by beats of gumela reaches its climax with regulated steps and rhythm in a circular form.

The Dandari dance starts with stepping slowly towards the left side and swinging the right foot on the left foot at every step. Every dancer has two small sticks in his hands. First everyone strikes the two sticks in his own hands, then strike at the sticks of the person on the right side then strike his own sticks and then the sticks of the person on the left side. In this way, with steps and striking together of sticks held in hands they play kolattam and come back to the original position. Then they bend down and touch the ground with their sticks and step on to the four sides. This is paying obeisance to the gods. After this they put into order their circular form and lay down the sticks. Then they sing and clap their hands. They sing a group song in duet, one group singing the first line and the second group singing the second line of the song.

While this is going on, the Gusadi troupe intrudes into the circle with peacock feathered turbans, artificial beards and moustaches, goat skins as covers, strings of cowries and beads around the neck, tinkling bells on wrists, white stripes and dots on the bodies, with modesty pieces around the waists and poles in their hands they enter the circle. After the scattering of the Dandaris, the former members raise their hands, and swaying and jerking to the accompanying sounds of the bells and cowries on their bodies. It presents a dreadful scene to the onlookers. They jump hither and thither and they utter war cries and with vehement motions and frenzied laughter they frighten the boys and come up on the spectators. They also touch the waists of the spectators with the poles in their hands and tickle them. After some time they dance rhythmically, stepping forward and backward and hither and thither and also zigzag to the accompaniment of instruments. Lastly, the hosting villagers invite them and wash their feet³.

Chenchu Naatakam (Play)

The play takes place in front of the temple of the village during festival period and at the house of the sponsorer during marriage and religious ceremonies of Chenchus. Before starting of the

play, they invoke goddess 'chenchamma'. During the play, the singer sings while the women dance rhythmically. The hero dances by moving semi-circular from right to left and return in the same direction to his original place. During the play the hero and heroine act as lovers or husband and wife or cinema hero and heroine by singing cinema songs. The clown act as villain and tries to seduce the heroine. Sometimes he acts as male animal such as dog, donkey, monkey or buffalo chasing the female animals by making sounds. He behaves like a joker and tries to make the audience laugh through his actions. He comes quiet frequently during intervals and behaves like joker to relax the audience. The actors perform the play by charging some money on the sponsorer at the end of the play the troupe goes to the house of the sponsorer sing the concluding song and receive their due payment.

Pile Vesham or Tiger Dance

This is a popular one-man dance performed during Dussehra and Muharram festivals throughout Andhra Pradesh. An able bodied man with a narrow strip of cloth around the waist, and the whole body painted with stripes like a tiger and elaborate make-up, sporting a long tail, dances vigorously in tiger like strides and wild jumps. A Dappu or Mridangam provides the rhythm. The dancer lifts a brass pot full of water with his teeth depicting an unruly tiger's devouring nature and strength. This dance is performed during festivals and happy occasions. Even competitions are held for this dance and prizes are given to best dances.

Kolatalu

To entertain the tourists who come from the neighboring villages play this Kolatam. They believed that, if they do that they get God's blessings. The player takes two sticks and makes sound by beating them together rhythmically. In this play eight to twelve members participate. They stand in a circle. After that they make sound with the sticks rhythmically while singing. Producing Melodious music is its speciality. In villages they conduct this programme while celebrating religious functions and festivals. They sing Keerthanas like:

"Shiva Shiva Murthivi Gananadha, Neevu Shivuni Kumarudavau Gananadha, Neevu Bhavani Kumarudavau Gananadha, Bhadrpada

Shudhamanadu Gananadha, Ninnu bhakthi thoda sevithumu Gananadha,

-----"Likewise a person goes on singing; the remaining persons give chorus by saying by chanting Gananadha, Gananadha at the end of each stanza.

In villages the player used to sing the songs from "Sri Krishna Leelalu" to entertain the people⁴. They describe how Lord Sri Kishna became favourite God to those Repalle villagers. There will be one leader-cum-organiser-cum-singer. Some troupes also use ropes, wind and unwind them during performance. This is a popular performance throughout A.P.⁵.

Gavulatalu

Blind beliefs were mostly followed in ancient days. In the villages people believed that if any one of them gets any disease that was the result of the anger of Ganganamma, Maramma, Mahalaxmamma, Maremma, Mahankali, Nancharamma. Hence, they should satisfy those Goddesses. If they satisfy those Goddesses the villagers would be happy. So they used to kill animal in order to propitiate them. In these fairs the more significance is for "Ganacharlu". People believed that Gods and Goddesses would come in the form of 'Ganacharlu'. They used to dance in highly emotional way. 'Loose hair, Neemu boughs and lots of turmeric and Kumkum powder etc are used by those Ganacharlu while dancing. They put a pot on their head while dancing. In some places this pot is called "Ghatukunda". This is called in different ways in different places. Garaga is made of steel in the shape of pot. A snake with hood is around the neck of this pot. This Garaga is decorated as Saree with holdings. It is decorated with turmeric, Kumkum, Neem leaves ⁶. It is the holy pot to the villages.

The persons who keep the pot on their head and dance are called "Aasadhule" in some places. Ganacharlu is another name of these people in some places. They are the devotees and poojarees. Some times sky is the limit to their dance. They can not get away from that strong feeling even though coconuts and Sambrani powder are offered. They become cool after getting tired. They are treated as angles and Gods. Their performance is done in village streets. The dance of these ganacharulu is called Gaane. At this time they sacrifice, hens even killing them

bare teeth with their mouth and pour the blood on their chest. The drums that are used at this moment will produce emotional feelings in the audience³⁶. The whole village people participate in these celebrations without sleep during the night time. After that they leave the angles at the premises of the village.⁷

Chiruthala Ramayana:

Chiruthala Ramayanam is the most popular tradition in Telangana region. Especially this Chiruthala Ramayanam is very ancient artistic tradition in Ranga Reddy district. In the villages 30-40 labour youth will combine together and elect a teacher and this Chiruthala Ramayanam. They do it at the outskirts of the village. They put two flags and start dance along with singing by keeping sound produced by small iron metal bells (Gajelu) tied around their legs. Actually this is similar to out Kolatam but, instead of Kolatam songs, sing songs based on stories from Ramayana and Bharatha and group members themselves will take the roles⁸. Hence, it is called Chiruthala Ramayanam. In selecting roles, at first roles are given to the persons based on their personality. After that, every role will learn the song definitely. Thus the teachers gives training to his students for one month. After practice they

will conduct Rama Pattabishekam. They act Lord Rama and Sita Devi's roles. They gather the clothes and jewelry from rich persons houses and arranges their dressing material. Like Cinema sets, they build settings of places of Ramayana story such as, Ravan's Lanka, Ayodhya, Kishkinda parashala etc in a wide place. Spectators will clap while each character come on to the stage and introduce the role. Thus they sing songs of Ramayana during the whole night and conduct Rama Pattabishekam in the early morning⁹.

All the villagers come to this celebration. They make the persons who act as, Rama and Sita to sit in high place. After them the place will be for Laxmana and Hanuma. While celebration time they decorate beautifully Rama and Sita with colorful dresses and Jewellery with lot of devotion¹⁰. Now-a-day this Chiruthala Ramayanam is disappearing under the domination of movies. Even though it is disappearing in some places, this tradition is followed in some villages.

For example Ambedkar Yuvajana Sangam, Venkateswara sini settings, Vepala singaram village groups are working even mode.

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AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF ARCHITECTURE OF THE ULAGALANTHAPERUMAL TEMPLE AT TIRUKKOYILUR

N. Leelavathy

The Ulagalanthaperumal temple is on the southern bank of the Thenpennaiyaru at Tirukkoyilur. The temple is located as about 8 kms south-east of Tirukkoyilur in Villupuram district. The *tritala vimana*, east-facing Siva temple, has been constructed on a stone basement and the lay-out of the temple is a **square sanctum** and an oblong **Ardhamandapa** (4.50X3.40mts). It highlights

Tribhuvanachakravarthin, Raja raja Deva (Raja raja II or Raja III), who offered a gift of money to a Brahman woman, the shrine of Kshetrapala Pillaiyar. And the myth behind it depicts the transformation of that Brahmin woman into a Devi of the temple (ARE 407 of 1909).¹ Its inscription belongs to Tirukkoyilur, Vijayanagar and Nayak rulers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

A record of Maravarman alias Tribhuvanachakravartin Vikrama Pandya Deva registered that a merchant of stringer set up a shrine of Alagiya Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyar in the northern prakara. He offered a gift of land to this deity (ARE 393 of 1909).²

Though S.R. Balasubramanyam passed his consent that the Kailasanatha temple perhaps came into existence during the period of Chola occupation of the Pandya country, he doubted about the originality of the present structures. They have not provided any Chola epigraphy in the temple. According to him the present structures of the temple is of a late fifteenth century. However, this date and style are contrary. Further, architectural and sculptural characteristics of this monument like *Yalivari* of the base *pranala*, water-reservoir, *malasthana* motifs, corbel, *kapota*, *kudu* and the sculptures find in the inner and outer-circumambulations. This architecture apparently indicates the temple foundation probably in the middle of the eleventh century.³

According to M.A.Dhaky, the stylistic evidence and *pranala* of the temple ascribes late eleventh century. A stray fragmentary of Tiruvirattanam temple or Kilur inscription of Rajaraja I is found on the steps of a bathing place, which analyses the chronology, stylistic evolution and architectural traits of the Ulagalanthaperumal temple at Tirukkoyilur in detail.

Basement

The Ulagalanthaperumal temple is founded on *pratibandha* base. Since the basement is buried a little into the modern flooring around the temple, it shows only *tripatta kumuda* and *yali frieze* having gaping mounts of makaras at the corners. The *yali* frieze displays full *yalis* occasionally mounted by warriors holding swords and shields, and miniature relief carvings of opposing *yalis* or pearl strings in the gaping mouths of the *makaras*.⁴

The *pranala* is placed in the *yali* frieze of the plinth, and it exhibits three developments of its Early Pandya counterparts in Tirukkoyilur region. Firstly, it has been increased in length and finally, a square sink is placed below the *pranala* to collect the ablution water. Mouldings of *wall-kanta* and lotus-petalled *vary* run above the base of the Ulagalanthaperumal temple.

While examining the base of the Ulagalanthaperumal temple, one can easily observe and compare the blending of the Chola traits with the native Chola elements. Mounted warriors holding swords and shields in the *yali* frieze and advanced *pranala* with water reservoir are the important Chola features. It has joined the prevailing native Pandya features such as straight *jagati*, *tripatta kumuda* and full *yalis*.⁵

Wall

On each side the sanctum wall of the moderate Ulagalanthaperumal shrine is partitioned into *karna* and *bhadra* section with a deep recess in between them. While the *bhadra* section carry niches, the recesses bear *koshtapanjaras*. Square pilasters are arranged on this of corners of the wall segments.

The pilasters of the Ulagalanthaperumal temple tally with those of other Chola monuments in Tirukkoyilur regions namely the Tiruvirattanam Temple and the Trivikramaperumal shines in many respects, but differ significantly in the treatment of padma moulding which, though carved with petals,⁶ does not project out of the Palaka, instead it is hidden under. Like the pilasters of the Chola temples in Tirukkoyilur regions such as the Tiruvirattanesvarar and the Trivikramaperumal temple, some of the pilasters in the Ulagalanthaperumal shrine also employ some new types of decoration depicting opposing warriors and opposing *yalis* inside the *malasthana* and in some instances, the *malasthana* itself is made as if being released from the open mouths of three simhas. In addition to this, delicately carved floral design is found at the centre and on the corners of the lower section of the palaka.⁷

The niches of the Ulagalanthaperumal temple are shallow and empty which obviously proves the fact that the Chola monuments freely borrowed the native Pandya architectural characteristics. The niches are placed on the *yali* frieze of the base. The niches instead of the usual lintels uphold *kapotas* with *simhamuka kudas* and a row of circular bosses at the bottom. These decorated *kapotas* carry *makaras toranas* on all sides, often depicting riders mounted on the *makaras* and rows of simhas emerging from the mouths of the *makaras* as seen in several Chola country. The circular depressions at the *toranas* contain miniature images of divinities.

The *Koshtapanjaras* that appear in the wall-recesses of sanctum in the Ulagalanthaperumal temple almost duplicate its niches. They slightly differ from the niches because the *salas* are replaced by *simhamuka kudas (panjaras)* at the top.⁸

Entablature

The *vajana* of the **Ulagalanthaperumal** temple is adorned with *bhuta* frieze. The *bhutas* are portrayed in the usual postures of dancing, fighting, merry-making, playing distinctive musical instruments and acrobatics.

The **Ulagalanthaperumal** temple carries slanting *kapota* as seen in many Chola temple in Chola heartland. On each side, the *kapota* of the temple is decorated with three pairs of floriated *simhamuka kudas* in the alignment of the pilasters, and the circular cavities of these *kudas* are blank. The frame of the *kudas* exhibits exuberant scroll work. A row of circular bosses, a surviving example of the *nail-heads* in the wooden architecture, runs along the bottom edge of the *kapota*.⁹

The *yali* frieze of the **Ulagalanthaperumal** shrine depicts full *yalis* running in profile and *makara* busts projecting at the corners.

Superstructure

The superstructure of the **Ulagalanthaperumal** temple holds two stories that of the Tiruvirattanam temple in the Chola region. Consisting of *Karnakutas*, *panjaras* and *Salas* runs around each story of the fine structures. While the *Sala-niches* of the lower story carries fine stone images of the usual deities, those of the upper story possess modern stucco images of gods. Apart from these images, seven more stone sculptures depicting various from these images depicting different Siva, kept in the spaces between the *Salas* and the *Panjaras* of the upper storey. Originally, these sculptures have been placed either in the *Panjaras* or in the *Karnakutas*. It has already accommodated stone icons.¹⁰ A pair of stucco *Nandi's* with a *Buda* in the middle appears on each corner of the *griva-platform*. While the square *griva* contains recent stucco figures of deities in the niches, the square *Sikara* terminates by a metal, has four large *Simhamukanasis* crowning the *griva-niches*.

The architectural analysis of the **Ulagalanthaperumal** temple at Tirukkoyilur

clearly reveals the fact that it belongs to the beginning or in the middle of the eleventh century.¹¹ Certainly, it is a Chola monument displaying several Chola stylistic features mixed with some Pandya architectural elements.

Ardhamandapa

The flat-roofed ardhmandapa adjoining the front part of the garbhagrha with an entrance of 6.56m x 5.32 m height on its western end is found without supporting pillars¹¹. Two dvarapalas are standing one on either side of the entrance of this mandapa. It is intended for keeping the materials immediately required for the Pujas.

Mahamandapa

The rectangular mahamandapa lies next to the ardhmandapa with a flat topped roof supported by twenty pillars with east entrance. These pillars are divided into two types. All these pillars are 2.15 m in height. Four pillars are of brahmakanta type and the remaining sixteen pillars are square-typed and both are carrying the same cushion type capitals. This mandapa has two passages one from the south and the other from the north.¹²

South west corner of the mahamandapa in Periyana Ganapati, Somaskanda, and Varadarajaperumal shrines and in north west corner Valli, Devasena, Arumugar shrine and Gajalakshmi shrines are located. North of mahamandapa is Panjamurti shrine, Nataraja shrine and stone idols of 63 Nayanmars are installed.¹³ A secret room is placed in the interior on the northern side of this mandapa to store the jewels and garments of deities. A big and long wooden door is fixed in the mahamandapa entrance.

This temple has been preserved by the administrators right from the time of the later Cholas, Pandyas Andhakasuravadhamurti shrine. In the southern side of the mahamandapa the, and the Vijayanagara kings down to this day with all its multifarious additions, renovations, repairs, changes and the like. The Tirukkoyilur, **Ulagalanthaperumal** temple, Tiruvirattanesvarar temple even as it remains paramount on the religious side stands equally paramount in the art of its building construction.

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GLIMPSE OF ST THOMAS TRADITION IN KERALA CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Letitia K Vinoy

St. Thomas

St Thomas a Galilean was one among the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ. The Aramaic word Thoma means 'twin'. Some argues that Thomas is not his name, but an indication that he was born as one among the twins. He is also known as Didymus. It could just be a surname added to his original name. The name Judas Thomas is seen in all the Syriac Thomas literature. Holy Bible gives only few details about him. Only the gospel of St. John mentions about St. Thomas in Jo 11:16(resurrection of Lazar), Jo 14:5(Last Supper) and Jo 20:25-29(resurrection of Christ).When Jesus decided to go to Judea to raise Lazarus to life, his disciples advised him not to go as the Jews were seeking to stone him. But Thomas said to them: "Let us also go, that we may die with him." This shows his courage and love towards his master. At the Last Supper, when Jesus informed his disciples that he is about to leave them, Thomas asked," Lord, we do not know where you are going; how can we know the way?" It is his desire to follow him extols here. Lord replied him: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me." After the resurrection of Jesus Christ when he appeared in front of St Thomas, he confessed, "My Lord and my God". Nobody confessed the resurrection of Jesus Christ in such a perfection. The parting words of Jesus Christ was, "But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witness in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth." (Acts 1:8)¹

St. Thomas came to India, beyond the Roman empire to preach the gospel of Jesus. The historical facts and traditions portray the

missionary activities of St. Thomas is so wide and expansive one. It includes parts of Persian empire and China. His mission journey to India has mentioned in Acts of Thomas which is written most probably in third century A.D. in Edessa and in Periplus of Eritrean Sea. It is considered that St. Thomas took the maritime route to reach India. He came to Alexandria from Jerusalem and travelled through Berenike, Myos Hormos, Adulis and Kane. He landed in Bharuch. There he preached gospel and went to Mathura through Vidisa, Ujjain and Taxila. Taxila was the capital of Indo Parthian king Gondopheres. From 44.A.D to 50.A.D. his missionary acts mainly concentrated in the Indo Parthian Empire. Later, by silk route, he returned to Jerusalem. In A.D. 52, on his second voyage, he reached Muziris (Kodungalloor) in Kerala through Socotra. He travelled to many parts of Kerala and established Christian communities. He went to Madras and martyred in 72.A.D. in Mylapore.²

Sevend And A Half Churches

The most important in St. Thomas tradition is the establishment of seven and a half churches. Ramban paattu mentions the place names, number of people who baptized, their caste etc. All of them situated on important trade routes or on coastal areas. St. Thomas tradition is still kept alive through these churches. This doesn't mean Apostle built places of worship here. It implies Apostle erected cross in these places and established Christian communities.

Kodungalloor

In first century A.D., Muziris was the major port of India. When St. Thomas came here it was the capital of Chola empire. Then he went to

Mylapore and China. He spent four months in China and came back to Mylapore. Keppa, son in law of Cheraman Perumal requested St.Thomas to return to Kodungalloor. Thus he came to Malliyankara again and started preaching gospel. He converted many Brahmins into Christianity. One among them was Malliyekkal Thomas Ramban. It is believed that, in all generations of this family there had been priests. The belief is that one of them is the author of Ramban paattu. Some says that Thomas Ramban compose Ramban paatu. St.Thomas baptized forty jewish families of Kodungalloor. A Synagogue turned into Christian church. Marthoma shrine which is near to the Boat Jetty of Azhikode is built in the model of St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican by CMI Congregation in 1953. Cardinal Tisserant brought a part of the arm of the Apostle from Ortona, Italy.³

St. Mary's Church, Sringapuram which belongs to the diocese of Irinjalakuda was established in 1954. The construction of the church has followed the ancient architecture style of Kerala. Wall paintings related to the life of St.Thomas is the main attraction of church. The words near the entrance are written, "Kodungallur church was founded by St. Thomas the Apostle in A.D.52. He came here, proclaimed the Word of God and established the Kodungallur church. It is the first among the seven churches and the cradle of Christian faith in India." The inscription on stone tablet says "St.Thomas, an Apostle of Jesus reached here in A.D. 52. He preached the gospel and erected a cross here.

Maliankara is a small village near Moothakunnam. St. Thomas Chapel, Maliankara which is on the banks of River Periyar belongs to Latin diocese of Kottapuram. We can see a huge statue of St Thomas close to Maliankara bridge. The tradition says that this is the place where the Apostle disembarked in Kerala. The words in three language says, "The Maliankara church built by St.Thomas in A.D.52. Cardinal Tisserant erected another inscription inside the chapel.

Kollam

From Maliankara St.Thomas went to Kollam which is also known as Quilon or Desinganadu. There he baptized several trading class people called chettiars and built a church

for them. Many people from other places like Mannadi, Pattazhi, Kallada, Enaar converted to Christians. Those who were against Apostle shifted to Nanchinadu. During his one year period in Kollam he baptized around 1400 people. Port Kollam Church is built at the place where the Apostle established the first church at Kollam. A church which existed till ninth century got destroyed by sea waves. The marthoma smruthi mandapam is built outside the church. The verses of Ramban paattu are also written down.

Niranam

Nelcynda (presently Nakkida), which is an ancient port at the confluence of rivers Achankovil, Pampa and Manimala is very near to Niranam. It is considered that St.Thomas who came from Kollam, disembarked at Niranam at a place called Thomathukadavu of Kottechal canal which is running through Niranam. St. Thomas ecumenical Art gallery is built here. Four main nambudhiri families, namely, Pattamukku, Thayyil, Manki and Matathilan were baptized by Apostle who erected a cross there. But this cross was later thrown away into the river by enemies. The cross reached the other side of the river and Apostle now erected cross there. A church was built there. St. Mary's Church in Niranam today belongs to Orthodox church. In front of the church, we can see one of the most ancient crosses of India. The relics of Apostle which is brought from Mosul is kept in Smrudimandir. Marthoma Christians who got separated from St.Mary's church in 1906 built Jerusalem Marthoma Church on the other side of the river.

Nilakkal

From Niranam, Apostle reached Nilakkal (Chayal) which is an important trade centre in first century A.D. He baptized many and built a church here. But it's remain now lies in thick reserve forest. Later according to the demand of the Christians, an ecumenical church after St. Thomas was built here in 1983.

Kokkamangalam

Apostle came here and established a Christian community and appointed Thomas Ramban as their head. Apostle baptized about 1600 people here. The cross which Apostle established here was thrown away into the backwaters and a woman came to see blood

coming from the cross which floated to the other side. This cross is now preserved at Pallipuram. A small church was built there (now belong to the Archdiocese of Ernakulam-Angamaly) Main attraction here is the replica of original cross established on the banks of Vembanad lake. and now it is called Mattel Kurisu. Marthomamargam and miraculous picture of St.Thomas are other important things.

Kottakkavu

Kottakkavu (Paravur) which was known as Vanchi, Thiruvanchikulam etc in ancient time once was the capital of Chera kings. About 1770 persons were baptized here. St. Thomas church Kottakkavu belongs to Ernakulam-Angamaly archdiocese. Old church now functions as adoration chapel.⁴

Palayur

According to Hindu tradition among the 32 Brahmin villages of ancient Kerala, one was Palayur. St. Thomas tradition existing here says that: When Apostle came here, Brahmins were doing Prituyanjan and were throwing water into the air while reciting mantras. Apostle by seeing this asked them why the water is coming down. He further added that his offerings will be taken by his God. He then took some water, prayed for a moment and threw to the air. Water stood still in the air. Many people received baptism on that day. They belonged to the Pakalamattom, Madeipuri, Sankarapuri, Kalli, Kalikavu, Koykkam, Muttodal, Nedumpally, Panakamattom and Kattakali illams. The rest of the families left Palayur after cursing the place. That's why it is called shapakadu (now Chavakkad). The deserted Hindu temple was incorporated to the St.Thomas church. On the long pathway from the main gate to the church, granite statues depicting the missionary activities of St.Thomas are erected in 14 stations. It is Marthoma Path. Next to the church there is a cultural and historical museum. The largest statue of St.Thomas is erected on the Western side of Bottukulam.⁵

Thiruvamcodu

St.Thomas church at Thiruvamcode, Tamil Nadu is the half church built by St. Thomas. In Malayalam it is known as 'arappally' (half church). The word 'ara' in Tamil means king. It is believed that the king gave place and stones for

the construction of church. It is said that Hindu sage Thiruvalluvar was impressed in Apostle and informed the king. The king donated three hundred acres of land to the Christians. According to the tradition, the church here is built in A.D.63.⁵

Authenticity of St.Thomas Tradition

The authenticity of this tradition is a controversial topic. There is widespread faith in the apostolic origin of the Kerala church among the Christians of Kerala. The Acts of Thomas and Christian folk song of Kerala like Ramban paattu, Margamkali paatu etc mentions about the mission of St.Thomas. But some historians argues that the Act of Thomas which consists of thirteen acts and written around 200-225 A.D is an apocryphal romantic narrative and not much credence can be given to the version embodied in it. And the folk songs were composed only in the seventeenth century and the statements contained there in cannot be taken as transmitting genuine historical facts. Moffett, in his work 'A History of Christianity in Asia' says that songs of a living community transmitted through generations sometimes offer deeper insights behind the truth of ethnic and religious origins than manuscripts and damaged inscriptions. Some historians upholds the possibilities inherent in the ancient trade contacts between Kerala and West Asian countries and especially so, after the discovery of the seasonal character of the monsoon winds by Hippalus (A.D.45) which facilitated direct oceanic voyage between Kerala and the Persian Gulf area. They believe that St Thomas took this route and landed at Muziris. Early Christian writings talks about the arrival of St. Thomas to India.⁶ The Didascalia Apostolorum (Teaching of the Apostles) which is a Syriac work of 225 to 250 A.D and a compilation of ethical and legal regulations says that India received the Apostles' Hand of the Priesthood from Judas Thomas. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Jerome, St. Paulinus of Nola, Ephrem of Edessa and St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours have mentioned the arrival of St. Thomas to India. In the writings of a Bishop of Caesarea, Fr. Eusebius (314-339 A.D) we can come across a man named Pantaneus, who visited India about 180 A.D and there he found a gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew language. Jerome in his letter LXX talks about some Indian delegates asking

Demetrius, the Bishop of Alexandria, to send Pantaneus to India to preach gospel. The visit of Pantaneus to India informs us of the presence of a Christian community in South India in first century A.D. But some have argued that Pantaneus was in North India and not in Malabar. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveler, on his visit to South India in 1288 and 1299 mentions of a town where St. Thomas was buried. Podipara, a historian of St. Thomas tradition reminds us that some oral tradition become widespread in the form of proverbs. In Palayur when Apostle baptized some Brahmins, the rest of the community left to Vemmanadu, by saying 'next bath at Vemmanadu' which now become a proverb. This legend is shared both by Hindus and Christians in this region.⁷ E.R. Hambye of the Society of Jesus in his article on 'St. Thomas and India' in the Clergy Quarterly of November 1952 states, "We are dealing with a tradition, for there is no written testimony close to the life time of

St. Thomas and it needs to be checked according to the strict principle of historical criticism".⁸

Conclusion

Early Christian writings, travelers' accounts, ancient manuscripts, St. Thomas cross and oral traditions of living communities which portray the missionary activities of Apostle in Kerala have to be proved by analyzing further historical evidences. St. Thomas Christians in Kerala still believes that apostle came to Kerala in A.D. 52 to preach the gospel and baptized many. The relevance and influence of St. Thomas tradition in their life is very high. They are really proud of being known by that name. The seven places where Apostle established churches still have strong presence of Christian communities. Every year, the solemn feast of Apostle is celebrated as Dukrana on July 3 by St. Thomas Christians on a large scale. This testimonies that they preserves the legacy and tradition of St. Thomas' fraternity.

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BRONZE IMAGES OF SRI KAYAROHANESWARAR SWAMY TEMPLE AT NAGAPATTINAM

R. Mahalakshmi

The history of art in South India is of great antiquity and the art is practised even today by many craftsmen. The early Tamil Literature speaks of the numerous images that were fashioned in metal, wood, ivory, and stucco. The different forms of images are also shaped as stipulated in the early "Silpa" texts and "Agamas". The "Silpasastras" and "Agamas" deal with the fashioning of iconographic forms and have laid down the data for the size and forms of these icons. In Tamilnadu the end of the sixth century C. E., and the beginning of seventh century C. E., witnessed vigorous activities in temple construction. Mahendravarman I and his son

Narasimhavarman I was mainly responsible for the rock cut temple and bas relief found in Tamil Nadu.

Bronzes

The imperial Chola rulers, Rajaraja I and Rajendra I constituted the golden age of bronzes in South India. The original habitats of most of the image of this period are confined to Kaveri delta region.

In the Chola period the division of the Sivamurtis into "anugraha", "Santa", "nirtta" and "samhara" types reached its zenith. The

Lingodbava Chandrasekhar, Umasahita and Somaskanda are on Santa type. The angora type is Chandikesa are samhara or agora types. While samhara and anugraha murtis types became a common factor for Siva as well as Vishnu.¹

The most popular theme was as Natesa in the Ananda tandava mode. The other form of Siva depicted in bronze were Tripurantaka vinodhara, Vrishabhavahana, Somaskanda and Kalyanasundara, special importance and encouragement etc., since the Cholas were powerful warriors the concept of Subrahmanya was also popular. The largest bronze of Subrahmanya of this period is from Gangaikondacholapuram.²

On the Vaishnava side besides the icons of Vishnu with or without consorts of those of other well known incarnation of Vishnu were also produced. It was interesting note that from the early Chola period, the metal icon of Rama, Sita, Lakshmi and Hanuman in group appeared in the Tamil country.³

The Chola period is considered again to be important for the prolific production of icons of minor deities like Kali, Ayyanar, Chandsesa, Nandi, Adikara Nandi, Surya the Ayudhaprushas of Vaishnava order. Besides Saiva Nayanmars like Appar, Sambandar, his consort Paravai Nachchiyar, Manikkavachakar, Kannappar, Kotpili and Vaishnava images like Tirumangai are notable in this category.

From about the 12th century C.E,⁴ the Chola power began to wane due to the fact that the Pandyas began to be more and powerful and tried to expand their sovereignty over the whole of Tamilnadu. As usual the member of temples and innumerable sculptures and bronze were destroyed. Hence we may conclude that the works of art especially of bronzes images belonging to the period under discussion are found to hail from different parts of Tamilnadu.

The rulers of the Vijayanagar Empire were ardent Hindus. They patronised all kinds of religious and cultural activities and as a consequence a number of temple were built and countless number of sculptures were produced during the time. Nagapattinam temple is also famous for icons that belong to Chola;⁵ the study of icons in this temple is under the following pages.

Nataraja

Nataraja is the King of dancers. The Amusumad Bedagama describes the dances of Nataraja. It states that there are one hundred and eight modes of dance by Nataraja. The agamas mention seven kinds of dances allied Ananda tandava sandhya tandava, Uma tandava, gauri tandava, kalika tandava, Tripura tandava and samhara tandava.

The dance of Siva represents his five activities (pancha kritiya), "sristhi" (creation) "Sthithi" (preservation) "samhara" (destruction), tirobhava illusion, anugraha (salvation grace). These are separately considered as the activities of the deities like Siva, Vishnu, Rudra, Mahaeswarar and Brahma.⁶

The creation arises from drum; production proceeds from the hand of rope, from the fire proceeds destruction, the foot held aloft gives mukthi. Here mukthi is the same as anugraha (release). The lower left points to this lifted foot, the refuge of the soul. His hand holding the drum shows 'si' the one held out is 'va'. The hand in production in 'ya' fire in the hands is 'Na' and foot on the muyalaka in 'ma. So that is called as "SIVAYANAMA".⁷

The essential significance of Siva dance is three fold. First it is the image of his rhythmic activity as the source of all movements within the cosmos, which is represented by the arch. Secondary the purpose of this dance is to release the countless souls of men from illusion thirdly the place of the dance is Chidambaram, the centre of the universe within the heart

The worship of Nataraja can be traced to the Indus Valley civilization. The Vedic literature describes the dance of Siva. The iconographic form of Siva as Nataraja probably first appeared in the days of Guptas. There is inscriptional evidence from Badami and a ten armed Nataraja image was found at Aihole.

In Tamilnadu there is no reference to the Nataraja cult during the Sangam age. The Kurram Nataraja image is dated to 8th century C.E.⁸ the Pallava image of Nataraja both in metal and stone are generally dated to the eighth and ninth centuries on stylistic grounds.

The Pallavas were succeeded by the Cholas of Thanjavur. The art of the Cholas

shows an individuality and vanity of its own which was essentially and definitely an extension of the Pallavas.

The image of Pavalavaloga idol of Nataraja in the name of Chittrambalavan found on the northern side of the first prakara of this Temple. It is fixed on a circular "tiruvasi" which is of an extraordinary beauty. He is seen with his right leg on a Muyalakan, and the left in a dancing posture. His makuda is seen with a skull, the crescent and the goddess Ganga. He wears a tiger skin as his under garment. He holds a drum in his upper right hand. His lower right hand is in abhaya hasta his lower left hand is in gaja hasta.

When compared with Natesa from Adi Kumbeshwarar Temple at Kumbakonam and Kailasanatha Temple at Kanchi the headdress is equally decorated. The ornaments like kanti long hara yajnopavita are very beautiful when compared with the image at Tanjore temple.

Sri Amman

This panchaloka icon is the divine consort of Lord Nataraja. This is in separate pedestal which matches the lord on a separate pedestal matching the Lord this image is tall statured (1.3 mts height) this is dated in 13th of the century by the Archaeology department.

The idol is standing on a padmapeda. A "karanda makuda" adorns her head and curls of hair falling on her shoulder are smoothly and beautifully done. Necklaces adorn her neck. Her breasts are full without breast band. She wears makara kundalas in her left four arm and bangles in her wrist which add further beauty to the idol. Pearl ornament (muthusaram) is engraved round her waist. A fine flower, designed cloth covers her waist and extends up to the ankles.⁹

The image of *Neelayathatchi Amman* is more beautiful as compared with the early image of Tanjore and Melaperumballam (Tanjore district). The ornamentation and workmanship of the earlier period is continued as is seen through this image.¹⁰

Kalyana Sundara Moorthi

According to the Puranas Sakthi, the daughter of Daksha and consort of Siva were dead. She was born to the god Himalaya as Parvathi. The goddess Parvathi herself

underwent austerities to join with her lord once again.

Siva, assuming the form of an old decrepit brahmana approached Parvathi. Finally she dedicated we self to Siva. The regular marriage was celebrated later on generally the scene of marriage of Parvati and with Siva appears along with that of Vishnu and the consort Lakshmi and Bhumi Devi.¹¹

The image of Kalyanasundara is found at Ellora cave temple. In Tamilnadu, the image Kalyanasundara is found at Kanchi Kailasanatha temple in which Siva Tirumal and Ambigai images are also found. The image of Kalyanasundara is an example of later Pallava style. It is in tribhanga posture.

The god Siva stands in a slight tribhanga pose which is at once beautiful and majestic. The "jatamakuda" is high and extremely well finished. Makara kundala and patra kundalas decorated his ears. The face is in an oval shape and the nose is flower decked stands of hair are seen on the shoulder. The pronged keyura simple band like elbow ornaments¹²valayamas.

Siva has four hands the upper right hand is holding the tanka and the lower are holding the right hand of Parvathi. The upper left hand is holding the deer and lower hand in varada pose.

The image of Parvathi is standing on the right side of the god. The pleasing jatamakuda decorates her head. The makara and patra kundalas decorates her ears and the neck is adorned with simple kanti with mangalya sutra. The right hand of Parvathi is held by the right hand of Siva and the left hand is in kataka pose. The modelling of the images is beautiful. The part below the naval has also been referred beautifully. The sari is depicted in a realistic manner and its folds are suggested by widely separating wave patterns. When compared with earlier image of Kalyana Sundara at Tiruvelkudi the image Nagapattinam is more decorated and beautifully ornamented.¹³

Siva

This is not one of the common representations of Siva. The Karomogama describes this type of god. In Nagapattinam temple the image of Siva is found at the northern platform the main temple. The image of Siva is

usually in the sukha asana pose of comfort and ease. He has four hands in one of his upper right hand hold the danka and the lower are in the abhaya pose. The upper left hand holds the "mazhu" and the lower hands this extenuated forward in varatha and face of the lord Siva his damaged contrition.¹⁴ The hand of the god Siva is decorated with karantha makuda the depiction eyes for fine. The left and right ears are without any ornaments. Around the neck he wears the kandigai, sarapalli and harm.

Adhipaktha Nayanar

Adhipaktha Nayanar was a devotee of Lord Shiva and one of the 63 Nayanmars saints. was the chieftain of the fishing village and every day, the first fish that he caught used to bib thrown back into the seen as an offering to lord Shiva "He lived in the area several centuries ago and the Lord, Wanting to test his devotion, had ensured that there was no fish in his net for a few days and his family had to go without any food.

Then, on one day, he caught a golden fish. Despite the villagers telling him not to let it back into the sea, he did so. Then the Lord appeared in front of him and blessed him. That day happened to be the Aayilyam star" the festival in a grand fanner with the idols of Kayarohaneswarar Swamy and His consort Neelayathakshi Amman being fright to the sea shore from the temple. The villagers tied the gold and silver fish to his idol in symbolic manner and they let them into the sea.

"The village had a math in the name of the Nayanar but it was in state of disrepair. That place was repaired and a temple functions from there now. The fishermen bring the items required of Puja from the math," Hence, the gratitude of this Nayanar who was honoured by the government of Tamilnadu constructs the separate mandapa for Adhipaktha Nayanar.¹⁵

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DEVELOPMENT OF AMMAN CULT AND TEMPLES IN TAMIL COUNTRY

Dr. A. Mahalingam

The clan based primitive society was revolved around the women who had essential function of rearing the young and of preserving them from the external forces. All cultural traits including habits, norms of behaviors, inherited tradition were formed by and transmitted through the temples. The woman was not only the symbol of generation but the actual producer of life. The identification of earth with women

implies that the functions of the earth and those of women are alike. The same preconditions which fertilize women are also thought to fertilize mother earth.¹ Most of the figurines of the mother goddess from Mohenjadaro are painted over with a red slip or wash. The oldest extent figurines of the mother Goddess such as the venus of willendorf are painted red. Some of the Egyptian, Maltase, Cyproite and Danubian

figurines are also found ruddled. The relation between red ochre or vermilion with the productive aspects of nature has been shown by Briffault. Red being the fertility symbol representing the menstrual blood is appropriate to the temple figurines supposed to represent the earth or mother goddess.²

Mother goddess worship was an important cult during the ancient Tamil society. There were three types of mother goddess worship prevailed i.e, Kottiravai, Kalai, Indo-Aryan, pre-Dravidian tribal goddess.³ The rivers are also considered as mother goddesses. Kaveri, Gangai, Saraswati, Yamunai are worshipped which is one of the cultural traditions of India. Peripules describes caves and ports on the cape of Comerin and he also mentions about virgin mother goddess cult existed in the Comerin during the 1st c C.E. It is a water goddess known as *Kadalkelu Selvi*. Mother goddess also worshipped in Kaveri Poompattinam as *Sampapathi* which was known later as Kadalkelu Selvi in Manimekalai.⁴

Taking in to consideration the Hindu impact, we find in the earlier strata of the Sangam literature, belonging to the first half of the first millennium C.E. references to the Vedic ideas, customs and sacrifices and to the Hindu gods in their new habitations, forms and attributes mixed with much that was indigenous. In the absence of any contemporary iconographic representations, we have to seek information only from the literary sources.

The syncretic forms of Mayon and Valiyon or Nagar, the local forms of Krishna and Balarama, sevvel or Neduvel, the Murugan of the Tamils corresponding to *Karttikeya-Skanda*, *Kottiravai* or *Kadurai Kadavul* also called *Kanamar Selvi*, the aspect *Durga* have been evolved.⁵

The concept of Durga as the deweller in the hilly areas is first indicated in her original role as *Kottiravai* or *Vettrimadantai* (Goddess of Victory) with her abode in the Vagai tree in Paditruppattu (66) and by Kuruntogai (218:1) where she is called *Suli* the *winder* of *sula* (trident) to whom vows are made.

*Vida-Mukai-adukkattu-viral kelu sulikku kadayum punam*⁶

The Lakshmi cult is also mentioned in the Sangam classics, in which occur such goddesses

as *Amari, Kumari, Gauri, Samari, Suli, Nili, Aiyal, Sayyaval Kottiravai, Nallal, Kann, Saikari* etc. Among them, Kumari, the Virgin goddess, Kanyakumari of the Taittiriya Aranyaka who gave her name to the southernmost point of India.

The story of deification of a human being called Kannaki in to Pattiankadavul, the goddess of chastity, is met with in the great Tamil epic *Silappadikaram* (2nd c C.E.). This lady destroyed the city of Madurai by fire to avenge the execution of her husband Kovalan. Kosar, the king of Kangu, Gajabahu, the king of Lanka, Perunkelli, the Chola king, and the Cera king Senguttuvan erected temples and instituted festivals in her honor.⁷

How and when the Kannaki cult was assimilated with and finally absorbed in to the kali or Bhagavati cult cannot be ascertained at our present state of Knowledge. In the *Silapadikaram* we have references to the worship of Kali. On their way to Madurai, Kannaki and Kovalan stopped at a Kali temple where they witnessed a weird dance of the priestess of Kali who, attired like a dread goddess, stood up in the village common, trembling all over as if she was possessed by a devil and dreaded in horrific tones that the goddess Kali was angry as the Maravar had not offered any sacrifice at her temple for sometime past.⁸

The *Kadamarselvi* occurs in the *Manimekalai*. She is designated as goddess of war and again as the ancient goddess (*palaiyo*) in *Tirumurugattruppada*, a much later inclusion forming the invocatory poem of the *Pattupattu* collection. The *Paripadal* collection seems to have had a poem on *Kadukal* according to the later commentaries of *Iraiyanar Ahapporul* and *Tolkoppiam*. *Kadukal* is said to be the corruption of *Kadukilal* which again in the commentary of *Tekkayagapparani* is given as kannadi or Vana Durga.⁹ Even in the Tevaram times she is denoted as kalukal. The *Manimekalai* echoes in another context, the *Vindiyavasini* concept of Durga.

The *Agama* and *Silpa* texts – the *Vaikhasana Agama*, for example assign to the *Durga* figure a place in the *devakostha* outside the northern wall of the *ardhamandapa* of *Saiva* temple as *Vindhyavasini*, a feature that becomes

common from the close of the 8th c onwards, the corresponding southern niche containing Ganapathi. This form of standing Durga, often on the head of buffalo (Mahisha) is described in *Silapadikaram*.

The *Silapadikaram* in the *Vettuvavari* gives a fuller concept of the cult and iconography of *Durga* or *Kottravai* in a elaborate manner. She is described as having a body the colour (dark-blue) of which resembles that of a flower of the *kaya*, with lips red like the coral, teeth white and the neck dark, with a third eye on the cresant like forehead holding the discus and conch, sword and *sula* and the bow which was the *meru* (medumalai) strung with the snake *vasuki* as its nan, wearing the skin of a tiger and belt (*mekalai*) of lion's skin, a *kalal* (hero's calf-band) on one leg and *Silambu* (women's anklet) on the other, with coiffure of jata adorned by serpent and the crescent moon, covering herself with the hide of the elephant as *uttariya* (*ekasam*), wearing snake as her breast band (*kaccu*), carrying a standard of lion she is said to have fought with the asuras and destroyed *Daruka* and *Mahisasura*. She is said to have consumed poison with immunity and described as occupying half the body of the three – eyed Siva as *Mangai* (*Uma*)¹⁰ and as one (*Bhadrakali*) who made the *Iraivan* (*Siva*). Thus she combined in her the concepts of Siva and Vishnu and *Uma* and in her attributes the three *ganas*.¹¹

The attribution of the stag or buck with Durga is the most interesting phenomena in Tamil Country. It is portrayed in the sculptures of the Pallavas and contemporary Pandyas and other dynasties dating between the second half of the 7th to the close of the 10th centuries C.E. The most noteworthy sculptures showing Durga on a deer is from Thanjavur district. It is displayed in the Madras Museum (9th century C.E). The concept of Devi is also called *Vidyasakti* (Supreme knowledge) and *Mayasakti* (nescience).¹²

Saptamatrikas, often interpreted as the seven mother of mankind, cult were significantly absent in the cave temples of the Pallavas. They are found for the first time in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram built by Rajasimha (700-730 C.E.). In the cave temples of Muttarayas who were occupying the Chola country, and of the Pandyas belonging to the 8th century and later they are found either as a part of the cave temple

or in association with them. The image of *Saptamatrikas* are found in Tirukogarnam, Malayadipatti, Kunnathur and Tirukkalakudi. The *Matrikas*, *Jeyesta* continued till about the close for the 11th century C.E even after the influence of the Bhakti movement of the Nayanmaras and Alvars of whom one has strongly criticized the worship of Sakti by Sankara, in the first half of the 9th century C.E. In the early Chola times, such goddesses were called as Durga under the names of *Kalapidari*, *Durga Paramesvari*, *Durgayaromkara Sundari* etc. The shrine of Durga is referred to as *Muniril* in *Silapadikaram* are called *Tirumuttram* or *Sattimuttram* as distinguished from the *Sri Koil* or *Siva* and *Vishnu*.¹³

Amman worship was developed under different names in Tamil country however separate temple was not constructed. Rajaraja I (1012-1044 C.E.) initiated a tradition of constructing Amman shrine in the Brahadisvara temple complex. The Amman shrine was known as *Brahatiamma* in the name of the main deity. Rituals and ceremonies were regularised in the Amman temples. Subsequently separate the Amman temples were constructed in temples of *Darasuram* and *Tribuvanam*. In the later Pandya period Amman temples also constructed which was portrayed in the northern side facing south side in front of the main deity. Mention may be made of *Vishvanatha* temple at *Pattamadai*. The Amman temple was known as *Tirukamakottamudaya Aludayanachiyar* as called other region in Tamil Nadu. *Vedachalam* describes the development of Amman temple in to four stages in Pandya country.¹⁴ Amman temple is also erected in the northern side of the *Moolanatha swamy* temple at *Tenkarai* which contains *ardhamandapa*, *mahamandapa* and *prakara*. It is a square *vamana* and the *adhithana* contains simple *upana*, *jagadi*, *kumudham*, *kandam*, *patti*, *kandam*, *vedi*. *Kumudham* is a *virudhakumudam*.¹⁵

During the Vijayanagara Nayak period, the Amman temples were constructed and transformed the structure parallel to the main deity. The main deities are called in the name of Amman in instance *Meenakshi Amman*, *Kamakshi Amman*, *Gomathi Amman*. A Goddess shrine was constructed in the *Siva* temple complex at *Viramanallur*. This site is situated some 24 kilometers north of

Kanchipuram in the transitional Telugu-Tamil zone. This building is dependent on earlier structure as is clear from the Chola style of the double capitals and angled corbels of the wall pilasters.

The Venkataraman temple complex inside the Gingee fort is an early Nayak project. Here the Amman shrines occupy the two western corners of the enclosure, each with a small *mandapa* in which piers have multiple colonette.

After the recovery of Madurai by Kumara Kampana, the twin shrines dedicated to Meenakshi, tutelary goddess of Madurai, and her consort Sundareshvara were substantially rebuilt. The Meenakshi temple complex is contained within high enclosure walls, lofty *gopuras* are positioned in the middle of each side. The Meenakshi temple is usually entered from the east through a porch projecting outwards beyond the enclosure wall. This porch

was constructed by Rudrapati and Toli Ammai, consorts of Tirumalai Nayak.¹⁶

Maduravalli Thayar Sannithi in the Kudal Alagar Perumal temple at Madurai, Amman shrine at Melathirumanickam near Madurai, Vedavalli Thayar shrine in the Parthasarathi temple complex at Truvallikeni are constructed during this period. *Mandapas, prakaras* were expanded and celestial marriages were conducted regularly. This was led to arrange many fairs and festivals.¹⁷ The Amman cult was existed from the earlier times in Tamil country. The literature of Sangam period gives references to the worship of mother goddesses which were known different names. The temples for goddess were erected first time by Rajaraja I in Tamil country. This tradition was expanded to other region of Tamil Nadu and it was further elaborated and exalted the Amman temples during the Vijayanagara Nayak period.

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TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF JATAVARMANSUNDARA CHOLA PANDYA AT TIRUVALISWARAM – A STUDY

E. Manamaran

In the medieval Tamil Nadu the Cholas established their survey over the vast areas of South India and Sri Lanka. They organized a well knitted administrative machinery in which the revenue department played a vital role. The Chola revenue department had clearly arranged hierarchical order. This was evolved from the old traditions, customs and convention of the medieval age. At the time of Rajaraja-I the administrative machinery of the Cholas became matured. They extended their administrative

system into the conquered regions. In the Pandya concentry especially in Tirunelveli region the Chola system functioned well.

Paranthaka –I conquered the whole of the pandya country and annexed it which was a short lived success. At the time of Paranthaka-II Sundarachola Pandyas were defeated but not their land was conquered. At the reign of Rajanaja again Pandya country was conquered. Rajaraja-I annexed the Pandya country and established his direct rule through officials.

When Rajendra –I came to power he introduced the Chola Pandya viceroy to rule the Pandya country. This viceroy rule was effectively function in the Pandya country especially in the Tirunelveli region. Practically the Chola Pandya Viceroy were acted as independent rulers but the Chola Emperor occasionally interfered in the Viceroy's duties, otherwise the viceroys took over their duties independently.

Two inscriptions of Tiruvaliswaram

Two inscriptions of Tiruvaliswaram of Ambasamutram Taluk of Tirunelveli region are unique in their nature. They are very rare inscriptions and are best specimens for the efficiency of the Chola administration¹.

Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya, the Chola viceroy, of the Pandya country, issued an order from his palace at Rajendra Cholapuram in his 16th regional year in which a five veli land was purchased from Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam of Mullinadu and donated it to Valliswaramudaiyar Temple at Tiruvaliswaram to a festival and feedings to Sivabrahmanas, was mentioned².

The second inscription of the same viceroy which was issued in his 17th regional year tells us that the previous order was repealed and issued a new order. The new order has made some changes in the previous order and gave a new name to the donated land. In the inscription many names of the revenue officers and their designations were clearly mentioned. These two inscriptions supply us many worthwhile information about the functions of the Chola administration.

The first inscription

The first inscription which was issued in the 16th year, speaks about a land donation. The donated land was purchased from the Mahasaba of Rajaraja Chaturvedimangalam. This land donation was initiated by the maternal uncle of Chola Pandya and the order was issued by

inscription mention the boundaries of the donated land, location, purpose, changing of the status of the land, removal of tax, the names of the revenue officers etc.

The donated land was previously a brahmadeya land³. It was purchased and converted into Vellalanvagai land and donated as devadhana land to the Tiruvateswaram temple. This conversion of land from one status to another was clearly mentioned in this record. The designations of officials also mentioned in it. They are Tirumantraolai, Tirumantraolainayagam, vidaiyilathikarikal, puravuvai thinaikalathikkankani, varipothagam, varipothagkanakku, mukavetti.

The second inscription

The second inscription of the same Chola Pandya viceroy was issued from the Madurai palace in which he repealed the previous order. This new order was issued in this 17th regional year. The new order had changed the name of the donated land as Sivasaranasekaranallur. In the previous inscription the name of the devadhana land is damaged. The second inscription completely cancelled the previous order. The cause for this cancellation is not known. All the revenue officers of the previous record along with pattolai and many witness persons were mentioned in this inscription.

The two inscriptions of Tiruvaliswaram temple clearly show the administrative formalities of the Cholas, the officers designations, witness persons, the care of the government. The Chola administration gave utmost care to correct into mistakes. Finally these two inscriptions also emphasise the fact that the Chola Pandya viceroys had exercised independently in their administration. The central government of the Cholas intervened the Chola Pandya administration in rare occasions.

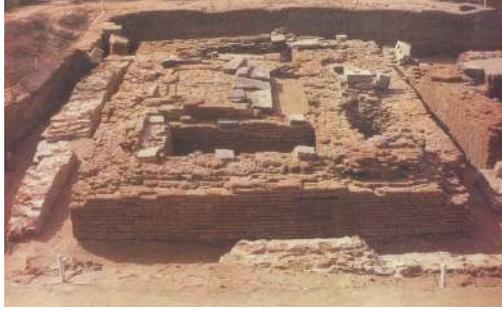
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2. S.1.1. Vol. XIV. No. 160

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“A HISTORICAL STUDY OF JAINBASADI IN TALAKADU”

V. Manikanta & Dr. N. Shaik Masthan



INTRODUCTION

Talakadu is a desert like town on the left bank of the Kaveri River at a spot where the river makes a sharp bend. It is 45 km from Mysore and 133 km from Bangalore in Karnataka. A historic site, Talakadu once had over 30 temples that today were buried in sand. Several dynasties were ruled Talakadu. In those gangas were for most important where they were ruled nearly 800 years. The western Gangas were great patrons of Saivism and Jainism temples are constructed in Talakad. Archaeological excavations were conducted here and they revealed many brick structures of antiquity and the present Jaina temple is one such structure excavated here. This Jainabasadi constructed by nearly 5 to 7th century. The entire temples were of well-burnt bricks. This is the one of the oldest Jainbasadi in Karnataka.

THE ORIGIN OF TALAKADU NAME

Talakadu on the left bank of the Kaveri River is an ancient place which was also known as Talavanapura, Tarekad or Talaikot or Talkadu¹, in early Gangas records. It was the capital city of the Ganga rulers from the times of Harivarma (247-266 A.D). It has several mounds and standing temples. Many of them engulfed by the sand dunes. The area also called as Gajaranyakshetra in some of records and Rishis were said to be moving there in inform of elephants due to a curse. Two brothers Tala and Kada are said to have given the place the name according to a legend. In Sanskrit the place is called as Dalavanapura. The cholas preferred to call the place after their illustrious ruler as Rajarajapura (in the name of Rajarajachola).²

The Talkadu was ruled by several dynasty as a capital and as provincial city. This city was the main capital city of Western Gangas and it served over thousand years. Later this area was captured by Cholas, after the Cholas it was in the hands of Hoyasala and finally Vijayanagara. According to Tyabird in Talkadu more than 30 temples were engulfed in sand³.

GANGAS IN TALAKADU

Western Ganga was an important ruling dynasty of ancient Karnataka in India which lasted from about 350 to 1000 CE. They are known as 'Western Gangas' to distinguish them from the Eastern Gangas who in later centuries ruled over Kalinga (modern Odisha). The general belief is that the Western Gangas began their rule during a time when multiple native clans asserted their freedom due to the weakening of the Pallava Empire in South India, a geo-political event sometimes attributed to the southern conquests of Samudra Gupta. The Western Ganga sovereignty lasted from about 350 to 550 CE, initially ruling from Kolar and later, moving their capital to Talakadu on the banks of the Kaveri River in modern Mysore district. After the rise of the imperial Chalukyas of Badami, the Gangas accepted Chalukya over lordship and fought for the cause of their overlords against the Pallavas of Kanchi. The Chalukyas were replaced by the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta in 753 CE as the dominant power in the Deccan.

After a century of struggle for autonomy, the Western Gangas finally accepted Rashtrakuta over lordship and successfully fought alongside them against their foes, the Chola Dynasty of Tanjavur. In the late 10th

century, north of Tungabhadra River, the Rashtrakutas were replaced by the emerging Western Chalukya Empire and the Chola Dynasty saw renewed power south of the Kaveri River. The defeat of the Western Gangas by Cholas around 1000 resulted in the end of the Ganga influence over the region.

JAIN BASADIS OF KARNATAKA

Around 7th century, Jainism became popular in Karnataka when Jain basadis were built in many parts of the state. The patrons of Jainism in Karnataka were mainly the kadambas, the Gangas followed by the Chalukyas and then the Rashtrakutas.

In the 10th century when Buddhism was reigning all over India, the great Mauryan Emperor, Chandragupta surrendered to his Jain teacher Bhadrabahu at Shravanabelogola. In his memory, one of the two hills at shravanabelogola is called Chandragiri and the other Indragiri.

Karnataka is a major Jain belt that has numerous Jain basadis set amidst picturesque scenery. Pillars being the main motif of Jain architecture, intricately carved stone iconography and larger than life statues make for an interesting trip though the major Jain basadis of Karnataka.

JAINA BASADI IN TALAKAD

Jainabasadi is one of the oldest basadi in Karnataka. This Jain basadi is situated in the talakad village. A five 100 yards to the north of the KeerthiNarayana temple. This Jainabasadi constructed nearly 5 to 7th century⁴.



foundation of Jain basadi

Talakad on the Banks of the river Cauvery was famous as the capital of the early Western Gangas and continued as an important cultural centre till the times of the Wadeyars. Now it is famous for its amazing Sand dunes and the panchalingadarshana. Archaeological excavations were conducted here and they

revealed many brick structures of antiquity and the present Jaina temple is one such structure excavated here⁵.

The western Gangas were great patrons of Saivism and Jainism as evidenced by many inscriptions and structures. They are known to have built a VijayaJinalaya at Talavanapura or Talakad itself and perhaps the excavated Jaina temple may be the same as the one referred to in the VijayaJinalaya in Madakeri Thmrpata inscriptions⁶. Unfortunately only the foundation of this temple could be traced but not the superstructure. The entire temple was built of well-burnt bricks.

The brick temple consisted of three garbhagrihas in a row horizontally, an antarala and a mukha manadapa with a provision for pradakshinapatha. All these structures are enclosed within a prakara wall also of bricks. The main garbhagriha is square (3.25 mts) with two rectangular sanctums on on each side (3.25 x 1.80 mts). In front of these sanctums is a small oblong porch (2.8 x 11.0 mts). All the three garbhagrihas have separate doorways in the front opening to the common porch⁷.



burnt bricks

The separate mukha mandapa in front of the sanctums in square with thick foundation walls. The entire structure was built over a basement or a plinth consisting of various types of mouldings. Perhaps some pillars were used at different points. Perhaps these and other wooden pillars supported wooden framework of the roof above⁸. Thus the brick construction was strong as well as elegant. The size of burnt bricks height is 2 inches, 7 inches width and 11 inches breadth.

Tirthankara Parsvanatha



Very close to the garbhagriha was found a stone image of Tirthankara Parsvanatha. It is in high relief. He is standing with a five hooded serpent and an umbrella above. There is a sculpture of Padmavati Yakshi at the left holding an umbrella over the serpent. This is a rare sculpture. This was the image which adorned the main garbhagriha of this temple. Thus this brick temple provides evidence for Ganga patronage to Jainism at Talakad itself⁹.

CONCLUSION

Around 7th century, Jainism became popular in Karnataka when Jain basadis were

built in many parts of the state. Talakad on the Banks of the river Cauvery was famous as the capital of the early Western Gangas and continued as an important cultural centre till the times of the Wadeyars. Now it is famous for its amazing Sand dunes and the panchalingadarshana. Archaeological excavations were conducted here and they revealed many brick structures of antiquity and the present Jaina temple is one such structure excavated here. The western Gangas were great patrons of Saivism and Jainism as evidenced by many inscriptions and structures. These Jainabasadi is one of the oldest basadi in Karnataka. The entire temple was built of well-burnt bricks. Unfortunately only the foundation of this Jain temple could be traced but not superstructure. This temple all buried under heavily accumulated sand-dune. A brickgopura over the sanctum collapsed due to heavy rain.

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A READING OF THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN CARTOGRAPHY IN COLONIAL INDIA: CONTINUITIES AND RESISTANCES

Mathew Joseph

The late British colonial records and early histories of map making looked upon the Indian subcontinent as region in which modern map making was an alien concept until it was introduced by the Europeans with the emergence of colonialism. The advances in the history of cartography where the idea of what can be considered as a map was considerably expanded has rendered this notion obsolete. The problematization of the idea of the qualities of a proper map has enabled subsequent enquiries into the history of maps in Indian subcontinent. The presence of practices which are of regional origin within the legends of colonial maps are already visible and points to the fact that mapping in colonies was not exclusively of European methods. Adding to this, the possible influences of regional knowledge

practices including map making methods and institutions, the inclusion of which was made possible by the new developments in map studies has resulted in the development of a complex picture of the evolution of colonial cartography in India. An analysis of such a process also required the essentially unequal nature of relations structured by the realities of colonialism as well as the essentially hierarchical nature of social formations in India. The nature of this change also needs to be understood with reference to the responses such projects received from regional polities as well as inhabitants of the land.

The introduction of 'modern' cartographic practices in the subcontinent is often described in relation to the European (mainly British) state building project during the gradual colonization

of the region. While developing his cultural understanding of colonialism, the survey modality and enumerative modality was described by Bernard Cohn (1996) as one of the major investigative modalities. The European mapping activities that preceded the British projects are treated as part of a general mercantile history. The appointment of James Rennell to survey the newly acquired territories of Bengal is assumed as marking a shift from such traditions. This was to be succeeded by the elaborate project of Great Trigonometric Survey (GTS) where grids of triangulation covered the length and breadth of the peninsula rising strong claims on the production of accurate knowledge of the landscape. This narrations observes a break from pre-existing forms of knowledge which were replaced by regionally redefined European knowledge systems functioning as the basis of the emerging social and political formations of colonialism. However these views have come under increasing criticism due to the inability to properly understand the complex developments that characterize this process.

The colonial maps appears to be drawing considerably from precolonial forms of geography imaginations. While they can be identified as the tools and products of the colonial project of producing knowledge to govern the region, the conception of such a region appears to be formed in a process of active interaction with what can be considered as non-European forms of knowledge. The scales present in the legends of maps of the period provide examples that support this claim. While the commonly used scales are generally based on the ratio of inch to miles and expressed in degrees displayed on Mercator projections, the legends of British maps around the turn of 18th century appears to be including descriptions of certain units such as *common cosses*, *cosses of Hindoostan*, *Mougully coss*, *royal coss*, *Sultany Coss* and *Brammy* or *Punjaby Coss* (Faden 1793). There are references of certain units such as Malabar miles and Marching miles, the later explained by the map as 1/80th of a degree. Distance also appears to be described in terms of time taken to traverse, as the legends seems to explain common coss as 60 Malabar hours of marching. The usage of Indian units of measurements on the maps are first seen in Guillaume de l'Isle's 'Carte des Costes de Malabar et de Coromandel' prepared in 1722.

This was picked up by J.B.B d'Anville in 'Carte de l'Inde' (1752) and later Thomas Jeffry's 'East Indies with roads' (1768). The legend of the later map points to the existence of different coss units being used in the same region based on the equipment used to measure. To cite an example, Susan Gole (1990) explains the difference between *jeribi coss* and *tanab coss* as when the former was measured using a chain, the later was estimated using a rope. Units of estimating area of the land also seems to be varying across the region. The measurement of the cultivated which was conducted by the state for the requirement of revenue administration was often defined by nature of the concerned land. The unit in question, *bigha* varies according to the cultivability of land. While providing much of the details regarding the use above mentioned units in the subcontinent Susan Gole also points out that the concept of a uniform scale as a requirement for a map was absent in pre-colonial India.

A brief discussion of cartographic and survey practices that existed in the region is made by Kapil Raj (2006). Though large maps describing the region are absent, there existed detailed surveys and descriptions often compiled for revenue administration along with institutions that was engaged in this projects as a part of many of the south Asian polities. He draws examples which are spread over a large time frame starting from the Cholas (10th -11th centuries) to the Mughal state. British records identifies maps of non-European origin which functioned as sources for colonial maps. James Rennell in his map memoirs refers to the usage of Malabar maps which he used to construct his maps of *hindoostan* without entering into details regarding their nature and sources apart from one being a map prepared by a person from Carnatic (Rennell, 1792). It has been argued that Colin Makenzie made use of Maratha maps of southern Canara as sources in his surveys of the region. The copies of the said Maratha map, assumed to be used for military requirements, has been found as copied by changing the modi script to English. The original map also bears a Portuguese watermark pointing to a history as a pre-British colonial possession (Gogate and Arunachalam, 1998).

The systematic use of the European survey practices of the period as well as the regional

methods of survey in the compilation of a colonial map can be found in the maps produced by James Rennell. Kapil Raj describes the usage of Rennell's own river and terrestrial surveys, numerous travel accounts, military route march maps along with accounts produced by the Indians in the compilation of his maps (Kapil Raj 75, 76). In the work *Major James Rennell and the rise of modern English geography*, Clement Markham (1895) goes on to indicate that it is possible that he could be versed in the works of Arab cartographers such as Ibn Battuta. Phillimore also points to the usage of works compiled by Arab astronomers by European cartographers of the period. Apart from the said astronomical data, he also claims that Rennell made extensive use of tables (possibly revenue oriented) inserted by Abul Fasl in *Ain-i-Akbari* (Phillimore, 1945). It is probably from the same text that he draws the names that he has used in the maps to describe the regions as most of the regions retains the names of subahs which are Mughal administrative divisions.

The large scale involvement of Indian surveyors in the British survey institutions is quite evident. Since the initial survey ventures essentially used the pre-existing channels of information, the regional structures of data accumulation and the communities that were involved in these processes also came to play an increasingly important role in this process. Kapil Raj lists revenue officials such as *Patwaris* and other groups such as *harcaras* as active participants in the British surveys of the period. In many occasions sepoy of the British army also appears to function as suppliers of such information. The acknowledged status of the British as one of the other to Indians who harboured territorial ambitions possibly demanded this in many occasions. There are also interesting occasions like the survey of Tibet where the boundaries were effectively closed to Europeans and had to be surveyed in secret by indigenous surveyors. Due to the manner in which the said information was collected, Indians who were engaged in the roles spanning from clerical to translator might also have considerably influenced in the manner in which the data was compiled. While looking at this diversity of engagements and channels which influenced to survey and mapping in the period, an aspect that calls for attention is that of the unequal nature of such relations. The narrations

of Francis Buchanan (1807) of his journey in Madras, Mysore and Malabar in the immediate aftermath of Anglo- Mysore wars are part of a pioneering set of attempts made by the British to know the nature of the region. While reading through his accounts it is quite evident that the interaction that he had in the region for the sake of collecting the described details are regulated by the social hierarchies that existed in the region and his own position as a white Christian European. Other than in the cases where he seems to be receiving his information from brahmins, rulers of the regions, British officials who are present in the region, the identity of the source is often found irrelevant and masked using terms identifying them as groups of people. The narrations of the survey also appears to be hardly ever including the Indian sepoy who were part of British survey groups such as Madras Guides or even in grand projects such as GTS. It can't be denied that there are references to records where Indians were involved as crucial players in the research programme. The role played by Boria in the compilation of Collin Mackenzie's collection is one such occasion. Despite this, according to many of the colonial records the role played by such actors remain to be that similar to that of an instrument. The information that came from such channels was subjected constant testing and comparison with other sources, which in many occasions were of European origin (Edney 82). The 'native', according to this narrations while being an acceptable source of information, is not identified as someone capable of processing the said information to required formats.

Most of the late colonial historiography dealing with the survey and mapping projects in India projects the image of a 'native' who is clueless regarding the scientific rigour that is involved these activities (Edney 1997). Since the process of survey and mapping was seen a crucial part of civilizing the landscape, it could be suggested that such a construction of the image of the inhabitant of that landscape was an essential part of the colonial civilizing mission. The construction of this image is identifiably a later development as the earlier colonial narrations themselves provide a much more complex picture.

Across the narrations of colonial surveys there are instances where the survey operations

encountered active resistance. During a survey of the Palk Strait, the surveyor is cautioned to be careful not to agitate the people of the region (Phillimore, 1945). In another incident, Lieutenant John Pringle who was part of the survey establishment of Madras guides was involved in the march of Madras army to Anjengo in 1778 through the country of Travancore in the capacity of quarter master and intelligence officer. He reported that apart from the route that he was allowed to travel, of which he appears to have prepared either a map or a detailed descriptive report, he was prevented from gaining any geographical details of the region. His mobility was limited by the subadar and 20 sepoys assigned by the king of the country who watched him narrowly, preventing him from venturing not more than 200 yards from the sea. Further he also suggest that any further troop marches in the region will restricted to the same route by the Raja (of Travancore) (Phillimore, 1950). The conduct of Nawab of Carnatic when he was informed of the desire of the British to survey the country of Carnatic also appears to be harbouring similar concerns. He questions the need for having the survey of the region since it is already well known. According to him the movement of sepoys and surveyors in the country could result in local disturbances. However, the foremost concern that was raised was the challenge it would pose to his prestige as the ruler of the country. It was claimed that it would result in him falling in the eyes of other regional powers who was bound to conclude that the survey would be succeeded by the

removal of the Nawab from power (Phillimore, 1950).

The responses received by survey operations indicate that geographical knowledge, in the period being discussed possibly was a protected by the concerned state. While it is unclear that whether such measures were taken to regulate Indians, it could be argued that the British acquisition of such information was undesirable to regional powers. The role of geographical knowledge in the production of political power was also well understood and was resisted by the concerned states.

Unlike the composite and hybrid maps produced by Rennell and his contemporaries, later developments in colonial cartography saw the gradual emergence of topographic maps as the desirable norm. The rhetoric of survey projects such as GTS where the shape of earth calculated with higher degrees of accuracy resulted in a gradual removal of perspective from what was henceforth considered as the ideal map. This also happened along with the emergence of policies which regulated the production and circulation of the said sort of maps. Gradually the idea of scientific cartography with the notion of accuracy at its centre took route and came to define the meaning of map. The history of colonial map making, as already described is much more complex. It appears to be non-linear narration where numerous traditions interact within complex hierarchical structured by colonial rule as well as regional power structures.

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MODERNITY AND CHANGING CULTURAL PRACTICE: TRANSFORMATION OF KATTUNAICKANS IN WAYANADU

M. Mithra

KATTUNAICKAN are a scheduled tribe inhabiting the Wayanad district from Kerala. They are also distributed in the adjacent district in the states of Karnataka and Tamilnadu. Their synonyms are the Jenu Kuruba, Kattuaiikkan,, Ten Kurumban, Jennukoyyo, Sholanayakas and Naickan. The word derived from Kadu meaning 'forest' and Nayakkan means 'Leader' or Headman. They do not use titles. They were a forest dwelling community till recently. Their knowledge on forest flora and fauna of the area is astounding. In Mysore and Madras states they are included in the generic name Kadu Kurumba. The census report of Madras and Mysore in 1891 and that of Madras in 1901 confirm that there is no difference between Jenu Kurumba the former name is popular in the Telugu and Kanarese speaking areas; the latter and the alternative name Kattunaikkan in the Tamil and Malayalam speaking areas. They are seen in the deep forests of the high mountains of Kidagannad, Purakadi, Pulpally, Noolpuzha, Maruthenkara, Tharuvanna and Nallornadu, Kartikulam, Masalbetta (Begur range), Chempara peak and Nathapuram. Great numbers confine themselves to the high mountains, and only stray individuals, who have left their primitive clans, are seen in the developed areas. They have nothing in common with the Urali and Mulla Kurumans though they are all included in the popular generic name Kuruman in Kerala. Kattunaikkans are physical features have they are tall, long armed and black-skinned tribe with curly or wavy hair.¹

The native Advasis mainly consist of various sects of Paniyas, Kurumas, Adiyas, kurichiyas, ooralis, kattunaikkans...etc. They have their own special life styles, culture, customs, traditions and religious practices. The tribals do not have a written script. Their history can be traced only through their oral traditions and religious practices. As a result of the changes taking place, even their practices are becoming extinct. Now a day many tribals blindly follow the modern culture. As a result they are losing their unique culture, land, language etc. In the past, these tribes were simply hunters and food gatherers. Forest has been their traditional homeland. Each group had its own territory in

which its members produce for exchange. Such a territory was often quite extensive because the survival of such a group mainly depends upon the produce that the nature offers by itself. The forest dwellers found wild growing fruits in trees and edible roots and tubers in the jungle to supplement their food. The forest also collected honey, medical herbs and other minor forest produce which they could sell, or barter in the weekly markets or exchange centres. They hunted in the jungle and finished in the river that flow through their habitat and could supplement their vegetarian diet with meat. Slash and burn cultivation was an integral part of the tribal economy. The tribes that preferred shifting cultivations always lived with the forest alone and found ample time and leisure to get away from the full routine of monotonous farm work through hunting or fishing or the collection of jungle produce. The tribal life was eco-friendly in character. On the other ensures that the forest is protected against depredation by man and nature.

Oor (House, Colony) (Mane - Home)

The Kattunaikkan live in uni-ethnic settlement called oor in government records, now it is called colony. Kattunaikkans have the most disappointing type of huts. They are one lone, but very low, and the floor is level with the ground. The sides are of flattened bamboo, and the roof covered with straw or grass often the Kattunaikkans live under wind-breaks resting against a tree or in the hollows of trees. During a recent survey many were noticed to live in the open all day long, and to sleep round a lighted fire at night. They do not have the community halls that are the popular with the Uruli Kurumbs. They recent anyone, entering their huts with leather which they consider as polluting. Those who use it place it outside the hut before entering. Nuclear family is the common type of family among the Kattunaikkan size of the household varies from small (one to five) to large (nine and above). They follow patrilineal mode of descent and succession, and patrilocal residence pattern. The consists of 10-20 house of a Kattunaikkan is a hut consisting of only one room which is known as veedu.

The walls of the hut are built, with a suitable quantity of paddy husk mixed with clay.²

But now, as a part of the schemes for modernizing tribals, most of them are rehabilitated in the houses of modern types built by the government of Kerala. Most of these houses are electrified and many have the modern amenities like T.V, radio and telephone. A very few live in their traditional caves and houses. Destruction of forest has affected the traditional home construction. Their traditional household articles are replaced by steel, aluminum, and bronze, plastic, and fiber materials

Language

The common language of Kattunaikkan is an own language it is also mixed Kannada, Tamil and also Malayalam language. But they have not a written language it is also related to an oral language but Luiz states that they speak a dialect of their own called 'Nayakan's which is unintelligible dialect of Kannada with a good admixture of Tamil, Malayalam words and phrases and that they have no script of their own. Now they began to use the Malayalam script.³

Food

The Kattunaikkans eat all types of Karalite food now. The Kattunaikkan are non- vegetarian, but do not eat beet (now many have started eating in privacy). They consume gathered food such as wild tubers, roots, leaves, seeds, fruits, meat and fish, rice, vegetables, dry fish, pulses, grains bought from markets also become a part of their diet.⁴ Both men and women chew tobacco, betel and consume alcoholic drinks. Smoking beedis and cigarettees is common among men. The coconut oil is the medium of cooking. The consumption of fruits, wild tubers, roots, leaves and meat is on the decrease as forest clearance has taken place in all parts of Wayanad.⁵ In the past, earthen pots and bamboo were used for storing and cooking food. But today, they rarely use earthen pots. They do not make domestic utensils themselves but buy from markets. The market economy and consumerism have changed their life.

Marriage

Marriage is known as Mude among the Kattunaikkans. In an arranged marriage, the

Mudali (clan chieftain) is informed first and in his presence bride - price (Kana hana) is given to the parents of the bride. Two pieces of cloths a sari (Chela), dothi (Koramundu), rice and cash are also given. The boy sleeps in that house and if he is well after that marriage is fixed. If the boy falls sick marriage is not performed and he chooses another girl. Marriage is not performed and he chooses another girl. Marriage budge (Mudathali) is tied by those who are well to do. In the case of elopement, if any one of them, boy or girl, falls sick, the reason behind the illness is sought through divination (adikkadi) and through oracle (tirpa). In some cases, the girl is sent back to her houses, if decided through divination.⁶ In the present they are imitate hindu model wedding.

Orage Akkadu (Menstruation Function)

The puberty rite of Kattunaikkan is called Thirudukalyunam or Narda or Naidmeevad. Seven days pollution is observed during menstruation by the Kattunaikkan. The girl stays in the seclusion hut (Tindalpara) during menstruation (Orageakkadu). On the seventh day, she takes a bath and brings cow dung water is sprinkled (tuppisalladu) around the house in the settlement (padi) and cowdung paste is smeared (manasarasadu) on the floor of the house. During the seclusion period, she is not supposed to go near their temples, other sacred places, gardens and crops. She can resume her duties on the seventh day after the purificatory bath in the morning (otharahira todalumiavadu) and in the evening (bayinera) puberty ceremony (narda) is celebrated by the kaltunagikau very elaborately. When a girl attains puberty, the clan leader or the settlement, a hut (guda) is erected where the girl is secluded for seven days along with another girl for these days. Turmeric paste (manjal) is smeared on their body every and their dress chela) changed on alternate days. Undergarments are not be used puberty ceremony (nardamude) is arranged usually on the seventh day. An arrow is held seclusion period. The mudali is paid money (Mudehana), and in kind for the duties performed.⁷ During menstruation time the tribal women are use of pieces of clothes. But the modernity the government constructed a bathrooms for tribal hygiene and also that provided a 3 rupees of pad.

Death Occurs

When a death occurs in Kattunaikan house, the Mudali is informed first. He comes and decides other connected activities to be performed close relatives of the deceased person living in other settlements are informed of the death (Saver). The body is given a hot turmeric water bath. A person is sent to bring a crab (nelli), two kinds of tree barks and a leaf. Once these are brought, the body is given bath. The Mudali pours water first and then Mudalis wife, followed by others. Coconut oil is smeared all over the body and new dress is put on (Savu Chela). Body is adorned with bangles, rings and flowers if female, and a ring is put for a male. A cadder bier is made in bamboo poles and the body is kept on it. 25 paise coin (Kalrupa) is kept in the mouth of the deceased. Paddy and ragi in certain quantities are tied in a cloth and kept on the shoulder on the Mudali, who holds a stick in his hand, called Badukka.

The body along with bier is brought to the bewail place. While walking the Mudali throws away the grains (danasallada) from the bundle. Some are thrown on the body too. It is done thrice and each time the Mudali sits on the bier with his stick. Before the body is brought to the burial spot, it has to be kept in the ground at three places. The headman marks the spot of the burial pit using Badakka. The dig a pit of three feet deep and another cavity (alla), of 'L' shaped is made towards the side. The body is pushed into the cavity. It is reported that they have peculiar rite at the graveyard. The soil from inside the grave should not be left unused. It was to be filled over the grave. They call their graveyard Chodalai or Chudumalai and the side cavity as Hoddamannu. Along with the body, all belongings of the deceased like dresses, tools, utensils, betel box etc. are buried, the weapon used for digging pit is also buried. They do so to be relieved from the disturbances of the spirit of the deceased. In the children, breast-milk is placed in a kumbil near the head. If it is women a ring on finger (ungar) and and a chain (Malai) around the neck, nose ring, bangle etc... are buried. In the early days a pandal is built over the grave. A ring is tied on a tag and jenmudeva the chief morner encircle the grave seven times and murmur the reason of the death. It is called Daivomthulal.⁸

Worship

The Kattunaikan worship the sun and moon. They also worship a legion of deities. They propitiate ancestral spirits. The Kattunaikan deities name induce, Thampurati, Karimal Thampuran, Gulikan and Mariamma, and the spirit of the dead ancestors are called Ethachan (Male) and Ethachi (female). Their religious beliefs are to part of their life. Their main deity is Mala Daivam. To obviate a spell of disaster caused by evil spirits they evoke the Malai Daivam. from the very early periods there have been several points of contacts between the Hindus of the area and the tribal community living within it. The nature and extent of contact vary from semi isolation to complete assimilation. Most of the tribes would like to introduce themselves as Hindus. They use Hindu names, visit Hindu temples and make offerings, worship Hindu gods, and celebrate Hindu festivals. Many of the tribals have no shrines of their own.⁹

Dress and Ornaments

The Kattunayikkan used to put on tree leaf as late as early forties. Now they have started wearing cotten clothes. The men use a small bit of white cloth reaching upto the knee. But they have own model dress style. The women also put on a short cloth (selai) covering the lower part of their body and there are also use blouse. We can see that the contemporary period the Tribal people are also changed their culture and practices. Their also imitate the other people means that higher castes.

The tribal group 'Kattunaikka' lives in the tri-junction of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu states, belongs to pre agrarian civilization and traditionally they depend on hunting and forest goods gathering for their livelihood. Economic disparity and saving habits are high among non- traditional group. Social interaction is high among non-traditional group. So that, they are able to, make use of educational facilities and other welfare programs. It also leads to active political participation. Traditional group still keep on their culture like dressing, language, rituals etc. But weakening of traditional culture is visible among non-traditional group. Circumstances made them unable to pass on traditional knowledge like folk songs, dance, and language etc. the tribal transformation can be Divided into two: traditional and modern. The traditional process

is characterised by the impact of certain traditions of great communities on the tribals. These processes are explained in the concepts like Sankritization, Hinduisation, Universalization and Parochialization, etc. The modern factors include urbanization and industrialization, tribal development schemes, modern education, modernization of communication and administration, and the like are of recent origin, and the external factors that do not emerge as a result of normal contacts of the tribal people with the non-tribal people of the area.

But now, a general restlessness is taking place among the tribals of the region as they are passing through a period of transition. Their tribal tradition is now losing its purity and originality and is either being dissolved into the mainstream or being swallowed by non-tribals. Their social, economic, religious and cultural aspects are undergoing changes and they face the problem of identity crisis. In the modernity view the urbanization also change to the tribal life situation. Their also imitate a modern life.

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Dr.KALAINAR M.KARUNANITHI, THE DRAVIDIAN PIONEER IN WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

K. Nawazbanu

“Not many politicians in India can claim that they have led a great life. But Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) president and former Tamilnadu Chief Minister M.Karunanithi could do so”.¹ He was born at Thirukkuvalai village in the then composite Thanjavur district on 03.06.19924As a Chief Minister for five times, M.Karunanithi executed a slew welfare and security schemes to empower Women. The launching of the South Indian Liberal Federation popularly known as Justice party in November 1916 by Sir P.Theagaraya Chetty and others to promote socio-economic and political interests of the non-Brahmins was the nucleus of the Dravidian Movement. In the beginning, its aim was to give importance to the grievances of the non-Brahmin community, which was lagging behind the Brahmin community in all aspects such as employment opportunity and promotions. By the first half the twentieth Century, society of the Madras presidency was divided into two major segments: the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins. Brahmins formed just 3.2% of the total population, the microscopic

minority, But wielded maximum powers enjoying privileges and prerogatives². Dravidian politics has developed by associating itself to the Dravidian community. The goal of the Dravidian politics was to achieve social equality.

In 1925, when Periyar started the Self Respect movement, it wanted to establish a casteless society by caste discrimination, superstition and Brahmin domination. It also stood for the emancipation of women and gave its support to Inter- caste marriages and widow remarriage. Further, it demanded to provide equal rights to women. Periyar E.V.R. the Dravidian pioneer, vehemently sought for the emancipation of women during his lifetime. He considered that women were in no way inferior to women.³ The objective of the Self-Respect movement was a casteless society and complete equality for the masses. This was to be achieved by the eradication of social evils and freeing society from the shackles of superstitions and blind faith in God and religion. It fought for equality of women in education, employment

and property rights. The Dravidian movement was successful in allowing women to express themselves on a public platform. Women successfully debated on public issues and were involved in social work and were on a par with men in bringing about social reforms. The entire credit for bringing about this change goes to Periyar. It was further carried out by his disciples who formed the government with the Dravidian ideology in 1967.

The persona of Kalaignar is unique but the pattern involved in his making was the inner design born out of the social awakening championed by the self Respect movement of Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, and his assiduous, determined campaign against the brahminical caste hierarchy. Of course, not only C.N. Annadurai and Karunanithi, but any one schooled in the periyarist ideology would have had their agenda cut out to achieve that. Karunanithi never failed to acknowledge Periyar's contributions to society and his influence on him in politics and governance.

Karunanithi and Women Empowerment:

The multitude of transitive identities that the Brahmin could straddle was the basis on which Ramasamy rallied a number of interiorized subaltern identities against him. These identities included those based on gender, occupation, language, and region. For Ramasamy, Sanskrit, treated by Brahmin as a sign of Hinduism and part of their self-making-not only led to the degradation of lower castes but also women.⁴ The Self Respect Movement made special efforts to initiate its women leaders and young cadres into public speech. Periyar emphasize the need for women's right to property, women education, employment, etc.,

Karunanithi, as Tamilnadu Chief Minister for Five terms, Launched several Schemes aimed at building social equality. The empowerment of women ultimately depends upon Employment status literacy status and political status.

Education of Women:

Education to women is the most powerful instrument of changing their position in the society. Education also brings about reduction in inequalities and also acts as a means to improve their status within the family. In order to encourage education of women at all levels and

to dilute gender bias in the provision and acquaintance of education, schools, colleges and even universities were established exclusively for women in the State.

Periyar stressed that compulsory free education should be given to the school children. Congress ministry under K. Kamaraj also gave importance to free education for the age of 6-11 in 1966. Subsequently, the D.M.K. ministry under M. Karunanithi paid much attention to the expansion of primary education by which the enrollment of pupil in age group 6-11 was raised 92%. To attract the girls to school premises, the D.M.K. Government provided the clothes on addition to Mid-Day meal introduced by K. Kamaraj. every year 2 sets of dresses were supplied free of cost to all girl student irrespective of community who were studying either in Adhi Dravidar Welfare Schools or residing as boarder in Govt hostels run by the Department⁵.

To promote the education of girls and to discourage child marriage, the D.M.K. Government introduced Residential Scholarship for unmarried Hindu and Muslim girls. Karunanidhi Government had much concern for the rehabilitation of widows. It provided 21 scholarship to Hindu and Muslim widows Who studied upto XI of secondary schools.

To bring the girls belonging to hill tribes in the Nilgris District in Standard IV and V to school the D.M.K. Government introduced awarding scholarship to those girls in 1968-69.

In his third term (1989-1991) he gave a grant of Rs,5000 for the marriage of girls from poor families who had completed 8th standard and thus tactically ensured minimum education for girls. Free education to Dalit girls up to the graduate level subject to an income ceiling was the another scheme which benefited the marginalized section of society.⁶ Periyar said that the purpose of education was to equip a person either to live independently throughout his life or to have virtuous life in the world⁷. Moovalur Ramaamirtham Ammaiyar Marriage Assistant scheme and E.V.R. Nagamaiyar free under graduate schemes were the another notable features of the D.M.K. Government towards the progress of Women Education.

Rehabilitation of Widows:

Property Rights to the Women

Women's right to property has been recognized as an important development issue. Property rights for women can have an impact on decision making, income pooling, acquisition, and women's overall role and position in the community. Moreover, land is a critical resource for a woman when the household breaks down; for example, in the event of desertion by husband, abandonment, divorce, polygamous relationships, illness or death.

Women's right, to access and control over property, is determined through women's overall living conditions, economic security, and physical safety. Gender discrimination is related to lower per capita income, life expectancy, and literacy. The problem of gender inequity is due to the deep cultural bias against women. Women for long have been subjugated in property inheritance. This has become a major concern in creating a right balance in gender equality.

To fulfill the ideas of periyar on property rights of women, the D.M.K Government introduced the Land Ceiling act in 1970⁸. According to the act the farmer should possess only 15 acres of land as a maximum limit. Both the father and the son could possess only 15 acres of land separately on each, if the son was living in a separate family. At this juncture, the then Chief Minister M.Karunanithi announced a provision that the father may donate or gift his own daughter acres of land in accord with his whim which should not exceed the ceiling and yet, this gift to the daughter would not be taken into the father's account of land he possessed.

Following the footpath of periyar's ideologies K.Karunanithi wanted to empower women by providing them an opportunity to obtain land property from their father, he Amended the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, in order to provide equal property rights for female children on par with male children, to establish Gender Justice. This legislation was an attempt to mend the attitude of male chauvinistic Society and it was a silent and strong revolution.

Welfare Programmes for Women and Children

The well-being of women and health of children are the real index of the progress of a society and the nation. The women and children

together constitute the 15% of the population of a nation. Hence, nation while planning for the future cannot afford to overlook the welfare of the women folk, and children. The progress of the nation largely depends upon the progress of women and well-being of the children. Realising this, the D.M.K. formulated certain policies. Department of Social Welfare was formed in 1972 and the Director was referred to as the Director of Social Welfare Department. This department focusses its activities not only on education and rehabilitative aspects of women's and child welfare but also on Burma and Ceylon Repatriates, beggars and leper

Widow Rehabilitation

Widow remarriage was encouraged by presenting incentives in the form of National Savings Certificates to both husband and wife to the value of Rs.5,000/- to be held in deposit for seven years. The scheme, was restricted to destitute widows in the age group of 18-30 years. This scheme was announced on the 52nd birthday of M. Karunanidhi, the then Chief Minister (1975) of Tamil Nadu. During the year 1975-76, 92 couples were provided with financial assistance amounting to Rs.4,60,000.⁹

Further, under this scheme, one thousand sewing machines were presented to thousand destitute widows in the age group of 18-45 who had been trained in tailoring in the institutions run by the Government or other recognized private institutions

Family Planning

To help women plan their family according to their economic means and to promote the health of women by avoiding unwanted pregnancies and children, the family planning campaign was stepped up by the D.M.K. The propaganda was done by the Gramasevikas, Mukhyasevikas, Women's Welfare organisers, maternity assistants and other technical persons. Family Planning Training was given to Mukhya Sevikas and Grama Sevikas and to all Women's Welfare organisers in their respective district headquarter

Employment Opportunities for Women and Political participation of Women:

During D.M.K. rule (1970-72) there were 5,835 graduates, 27,295 matriculates and 46,052 Non-matriculate women teachers. A sum of Ten lakhs rupees was sanctioned in 1973-74 for providing quarters for women teachers in rural areas. 1,568 quarters were constructed from the commencement of the scheme.¹⁰

It was during the DMK regime in 1973 that women were inducted into the police force. Karunanithi also laid emphasis 30 percent reservation for women in Government jobs and in public sector enterprises, changed the very profile of employment in the state, which in another decade or so would make marked strides in man-women employment ratio in government offices.

Political status of women can be defined as the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by women in sharing of power and in the value given by society to the women. Women's political background shows that they are far away from equal along with men¹¹ Thirty three percent reservation for women in local bodies has paved

way for 40,000 women became representatives in local bodies

Empowerment of women means uplifting the status of women by increasing their educational and employment opportunities and legal rights .In short ,it is to make women to participate in decision making at all levels viz., in the family, in the economy and in the political process. thus Periyar's wishes of empowering women were translated into action by the one of pioneer of Dravidian movement Dr,Kalaigar M.Karunathi, into action continuously. Karunanithi modeled his welfare policies on Periyar's thought achieving an egalitarian society and he pursued this social agenda methodically and cautiously and in a nuanced manner, like his mentor Annadurai. Rationalism in governance was what Periyar Mooted. But Governance with rationalism was what Annadurai and Karunanithi pursued. The Karunanithi era was successful in empowering the women.

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HEGEMONY AND LANGUAGE IN THE LAND LORD-TENANTS RELATIONSHIP: THE NADAPURAM AGITATION OF 1970

E.M. Neethu Chandran

The relation between language and hegemony has for remained subject of enquiry in various field of social science, linguistics and philosophy. The subject has been analyzed from a variety of analytical and philosophical perspectives with in the specific, social, Anthropological, historical, economic cultural and political context. Owing to the complex and dense interlinking between language and power, number of field and subfield have emerged

focusing on this relationship with the never methodological approaches and thematic concern. They have established zone of multi-disciplinary foci to the field. The relationship between language and history, Language and society, Language and philosophy, Anthropology etc have continued to occupy scholarly attention in all major discipline of social science through all the world.¹

It is an important to explore and examine language and power they mutually reproduce and reinforce scale of social hierarchies' of political power, culture, ideology, power economy and politics. The problematic of language questions needs probe into the deep structure of relationship between language, history, culture, ideology, power, economy and politics. The language question should take to the account of ideological power of language and various form of domination and subordination. Ayisha Jalal has rightly point out that the role of language as culture and ideology in the politics of South Asia has remained curiously understudied.² She underline the need to problematic and conceptualize the language question not simply in terms of linguistic loyalties, consciousness, geo-linguistic boundaries and region but it situate historically. Internal dynamics also played out between language and territory, language and caste, language and caste etc. According to Washbrook the new ideology (Modern Linguistic Territory) dictated that territorial space must be culturally or at least linguistically homogenous and thus become a society of language with in their distinctive world view.³ Those habits and potential for creating distinctive socio-cultural formation necessary for the idea of national communities and their identities.

In India territorial location and distribution of castes and language can be considered as significant base for defining the cultural region. Regional identity based on linguistic affiliation can at time marginalize the dominant caste identities and affiliation and thus create "Paracomunities" of those speaking at the same language or a dominant speech of the region, caste distinction and thus create paracomunities of those speaking the same language / dominant speech of the region. Caste distinction are used to dominate sphere of purity and impurity, high and low level of speech.

The development of Malayalam language is not through a popular consent. It is a power language unbreakably connected with the expansion of caste system (According to P.K Balakrishnan) one among the powerful sign of the culture language on a large extend used as a tool to exploit or influence the subaltern or submissive.⁴ We evidently witness these

changes in the form of the entry of National language Hindi and Global language English to our Cultural sphere. Like this a caste language or dialect formed in strongly caste deep rooted Ancient Kerala against subaltern dialects. In Kerala most of the untouchable castes and sub castes used their on local dialects. Eg. Panars, Parayars and Some tribal Groups. There is a vivid spontaneity language like Kuzhalu {Rice}, Kotha, Chitta, Kudil, Maadam {House}, Minipala {Gold}, Meyvu {Face} etc. The mainstream society Hardly tried to eliminate the language traits of Tribal language but still they exist like as before. The language experts and Historians believes that these dialects have diverse versions. "Whose language is Malayalam language? This relevant question was raised by Renowed Historian 'Illam Kulam Kunjan Pillai ' in his famous book 'Bhaashayude vikaasa parinaamanga'.⁵ The standardised malayalam is the language or dialect which is used among the so called Nair community or upper class sudras And due to his casteism he never termed or consider the language of Pulayas and Parayas as Malayalam language He Himself believed that their local dialects are degraded as an extension of his casteism.⁶

Nadapuram is situated with in the geographical extension of Kuttippuram Kovilakam.⁷

Nadapuram developed as major center of trade. It was the land based economic integration which ensured their amicable social relation with the upper caste Hindus in Nadapuram. In this rural interior, Muslims new status as landlord by the 18th century gave them a new socio-economic status along with a sturdy sense of social hierarchy. When the Muslim became a landholding community in the region from the late 18th century, the Thiyya remained as kudiyan {settled tenant cultivators}.⁸ As the caste boundaries were redefined with specific rules of purity and bodily engagements, Nair treated the Mappilas as purer and admissible, while the Thiyyas were kept out. During the period of 1970's there is conflictual times, number of agrarian and land lord struggles happened in those area. A Kanaaran is praised as the leader and organizer of the life struggles of subaltern'.⁹ The life plight of subalterns were really miserable and hardly afraid on the matter that those untouchable subaltern castes will

deteriorates the purity of Malayalam language. The subaltern women and men who were working in the fields of land lords were called as 'chekkan' and 'Pennu ' respectively.¹⁰ Their salutation to the land lords were 'Thambra' (means owner superior or Leader). Porridge which was given in the leaf of palm was their lunch. Drinking water were given in the nut shell. They do their job with meagre wage or wage like and treated like slaves all the comforts were denied to them.¹¹

A Kanaran provided them a greater amount. Self-esteem and the sense of rights which were denied to them. Kanaran make them awarded that job must paid your wage is your right not the mercy of land lord and it must not be denied. when the time getting progressed protests getting started among the Adivaasees at the Hilly Areas and they reminded that they Have their own name and don't call them 'Chekkan and Pennu. They raised a slogan 'Decent wage decent behavior. This resulted to violence .upper class people said that lower caste must follow certain do's and don'ts while they saw an upper class one they were not allowed to the front seat of the tea shop, subaltern women were subjected to molestation

of upper class men. leaders like A Kanaran E.P Kumaran, Kelu Eattan, E.V Kumaran Master, Valayath Pathmanabhan and Manakkal Kunjikkannan etc organized conventions protests unions etc. and the land lords were reacted against this eventually made the Hilly area 'A land of the protest'(vaanime).¹² Detailed deliberations were made under the unions regarding job time wage and the code of conduct between landlords and tenants. The immemorable 'wage proclamation were Happened Vanime by K.S.K .T .U. In this convention A. Kproclaimed wage service provisions. Unions distributed notices against the 'Chekkan 'Pennu' salutation of land lords.¹³ It was reflected when Kunjiraman, a Thiyya Congress sympathizer was killed in 1973 by henchmen of Pramani Muslim of Vanime on the issue of Koolitharkkam issues. This struggles ends with the salvation of upper caste phenomenon of language supremacy. Those enriched new way out look for the salvation from the complicated history of the caste, pattern of economic mobility have been there three most visible agentive and determinants in the making of conflictual times.

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LOCATING "NEW" INDIAN WOMEN IN THE MODERN ANDHRA: A CASE STUDY OF DAMERLA RAMA RAO'S PAINTINGS

Neha Gautam

The idea of colonial modernity was not limited to social and political arena but it was taking over the indigenous art and culture too. British colonial regime has a huge impact on the transformation of Indian art in the 19th century. It was not confined to the dissemination of western technology but their ideas and

influences on art played a key role in the transformation of indigenous art and culture. Some scholars have seen the other side of modernity which played a negative role and degraded the whole value system of India along with the art and culture. Popular art historian Ananda Kentish Coomarswamy have

emphasized on the uniqueness of Indian art forms which was depreciating in its values and meaning during colonial time period. Ananda Kentish Coomarswamy therefore, in his work looks at the negative impact of modernization on indigenous art form. He advocated the traditional arts and crafts which led him to contribute in the theory of Indian art and culture which according to his belief was at its best form in the ancient time period and with the imitation of western society and corrupted mindsets of Indian people along with the coming up of modern education and technology has degraded the whole ancient traditions, art, culture and value system.¹ Therefore, he was the pioneer theorist who took the responsibility for introducing ancient Indian art to the West. Art in Andhra region too was developing along with the continuing trend of the development of art in India. The Coastal and Rayalaseema Districts before the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh were included in the Madras Presidency while the rest of the Andhra was a part of the Hyderabad state which was under the rule of Nizams. Rajahmundry, Machilipatnam and Hyderabad were main cultural centers where the art developed in a dominant way. Rajahmundry was a popular town which gave many valuable artists to India and it has been a center for cultural and traditional activity during the 18th -19th century with the economic and commercial growth due to the construction of Godavari anicut at Dhowleswaram which paved the way for emergence of middle class in Rajahmundry. The new education led the upliftment of society thus opening up for the social reforms too. It came up with the art school too which led the depiction of rural Andhra, its culture, customs and traditions. But the theme with which Rajahmundry caught attention was its ability to depict the society well in the work of art. There was a conscious effort by the artist visible in creating individual distinct work. The themes ranged from portraiture, landscape, folk idiom, still life, tantrism, abstractism and symbolism. Sufficient liberty was given to the artist which enabled them to express themselves and their opinion. It therefore led to experiment them in newer medium class in Rajahmundry. The new education led the upliftment of society thus opening up for the social reforms too. It came up with the art school too which led the depiction of rural Andhra, its culture, customs and traditions. But the theme

with which Rajahmundry caught attention was its ability to depict the society well in the work of art. There was a conscious effort by the artist visible in creating individual distinct work. The themes ranged from portraiture, landscape, folk idiom, still life, tantrism, abstractism and symbolism. Sufficient liberty was given to the artist which enabled them to express themselves and their opinion. It therefore, led to experiment them in newer medium.

One of the specific features of colonial modernity that I will look upon is the use of gender as a mode of self-fashioning, social understanding and public critique by the intellectual class. The late 19th century was the period of emerging nationalism and the imaging of national communities and it is interesting to note that women's status became the main focus of the reforming activities by the colonial state as well as for the educated Indians.² To a large extent, it was the result of a comparative civilizational discourse of the colonial period. It was mainly on the question of women that the Indians were largely attacked by the western observers as well as by the colonial regime. The socio cultural activities with more emphasis on colonial modernity during the 19th century played a crucial role in reshaping the identity of "new" Indian women. Women became the main concern for the social reformers and there was kind of evident change on how women and their identity were perceived. Women for the first time explicitly came out of private space of household to the public space. The whole process of emancipation of women from age old traditions and cultural practices caught attention of many reformers when India was at the peak of reformation due to social consciousness and awareness. There were certain class which got them attached to this whole women movement in redefining and reshaping them and thus giving voice to the women. But this was done by the elite upper section of society who led the movement from the front. There were various methods adopted during the 19th century to raise the women concern and this was primarily done through the movements only. One such popular medium which caught attention of many scholars was through visual art which is through paintings, magazines and print media. Many painters during the late 19th century picked up women as their dominant theme in their main

artwork and there was a kind of change in their piece of work too. So not only political and social reforms were responsible for the change in women identity but emerging new Indian art successfully led the idea of new women from upfront. It is very interesting to see work of many popular painters who had portrayed women on their big canvas in many dimensions. Many a times this art work has been challenged and not accepted in mainstream public domain which led to widespread agitation too and they were being questioned on adopting western ideas. Women therefore, came to be interpreted in work of art according to painter consciousness and his ideas or skill guides the representation of women. For so many centuries, artists have celebrated the feminine curves and appreciated her body language which in turn ensured that the women are appropriately communicated in a work of art. During the 19th century the appropriation of women differed from an artist and sometimes it became conflicting idea when the representation did not gain acceptance among the audience. As the society was changing so the zeal of an artist to represent "new" Indian women urged him to break the shackles of the past and therefore the new concept of representing women in a more open form in terms of expression was evident in their work. Therefore, even sensuous nude women and intimate sexual scenes gained place in the work of many artists. The work of one such artist from Andhra named Damerla Rama Rao and his work of art and how he interpreted women in his paintings in the early 20th century is interesting to look at.

Damerla Rama Rao was only a painter of landscape and nature studies but after admission into the J. J School of Arts, he took to human figures too. He made a rapid progress in understanding art in a way that no one other could. He understood the rhythm of the human body as fast as no other companion in his class could. As a student of O.J. Couldry and J.J School of Arts, Damerla Rama Rao worked profusely on academic oriented art laying emphasis on realism, rather than creativity. But his acquaintance and understanding of the mission of artists in Bengal school foresaw a new change in this artist in the later years that later Damerla began to work on a kind of art which would seem to highlight the society in which he was living. Vital role in this regard

seems to have been played by Andhra society for Indian art which was a common platform for artists to exchange ideas on new art. Along with the excellence in landscape and nature, he came up with the paintings of surroundings too drawing inspiration from the daily lives. With no elaborate ornamentation, the works of Damerla was in the simple form and his knowledge about colours added to the artist's mastery of skill and technique. Rama Rao's more popular art was his work on social themes and what made them distinct from other artist of contemporary time was the simple representation which had the ability to connect to wider non literate masses.³ The murals of Ajanta and sculptures of Ellora seem to have fascinated the artist. A series of works on Ajanta and Ellora highlighting the Indian creativity and beauty were done. His work Ajanta Sundari attracted a number of writers and artists of the time. The work of the series were neither realistic in nature nor they were copies of the murals in totality but seem to be a culmination of creativity and ideology of redefining Indian art. Along with the excellence in landscape and nature, he came up with the paintings of surroundings too drawing inspiration from the daily lives. With no elaborate ornamentation, the works of Damerla was in the simple form and his knowledge about colours added to the artist's mastery of skill and technique. Rama Rao's more popular art was his work on social themes and what made them distinct from other artist of contemporary time was the simple representation which had the ability to connect to wider non-literate masses. Damerla major work in painting as an artist began in 1916 with pencil sketches and water colour paintings in Rajahmundry itself.

Women occupied central place in the work of Damerla Rama Rao's work after certain period of time may be because he felt the need to give voice to the women. The position of women in the 19th century superstitious Hindu society was deplorable and their status remained same for many decades till the need for empowerment was properly understood. Deep rooted evil social practices in Andhra society like child marriage, enforced widowhood, nautch and kanyasulkam along with regressive hook swinging and fire walking made the women even more vulnerable in Andhra society.⁴ She became an object of contempt and ill treatment. The social reform work in Andhra took off in the second half of

the 19th century which was closely linked to the effort of Kandukuri Veeresalingam who is hailed as "Father of renaissance movement in Telugu". He also came from the same place Rajahmundry as that of Damerla Rama Rao. Kandukuri had a strong believe in the youth who extended full cooperation and support to all his reform activities and became his staunch followers. He constantly fearlessly worked hard in creating awareness and social consciousness among women. He relentlessly worked for the emancipation of women in Andhra and engaged himself till the end in a campaign against ignorance, prejudices and superstition in the society. This was the time when Damerla associated himself to the cause of women gaining insight about the miserable condition of women still trapped in the orthodox chains of traditional society in the early 20th century and the medium through which he expressed was his paintings. Therefore we see a transition in the work of women being portrayed by Damerla and the adoption of bold representation of new women. The initial inspiration he drew was from his wife itself. He started painting Satyavani portrait and then came up in 1924 with the work called "Nagna Sundari" which he defined as the innocence in the nudity. He also came up with the work depicting social gathering of women in daily life. One such was "At the well" where women from all caste and class are shown coming up together which was a typical scene in Andhra. His paintings were accepted widely among the masses and he definitely made a difference in the thinking when the progress of the nation was equated with the upliftment of the women. Rajahmundry became the center of social reformers activities where women education was emphasized who eventually became free from the stranglehold of traditions and superstitions. There was a rapid progress and enlightenment among the women with the increase in schools and colleges catering to all sections of society enabling them to enter into the public arena too. There was a welcome change for empowering womenfolk of Andhra and it was done in all way possible.

Damerla Rama Rao aligned his work with the reform movement which was at his peak during the early 20th century and his themes revolved around the women exclusively in the later period of his artistic career. The depiction of women, their dress, ornamentation and reform

movements were all part of the cultural tradition prevalent in the society then with which Damerla started and then there was a visible shift in the depiction of women too in his paintings. In the later period nudity gained prominence in his work which was an attempt to portray women in a different form. Damerla emphasized on the social acceptability of women and therefore his painting went away from the mainstream portrayal of women in the later period. Damerla was conscious enough to bring women from every background into his work ignoring class and caste distinction. Damerla's effort is evident in creating painting reflecting not only Andhra women but the critical condition of entire womanhood in India which needed emancipation from old set traditions and belief is worthy of praise. This also shows that Andhra society was changing and people were accepting reforms. Artist played an immense role in creating awareness among the society as their work had the power to communicate to each section of society. Any work of art had the feature to communicate even to non-literate society.

To conclude Damerla Rama Rao is considered a world renowned artist of yester years who made a significant contribution to the enrichment of art forms during the period of Revivalism of Indian Art. He left behind the rich legacy of 442 sketches, 76 colour paintings and 14 oil paintings based on present records.⁵ The saddest part lies on our part for not being able to preserve his paintings well. Many people, school visits and ardent lover of art are visiting the art gallery frequently to witness the work of the great artist of the Andhra but what is really sad is to see many paintings lying aside due to lack of space. The gallery being located in the heart of the city failed to achieve any development and thus history in this way is gradually getting lost due to our insufficiency to preserve the limited sources well in a best possible way. But looking at the paintings of Damerla in his gallery truly take us to the time back when Damerla had the courage to pick up his brush to vent out his feelings against the social evil openly on the big canvass. His work of art had tremendous effect at an instance in one go on any individual which leave him awestruck with the huge voluminous work he created. Each painting has a story to tell and a strong message to convey. His service to Andhra was immense

and cannot be reciprocated. His distinct contribution made to modern Indian art earned him worldwide recognition and therefore, Damerla Rama Rao was hailed as the founder of Modern Andhra Art who within few years of his short artistic life achieved the connecting link between academic, classical and neo-Bengal styles remaining totally dedicated to Indian

tradition and soul which is quite impressive in its expression. Each paintings of Damerla have the power of persuasion and conviction among the masses. Therefore, Damerla Rama Rao enjoyed great popularity with hero cult back then in the early 20th century and is still considered a celebrated artist of that era.

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HISTORICAL SETTINGS OF KOLLI HILLS

Dr. G. Palanivel

Kolli hills captivates the attention of people of different walks of life. Kolli hills is referred to in *Sangam* classics like *Nattrinai* and *Kurunthogai*. In the history of South India, Kolli hills plays an important role. The *Sangam* work *Nattrinai* refers to the plains around Kolli hills as *Kollikkutram* and it served as a border between Kongu and Chola countries. During the early centuries of the Christian era it is felt that this hill was under the control of *Malavar Adhan Ori*, a renowned ruler and one among the last seven philanthropists of *Malavar*. The *Perunchittirarnar's* statement "*Kolli Anda Val Vil Ori*" (Purananur, 158:5) refers that he was an expert archer and as a result he was hailed name as *Val Vil Ori*.

From the references available in the *Sangam* classics, one can understand the fact that the Chera ruler subdued the Kolli hills after his victory over Ori. There are evidences in *Silappadikaram* to prove that Kolli hills became a Chera territory after *Irumparai* and after 9th century due to the victory of Cholas it became a part of the Kongu country. Tamil literature *Padiitru pathu* speaks about the rule of the Kolli hills by the Chera ruler.¹ *Kollimalai copper plates* were discovered from the Kolli hills region. The copper plates mention a king by name *pon madathu anda manimudi* maharaja. The epigraphical source refers to a king

ponneripanma. Both the records cited above can be paleographically assigned to the early tenth century A.D, *Sundara Chola* (975-970 A.D) had the prefix *pon maligai tunjiya* in his name. However it is possible to identify the Maharaja of Kolli hills region with *Sundara chola* due to some difficulties. *Silappathikaram* mentions the word *adahan*. The word literally means gold or golden. A place called *Adahamadan* is cited in the same epic and has been identified with Trivandrum in Kerala. *Silappathikaram* and *Keralolpatti* speak of places like Ponmandapam, Vellimandapam etc. So it is clear that Adahamadam can easily be associated with the Cheras.²

Tamil *Nikantus* describe the Cheras as *Kolli Verpan*, *Kollicchilamban* etc. Ilango Adigal eulogises Chera as *Vil Eluthiya Imayathodu Kolli Anda Kudavar Ko*. *Kulasekara alvar* describes him as *Kongar kon kolli-verpan*. A lithic record from Namakkal (near Kollimalai) mentions a king by name Mani kuttuvan.

In Nerivayil, a place belonged to the Cholas. However, there is no tradition or historical source connecting with them. The Neri hillock belonged to the Cheras and they deemed it a privilege to associate themselves with it. Hence it is obvious that the association of *Pon* with *the Neri hill* is significant. There is also a tradition of giving the prefix Pon to important

places. From the above discussion it can be concluded that *Pon Madathu Anda Manimudi Maharaja* and *Ponneri Panmar* may be identified with the Chera kings of Kolli hills region.

The references such as *Kolliporuna* (Padirruppathru, 73) and *Kolliandakove* (Silappatikaram, 24) etc, refer only to the Cheras.³ Many old Tamil literary pieces like the *Kuruntogai* reveals the contact between Kolli hills and parts of Tamil Nadu. The Arappaleeswarar temple is sung by *Thirunavukkarasar* and *Arunagirinathar*, a Thirthankara sculpture is also found in the Kolli hills.

The Kolli hills reminds one about *Kollipavai*, which had been sung by many *Sangam* poets. The sages and celestials who undertook penance in Kolli hills were disturbed by demons. To destroy the demons, Viswakarma produced a beautiful lady like machine that functioned due to magical chants. It captivated the demons towards it and it killed them all. The one which destroyed evils was given the name *Kollipavai*.⁴ *Kollipavai* was also called *Kolli Kudavarari Deivam*. The reference *Valvil Ori Kolikku Kudavaraippavai* (*Kuruntogai*, 100:5-6) suggests the presence of *Kollipavai* during the period of Ori.⁵

The *Sangam* classics states that Kolli hills comprised of many natural resources, scenic beauty and many plants during the period of Ori. Jackfruit or *Pala* was popular in this region. *Paranar*, had sung about the thick forests, animals and birds like peacock. In *Narrinai*, the heroine is compared with peacock.⁶ It is also told that the fragrance of the beautiful hair was equal to that of the smell of the flower which blossoms at the rainy season. The jasmine and bamboo tress abound in Kolli region.

In the Kolli hills the *Kuumilam* trees used to offer many flowers. The fruits of that tree were food to the deers. The residents of Kolli region sold the tusks of elephants and purchased food. Such facts testify to the wealth and prosperity of the people of that region. Many *Sangam* works mention about the honey of Kolli region. As the area seems to be a rectangular plateau, it is also called as *Chaturagiri*. This hill is also called *Rishyamuha Parvatham*, *Kolechuwaram*, *Kudavarai* etc.⁷ As it was the abode of *Kollipaavai* it was also called so. Even today the hill is called *Kolli Malai*.

The inscriptions available in the Arappaleeswarar temple of the Kolli hills suggest its popularity even from the 8th century A.D. One inscription refers to the grant offered by Sundara Chola to this temple. This hill located in the Kongu region was ruled by hunter rulers. When the Vellalas from the Tondai settled there; the racial strifes commenced. The Pugal Mangalam hero stone attest to this fact. *Vettuvar* (hunters) were the ancient community people of Kongunadu. The Vellalas of Tondainadu⁸ migrated to the Chola country. The Vellalas who settled in the Chola country after leaving Kaveri region settled at Kongu region by moving via Amaravathi, Noyyal and Bhavani river banks. They had fought with the hunters of that region.

The army of hunters which indulged in the war was referred to as *Kunrudayan Kathai*. The work *Sarkarai Gounder Vamasavali* calls the commander of the hunter's army as *Kongu Rayan*. *Cholan Puruvapattayam* informs that Vellalas stayed at *Vellalalar paddy* after Tondaimandalam came under Cholamandalam. *Kongudesa Rajakkal Kathai* also states that after the arrival of the Cholas to the Kongu region, the Kongu ruler started his regime after winning over the hunters.

Hence, it is evident that the Vellalas of Cholas country had endeavored to expand their territory. Only with that aim they reached the Kongu region. There the hunters confronted the Kongu rulers. The Vellalas of Tondaimandalam won the war and became rulers of Kongu under the title Rayas. The Vellalas of Kongu region called themselves as *Kongu Vellalas*. It should be noted that they also called themselves as *Vellalla Gounder*. The term *Vella* is the root word for the word *Vellala*. Those who controlled the flow of water by canals were known as Vellalas.⁵⁶ Kongu Vellalas were *Kaniyalar* and administrative heads even before 1000 years ago. The tribal people were also called as *Malayali Gounder*. The *Gounder* is the nick name of tribal in these hills area.

During the Chera period

The Cheras unable to settle their people in the west instead captured northern and southern areas and settled their people.⁹ The Cheras had many titles and among them the titles *Kolli Verpan* and *Malayaman* were notable. Such names indicate that those who could establish

their sway over Kolli hills were called as *Kolli Verpan* and the victors of other hills were called as *Malayaman*. The Sangam works testify to these facts. *Adhiyaman* waged a war with *Thirudikkari* and defeated him.¹⁰ Then Kari, with the support of Cheraman Perumcheral Irumporai killed Ori, the ruler of Kolli hills and reached the Cheranad. Then Irumporai defeated *Adhiyaman* at the battle of Dharmapuri alias *Tahadu* and the Cheras expanded their territories upto Kolli hills and Dharmapuri. It should also be noted that Kari, who lived first at Kongu country, then shifted to Thirukkoilur and made it as his capital.¹¹

Malayamans

Thirumudikkari hailed from the *Malayaman* clan. Thirumudikkari by including the clannish name *Malayaman* was called Malayaman Thirumudikkari. When the Chola's founded their rule, the south western part of the South Arcot particularly along with Kallakurichi taluk (including Kalrayan hill) was the territory of Malayaman rulers. So it could be inferred that even before the Cholas, the Cheras ruled in this region.

The western side was a sea coast and hence they could not expand in that direction. As a result, few members of the Chera family moved towards east and settled in present Salem, North and South Arcot districts. The areas where they settled were also mountainous regions like the Chera territory and they gradually established chieftaincies there. As per Chera traditions, they were called *Malayar*. At a later date, they became *Malaymans*.¹² The terms *Malayar* and *Malayman* should have corrupted into *Malayalis*. The Malayali tribes at present live in Kolli hills, Pachamalai and Kalrayan hills of Tamil Nadu.

During the Chola period

During the period of the Cholas, *Maladu Nadu* was also known as *Chedi Nadu*. *Periyapuranam* by *Sekkilar* and *Vikrama Cholan Ula* by *Kulothungan* attest to this fact.¹³ *Sekkilar* refers to Malaya (Maladu) as *Chedi Nannattu Nidu Tirukkovaluri manni*. Malayaman Nadu was ruled by minor chieftains. They were under the suzerainty of the Cholas. As they ruled Chedi Nadu, those chieftains were called as *Chedirayar*. The inscriptions reveal that Malayamans of the 11th century also called themselves as *Chedirayar*.

During the time of Kulothunga II (1133-1150 A.D) one member of the Vana clan served as guard of a portion of Magadha Nadu. He was called as *Raja Raja Magadhi Nadalvan*. He donated his income that is *Perumbadi Kaval* to the temple at Thittakudi. An inscription found in that temple testifies to this fact. In the 12th century *Magadha Mandalam* served as the capital of the Vanas. At that time, the Chola country was disintegrating. The minor chieftains utilised that opportunity and began to revolt. The Vanas were the chief among the rebels. They encouraged the internal strifes and gained by that. hills region.¹⁴

During the Vijayanagar Period

An analysis of the history of the tribals of Kalrayan hills indicates the fact that their ancestors were members of the ruling clan, warriors and frontier guards. This hill was familiar even during the history of the Chera, Chola and Pandyas. Then it came under the control of the Pallavas. From the sources it is evident that they were under Vijayanagar Nayak, Muslim and British ruler. During the British rule their *Palayam* territories had been altered. So at that time the Kalrayan hills should have been brought under *Jaghirs*.

Pre-Colonial Situation

During the pre-colonial period, the Kolli hills, were isolated from the mainstreams of Indian culture. The people of these hills were living in simple huts. H.Lefanu, in his *Manual of Salem District* published in 1883 had given an account of their culture, literacy, the native doctors, their avocation and also the house types and dressing pattern. F.R.Hemingway in his *Manual of Trichirapoly District* published in 1907 also endorsed the views of H.Lefanu. Edgar Thurston, in his *Castes and Tribes of South India* published in 1909 has provided traditional account of the tribals of the Kolli hills.¹⁵

Post Colonial Period

After independence, the Government of India legalised their status through articles 341 and 342 of the Indian Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy and by implementing various welfare measures such as Large Area Multipurpose Society (LAMPS), Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation (THADCO), Integrated Tribal

Development Programme (ITDP) the government tried to promote the socio-economic conditions of the tribals. A separate wing named Tribal Welfare Department was established and it was authorised to take up suitable welfare measures to bring about a qualitative change in the life of the tribals. Other departments such as the Social Welfare and the Forest Department were also instructed to give top priority to tribal development. These initiatives produced positive effects on the tribals.¹⁶

Malayali Tribes

The word *Malai* denotes inhabitant of the hills. The Malayali are a Tamil speaking people who migrated from the plains to the hills in recent times. According to Thurston, the term *Malayali* has been derived from the words *Malai* meaning *hill* and *al-* meaning *person* and is used to denote people who lived on the hills. Etymologically the word is derived from *Malai-Hills* and *ali-* inhabitants. The Government of India accorded the status of scheduled tribes to the *Malayali*.¹⁷ The Malayali people claimed themselves as Malayali Goundans, while members of other communities refer them by different names like *Malayalis*, *Karalar*, *Goundars*, *Malai Jatikar* and *Kanchipuram Gounders*. The Malayali community predominantly lives in the hills of Tamil Nadu. The Malayali settlements are formed in the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot, Salem, Namakkal, Tiruchirappalli and Dharmapuri. In North Arcot district, they are living in the hills of Jawathu, Elagiri and Pudur Nadu. In South Arcot district, they are found in Kalrayans. In Salem district they are living in the hills of Yercaud (Sherveroys), Kolli hills in Namakkal district, Pachamalai in Tiruchirappalli district and in Dharmapuri district they inhabit the Sithori hills.

The Malayali emigrated from Kanchipuram. They took with them, three brothers of whom the eldest came to the Sherveroy hills and Kalrayan hills the second to the Pachamalai and the youngest to the Kolli hills. The Malayalis who live in Sherveroy hills and Kalrayan hills are called Periya (Big) Malayali or the Kanchimandalam Malayalis. The inhabitants of the Kolli hills are known as China (Little) Malayalis. Those from the Pachamalai hills are called Nadu (Middle) Malayali and their population as per the census of 1981 was 209,039.

Origin of the Malayali Tribes

The origin and migration of the Malayalis to the hills are shrouded in mystery. The legends *Nattukattu* say that some warriors belonging to *Karalar* community hailing from Kanchipuram came to Kalrayan hills subjugated the native's and established their settlement.¹⁸

According to another legend, *Nattukattu* the Malayalis originally belonged to the Vellala caste of cultivators and emigrated from the sacred city of Kanchipuram to the hills, when Muhammadan rule was dominant in Southern Indian, they left Kanchipuram. They took with them, three brothers of whom the eldest came to the Sherveroys hills, the second to the Pachamalai and the youngest to the Kolli hills. According to another version, the exhortation by the Malayali deity Kariraman, prompted emigrants from Kanchipuram to shift to the hilly region.¹⁹ Another version states that a priest of Kanchipuram who happened to be the brother of the King, quarreled with the king, left the place and entered the Pachamalai regions with his three sons and daughters. These regions were ruled by Vedans and the Vellalans who resisted the new comers. But the invader defeated the natives and established their settlement.

They gave their sister in marriage to a Tottiyar stranger in exchange for providing food. A curious custom that prevails in this region testifies to this story. Thus, the women of the Pachamalai Malayalis put aside a portion of each meal in honour of their Vedar ancestor before serving their husbands and the same custom is followed in marriages too. During the marriage function, the Malayali women wear a comb, which is said to have been a characteristic ornament of the Vedars. A sword and an arrow placed in the marriage function and remember the hunting habits of the Vedars.²⁰

There is a view that the Mughal ruler Babur's chieftain called Chilla Nayakkan invaded and captured the Kalrayan hills. The deity of the region Kariramman appeared in the form of a *linga* and on seeing this Chilla Nayakkan ran away, Kariramman appeared before the five brothers, who were the sons of Periya Malayalis of Kanchimandalam and presented the hills to them. The name Kalrayans was derived from the names of the fourth and fifth brothers *Chinna Kalvirayan* and *Periya Kalvirayan*. As a result of the appearance of the deity, the Malayalis call this hill as *Kariramman malai*.

An account regarding the origin of the Malayalis of the Jawathu hills in North Arcot furnished here under. In 1332 A.D some Vedars of Kangudi asked the maidens of the Karaikkat Vellalas of Kanchipuram to marry them. They were scornfully refused and the Vedars of Kangudi kidnapped seven young Vellala maidens, whom they carried a way to Kangudi. To recover them, seven Vellala men set out with seven dogs, leaving instruction with their wives that if the dogs returned alone they should consider that they had perished and should cause the funeral ceremonies to be performed. Arriving at the Palar, they found the river in floods and crossed it with great difficulty, but their dogs, after swimming half away, turned back and returned to Kanchipuram.²¹ The men however continued their journey and killed the Vedars and retrieved their maidens. Then they went back home, but found that they had lost their wives who had become widows. As a result there were branded as outcastes. Then they married Vedar women and retired to Jawathu hills. There they took to cultivation and became the ancestors of the *Malayali tribe*.²²

According to Francis, the editor of the *South Arcot District Manual*, that the Jawathu hills were inhabited by Vedans and that the Malayalis killed the men and wedded the women. Even today during marriages function, a gun is fired in the air to represent the death of the Vedan husband. The Malayalis termed themselves as Karaikkat Vellalas. The Malayalis

of South Arcot call themselves as Kongu Vellalas. All the branches of the community living in different places agree that they are Vellalans, who emigrated from Kanchipuram, bringing with them their God Kariramman. Another point should be recorded here. In the wedding of Kalrayan in South Arcot, the priest who performs the marriage utter the word Kanchi as just before the *tali* is tied. It shows that the migration occurred from Kanchipuram. The Malayali of the Shervaroy call them Kanchimandalam Malayalis. Many called themselves as *Vellala* and *Karalan*. *Malakkaran* and *Mala Nayakkan* are also used as synonyms for *Malayali*.

There are some who believe that the Malayalis are the Keralities. Because some of their customs are similar to those of the Keralities. For example, the Kolli hills girls wear clothes of white cotton tied across their breast like the Keralities while few other Malayalis prefer tattooing. The Kolli Malayalis follow the customs and preventing tattooed persons from entering their house.²³

After examining all the views. One can arrive at the logical conclusion that the Malayalis are not natives of these hills and they came from Kanchipuram and became a tribe of cultivators, woodmen and shepherds. Even though they are scatted, they follow similar customs and traditional habits and have common administrative, socio-economic and religious system of life.

End Notes

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BUDDHISM IN KANCHIPURAM

Dr. Palas Kumar Saha

Kanchipuram is the ancient cultural centre, situated in Chingleput district of the northern east coast of Tamil Nadu and is adjacent of Bay of Bengal and Coromandel Coast (12° 50' North Latitude and 79° 42' East Longitude). The town has an average distance from the ground of 275 (83-82 m) mean sea level. Like all ancient major cities, Kanchipuram is also located on the banks of River Vegavathi, a tributary of River Palar. The Kanchi was known as in various names in Ancient times, namely Kacci, Kaccipedu, Kanci, Kanchi nagar, Kancimanagar and Kanchipuram. Beside Kanchipuram is also called as Kancipura, Satyavrataksetra, Maragatanagari and Nagareshukanci.¹ The Kanchipuram is one of the most ancient cities in the Southern part of Peninsular India from the very beginning.

Kanchipuram is as old Buddha and this is considered to be an important place in the history of South Indian Buddhism. The conditions of Buddhism in Kanchi which not only had a large Buddha in habitant but also many places of public worship in the 7th century C.E.²

It will be noted that a variety of schools of Buddhism prevailed in Tamil Nadu, and four of them are well established. They are Yoga, hayani, Sathavira and Theravada. Kanchi became a renounced centre of Pali Buddhism or Theravada.³ This region may be acknowledged with *Alipadaitangi* (a seven walled fort of Kanchipuram), a Buddhist settlement between Jain Kanchi and Arcot. It was demonstrated by one of the documents in the Mackenzie collections which refer to this place.⁴

If we see the History of Buddhism in Tamil Nadu which can be traced to the days of the king Ashoka. As indicated by the Ashokan Edicts II and X III, the Buddhist monks sent by the emperor Ashoka must have reached Kanchipuram in the 3rd century B.C.E. and hence *Sathaviravada* or *Theravada* should have been propagated by these monks in Kanchipuram.⁵

It is important to note that after the third Buddhist council at Pataliputra a number of Buddhist *Bhikkus* were sent to different parts of the World to promulgate Buddha religion. Ashoka sent his son Mahindra to Ceylon and the

last appears to have gone through Kaveripumpattinam, the Chota capital on his approach to Ceylon. The Buddhism was widespread in Kanchipuram at the time of 3rd century B.C.E. South India has been a core region of Pali Buddhism. The Buddhism had sent his deep roots in this region even before the beginning of the present era. Although no Buddhist remnants dating from the time of Ashoka have been found. But from the sixth to sixteenth century C.E. various images of the Buddha have become exposed in Kanchipuram region.⁶

There are number of Buddhist centres in Tamil Nadu such as Kanchipuram, Uraiyur, Nagapattinam, Kaveripumpattinam etc. Among them Kanchipuram was a significant place for both Jainism and Buddhism. The Manimekalai refers to Kanchi as a well-known centre of Buddhist culture in the early centuries of the present era. It is true that no architectural monuments have been discovered still now, but historically, Kanchipuram was a centre of education and was known as the *ghatikasthanam*, or "place of learning". Kanchi has given great Buddhist scholars and also was a great centre for learning for both Hinayana and Mahayana form of Buddhism. The city was also a religious centre of advanced education for Jainism and Buddhism between the 1st and 5th centuries C.E. Kanchipuram gave room to every school of Buddhism and it was the meeting place of the Buddhist leaders not only from the central India, Andhra Pradesh, Southern Tamil Nadu, but also from the foreign countries Sri Lanka, China, Burma, Java and other Eastern countries. It is quite clear that Kanchipuram was the pre-eminent seat of Buddhist Culture, in the early period.

Actually when Buddhism reached its zenith in Andhradesa in the 3rd century C.E., its influence was very much found in Kanchipuram too. The loss of royal patronage of the Pallavas and the Kalabhras dynasty in Tamil Nadu were the major causes that contributed to the peak period of this region between 3rd century C.E. and 7th century C.E., during this period most of the Buddhist shrines and *viharas* would have been built.

Kanchipuram was the first and foremost epicentre of Buddhism in ancient Tamil Nadu. When Buddhism was less popular in Tamil Nadu, most of the Buddhist temples were converted into Hindu temples or pulled down and the material used in constructing the new Hindu temples. Because of this trend of conversion of Buddhist edifices into Hindu temples, the archaeologists have not been able to uncover any significant Buddhist shrine at Kanchi. The solitary discovery of the remains of a Buddhist *stupa* dated 1st century B.C.E. was made during the excavations in 1971 right in the middle of the town near the Kamakshi Amman Temple.⁷ However, Kanchipuram has yielded a large number of Buddha images covering a period of nearly 800 years from 6th century to 14th century C.E.

In post Sangam texts like Manimekalai, Silappatikaram, and Madurai Kanchi we find references to Buddhism. The Tamil epic Manimekalai, mentions that the Buddhist master Aravana Adigal was staying in Kanchi, and he guided, Manimekalai daughter of Mathavi, in the right path of Buddhism. Manimekalai, according to the epic, is a Bodhisattva *Bhikshuni* who spreads her compassionate activities to alleviate the suffering and hunger of many and finally attains *nirvana* at Kanchi.

In the story of Manimekalai, for example we find the heroine advised to study in Kanchi the advanced theoretical systems. A number of Pali texts of the early stage cited that Kanchi as one of the significant Buddhist pilgrimage centres of the South. Many Buddhist luminaries of the South India are known to have had contacts with the important South Indian city. The lives and achievements of such Buddhist stalwarts, with special reference to their contacts with Kanchi, will throw light on the history of Buddhism in Kanchipuram. The Epic Manimekalai describes that Todukalarkilli, a Chela king constructed a *chaitya* at Kanchi in which the symbolic illustration of Buddha, that is the *Buddhapada* was constructed.⁸

Hiuen Tsang also mentions about a 100 ft high *stupa* built by Ashoka in Kanchi. About people of Kanchi, Hiuen Tsang wrote, "People there are courageous, they deeply hold the principles of honesty and truth, and highly respect learning. The monks there are longed to Mahayana and practiced the Vinaya of *Sathavira*

School." He has mentioned Kanchi as a *Kiu-Chi-Pulo* and states that it was the capital of *Ta-lo-picha* that is Dravida. From the 4th century Kanchi was one of the most important Buddhist centres in the Dravida land, Padmasambhava would have blessed Kanchi with his presence and taught there.⁹ Hiuen-Tsang bears witness to the prosperity of Kanchipuram which was at that time the capital of Dravida and also a port of Southern India or Ceylon. Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a meeting for the most eminent men in the country. It had an Ashoka tope about 100 feet high where the Buddha had once overwhelmed *Tirthikas* by preaching, and had received many into his communion. Near it were traces of a sitting-place and exercise-walk of the four past Buddha.¹⁰

It is to be noted that Amaravati and Gandharan style of standing Buddha statues discovered from Kanchi dated 5th century C.E, almost its height of 80 ft. This Buddha image presently kept in the Chennai Museum. Gopinath Rao mentioned that, this statue was in the inner *prakara* of the Kanchi Kamakshi Temple in Siva Kanchi.¹¹ One more Buddha statue was found in the outer *prakara* in a messed up condition. Gopinath Rao says that Kanchi Kamakshi Temple was initially a temple of Tara.¹² When we compare with other relations that can be seen, a link to Vajrayana Buddhism can be contingent for this temple. The principal deity of this temple is Kamakshi, which means the ardent eyed one. There were additionally two small Buddha carvings (one sitting and one remaining) on a stone mainstay of the temple.

Next to Kanchi Kamakshi Temple, one of the earliest of the Buddha statues found from Kanchi which is kept in Govt. C. M. Subbaraya Mudaliyar Higher Secondary School, dated between 5th- 6th Century C.E. and is of a size of 5'6". According to Gopinath Rao this statue was in a garden adjacent to Kanchi Kamakshi Temple. Further he says that, there are two more Buddha statues under the soil, yet to be excavated.¹³ Still more than 100 years have passed; it is still not excavated yet.

From the excavation report it is noticed that a compound wall of Ekambareswara Temple uses many large stone bricks with carvings of the Buddha. These Buddha carvings

are not in an exacting order, therefore generally this was simply the reclaim of the stone blocks from a ramshackle Buddhist structure. There was a large lie down Buddha statue lying in the temple complex in the late Chola period.¹⁴ Numerous images of Buddha, Bodhi sattuvas and Buddhist Yogis can be seen engraved in the columns of Kachapeshwarar Temple in Kanchi. These columns don't have an exact order, and it would appear that they were balanced in height post-sculpting to fit for the present *mandapa*. From this, it might be gathered that these could be the reclaim of the columns from a previous frail Buddhist structure. Increasingly more Buddha statues are being uncovered all around in Kanchi. Some of them are kept nicely in some small shrines made with the support of people from Thailand and so on. And, a number of statues are misplaced. Since many Buddha statues are on the street-side and unprotected, some are stolen. Except some action is taken by the government to protect the other statues, further of these historic monuments may be lost soon.

From the epigraphical evidences we come to know that, a renowned Buddhist *vihara* donated by people from Kanchi. From that we can say that Kanchi was flourishing with Buddhism even in that period. On the other hand the European traveler Marco Polo in the 13th century C.E, found a number statues which is century saw seven *chaitiyas* on the seashore of Mahabalipuram near Kanchi. Even during the 14th century C.E, a renowned poet of Java mentioned about the presence of thirteen Buddhist monasteries in Kanchi.¹⁵ Another inscription in Korea says that, Dhyana bhadra from Kanchi went to Korea in 1370 C.E and established there a Mahayana monastery.¹⁶ Also we know from this inscription that he received the teaching of Avatamsaka Sutra in Kanchi. All these records give us informations that Buddhism was very much alive in Kanchi even in the 14th century, though in a phase of gradual decline.

Kanchipuram gained importance as the capital of the Pallavas, one of early dynasties of South India. Even from very early times it was predominantly famous as the seat of education attracting scholars from far off places and belonging to different faiths, such as Buddhism,

Jainism, Saivism and Vaishnavism and a number of similar sectarian creeds and castes.¹⁷ The archaeological findings found during excavations also show to the fact that Kanchipuram was a well-built centre for Buddhism. It is reported that a grey ware fragment bearing Brahmi letters "*Putalatisa*" which appears to be a name of a Buddhist monk, a small round arrangement perhaps serving as the basement of a votive *stupa* and some remains of Buddhist *stupas* had been unearthed during the excavation conducted by the University of Madras.¹⁸ The shred bearing the name "*Putalatisa*" is dated in the 1st 2nd century C.E. while the circular structure to the period IT which is covering a period from 4th to 9th century C.E. After having sustained their second season excavation, they have reported that many Buddhist *stupas* had been constructed at Kanchipuram. Hence it is obvious that the survival of Buddhist *stupas* at Kanchipuram has also been proved by reliable archaeological evidences.¹⁹

In recent past the department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Madras University undertook an excavation in Kanchipuram, under the guidance of T.V. Mahalingam, to collect information about the early history of Kanchipuram, to determine its association with Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. The remains of a Buddhist shrine chamber and an inscribed potsherd bearing the name of a Buddhist monk in Brahmi characters were among the objects found.²⁰ One of the dig exposed the remains of a *stupa* like structure in the lowermost layer of black clay soil, just yellowish clay. The foundation of the structure was cut into the natural soil. The structure consisted of four courses of massive rectangular bricks running across the trench in the north-southeast direction? Two courses formed the bottom portion and other two the upper portion. These were separated by a layer of 30 cms. thick black soil. The bricks laid in the lower part from a segment of circle and the upper part more or less running straight cuts the two extremities of the segment at about 40 degrees. Further excavation is planned and this may reveal more about the shape and size of the bricks structure, tentatively dated around the 2nd or 1st century B.C.E. An alignment of holes for posts was also noticed in

the same level, pointing to the existence of a thatched roof near the structure.

A poet of far eastern country Java who lived during 14th century C.E. had referred to about 14 *stupas* at Kanchipuram. He also said that the Vaishnava and the Buddha faiths were inseparably mingled at Kanchipuram. The Buddhist followers who were living at Kanchipuram seemed to have gifted about 17 bronze images of the Buddha to Kukutapathagiri which is believed to have been a Buddhist centre. The images are now displayed in the museum of Patna.²²

Buddhist centres at Kanchipuram in the period of Pallava kingdom must give us a fresh impetus to the spread of Buddhism across the Bay of Bengal.²³ Mahendravarman, the Pallava king wrote his Sanskrit work, *Mattavilasa Prahāsana* in the 6th century C.E. from Kanchipuram. There he refers to many Buddhist *viharas* at Kanchi, the chief of which was *Raja vihara*. The *Mattavilasa Prahāsana* of Mahendravarman gives a vivid picture of the Buddhist presences at Kanchipuram region.²⁴ Tantric Buddhism must have been practised in the 6th century by the Buddhist monks. Pallava Mahendravarman has criticised these monks in his work and in the 7th century. Hiuen Tsang also pictures the declining state of Buddhism in Kanchipuram in particular. Added to this internal condition, the Saivite and the Vaisnavite Bhakti movements of 7th and 8th century C.E. and the predominance of Jain together resulted in the conversion of the Buddhists to these sects. Some of the pious Buddhists and the monks must have left Kanchi for Sri Lanka or any East Asian countries where Buddhism was popular.²⁵

In Kanchipuram, especially in some localities like Kama-Kotamatha near the Kamakshi Amman temple, Vaikuntha Perumal temple, Ekambareswarar temple, Pallavamedu, Jnana Prakasa Svanugalmath, etc., yielded Buddhist remains. Here, the excavation conducted at the site of Kamakshi Amman temple brought to light vestiges of *stupa*, *chaityas* and *vihara* besides few copper coins belonging to Rudra Satakarni, coin moulds and *Buddhapada* slabs, datable from 1st century B.C.E. to 4th century C.E.²⁶ Here several Buddha images of a later date (19th century C.E.) were also unearthed. Among them are the interesting seated images of Buddha in *Virasana* posture in

dhyana mudra, another seated on lotus in *yogamudra* and an image in *bhumisparsa mudra*.²⁷ While one is headless, the other is both without its head and hands. Several images including the *Mahaparinirvana* scene belonging to the later medieval period were found in the niches on the compound wall of the Ekambareswara temple.²⁸ The image measures about 2 feet. The face is lightly scratched.

The *prabha* over the head of the Buddha is rather Hindu workmanship.²⁹ A seated image (3 feet 9 inch) of Buddha (in *dhyana mudra*) was found datable to later Vijayanagara or Nayaka period; suggest the survival of Buddhism even upto the Vijayanagara period. On the southern *prakara* towards the right of the side entrance in the same direction are found sculptured on granite slabs, now built into wall, seven Buddhas all are in seated position. Of these, there are on the similar type of slab while the rest are on different ones.³⁰ From that we can say that all the images of the Buddha found in Ekambareswara temple have initially come from a ruined shrine of the Lord which must have existed in the surrounding area of this great Siva temple.

Two images one in the *dhyana* position and other seated with its right hand held in the *Bhumisparsamudra* are put under the shade of a big tree alongside Hindu images in the premises of the Karukkil Amman temple. They are in a very good state of protection and bear a very inventive *thorana* after the style of the Hindu images.³¹ All of them are set up in seated on *padmasana* and in yoga position, a part from one which is in *Bhumisparsamudra*. The strength of their association proposes the trademark style of the South Indian School of figure.³² Additionally, a little broken leader of a Manikekalai figure is found in a similar temple. The nose and eyes are unmistakable, the lips are profound trimmed, the ears are stretched, and the finished hair is found behind, covering the head divide as it were. It is said that they were initially found close to the Kamakshi Amman temple and later brought to the present spot.³³ A stone slab containing an inscription gives the information of the Pallichandam I and donated to the Buddhist temple at Kanchipuram. The symbol of *Dharmachakra* is engraved on the rear portion of the slab.³⁴

In the conclusion we can say that the paucity of Buddhist centres in Tamil Nadu is

intriguing and Kanchipuram is one of them. The archaeological and literary sources lend reasonable support to the fact that the distribution of Buddhist structures' in the Kanchipuram region, which took place probably after the great distribution. In the light of the above, it is also reasonable to surmise that the Buddhist structures reached the local kings, merchant, householder and the rich persons, who were already patronising and propagating

Buddhism in these regions. Thus the widespread of Buddhism in the regions is well attested by the discovery of range of many *vihara, stupa, chaitya* and the beautiful shrines places from a variety of sites. Here a humble attempt has been made to give an outline of the Buddhism in Kanchipuram with the help of available sources. But it is not possible to explore all the areas related to Buddhism therefore, it needs further investigation.

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DONORS OF PARSVANATHA ICONOGRAPHY IN MADURAI REGION

C.Pandeeswaran

The history of Jainism in the Pandya country traced back to a few centuries before the advent of the Christian era. Historical tradition is such that at the close of the 4th century B.C.E. the king Chandragupta Maurya of Magadha and a large gathering of Jain monks under the leadership of Sruktakevina Bhadrabahu migrated to Sravanabeloala in Karnataka and spread the gospel of Jina to the laity. Subsequently, after the demise of Chandragupta and Bhadrabahu, their disciple led by Vishakacharya moved further south into the Tamil country and sowed the seeds of Jainism. It is believed that these mendicants reached the Pandya country first and other areas slightly later. Very likely their arrival to the Pandya country could have taken place in the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.E. and flourished upto 6th century

C.E. It was well attested by the Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions and beds in Pandya country such places are Mangulam, Arittapatti, Anaimalai, Karunkalakudi, Kilavalvu, Kilakuilkudi, Thirupparankundram, Kuppalnatham, Konarpuliyankulam, Pachchipallam, Muttuppatti and so on. Then it came to downfall after the Kalabhras overthrown by the first Pandya ruler Kadungon around 550 C.E. Again it reappeared in Pandya country between 9th and 10th century and followed iconic form of worship. The images of Jain saints were depicted such as Adinatha or Rsabha, Neminatha, Parsvanatha, Mahavira, Bahubali, Yaksas and Yaksis. The donors have made their contribution to the development of the image of Parsvanatha in entire parts of Tamil country. The present paper seeks to trace out the history, iconography of Parsvanatha, Jain

puranic theme and donor through the ample sources such as Vatteluttu inscriptions, Jain Art and other modern works produced by the reputed scholars.

Jainism was established as a separate religion during 600 B.C.E. by Mahavira, some of its relics were identified in Mohanjadaro – Harappan civilization also. The name such as Rishaba deva, Ajithanatha and Aristanemi etc are found in Yajur- Veda. Infusion of Jaina and Buddha philosophical doctrines into Saivism and Vaishnavism was quite natural on those days. According to one scholar T.M. Baskara Thondaiman, Buddha was replaced by Vishnu and Mahavira was replaced by Siva.¹

Jainism was derived for Jina which means the religious conqueror. It was also a popular religion among the merchants communities in India but it was never crossed its frontier. Jainism was called in different names at different periods. *Manimekalai* and Tamil *bhakti* hymns called them *camanar* (Jain) and *Amanar* (the nude). The twin epics like *Silappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* are considered to the Jain. Apart from this, Jainism possesses other names such as *Arukatas*, *Nikantas*, *Anekantavatas*, *Siyatvatas* and *Pindiyars*. Whereas Buddhist called it as *Nirkantavalai* and Brahminism called it as *Sramana Neri*. The Tevaram calls them *Caman*,² *Terar*³ and *Amanar*.⁴

Both Vaisyas and Sutras who were expecting an alternative religion voluntarily supported and adopted the Jainism. The Jain religion rejected the uneven development of society and exploitation of wealth. They propagated simple but sacred ascetic life among the people. That is why the Jain religion enjoyed enormous support from the Vaisyas and Sutras and developed vigorously.

Jainism in Sangam Period

Before 2,200 years Jainism flourished in Pandya country. The Sangam rulers supported and followed Jainism.⁵ Jain beds and inscriptions are found in the hills and caves around Madurai and also some other parts of Pandya country. In Madurai district, Mangulam, Tiruvadavur, Kilavalavu, Karungalakkudi, Arittapatti, Thirupparankundram, Kidaripatti, Muthupatti, Mettupatti, Vikramangalam are important Jain Caves. In Sivaganga district, Kundrakudi and Thirumalai, in Puthukottai

Sittannavasal are belonged to third – second centuries B.C.,

The Pandyas of the Sangam period were liberal in their religious outlook therefore all heterodox and orthodox religions including Jainism flourished during the rule of Sangam Pandya period. There are fourteen Jaina vestiges such as Thirupparankundram, Samanamalai, Kongarpuliyangulam, Vikkramangalam, Anaippatti, Anaimalai, Mangulam, Arittapatti, Alagarmalai, Karungalakkudi, Kilavalavu, Tiruvadavur, Kunnathur and Thirumalai comprise in the rock cut caves or natural caverns with stone beds in and around Madurai district.⁶ These Jaina caverns with beds and Brahmi inscriptions dated back to 3rd – 2nd century B.C.E. are found in and around the Pandya capital and its distant places. The best among them are located at Mangulam, Anaimalai, Alagarmalai, Arittapatti, Kilavalavu, Muthupatti and Kongarpuliyangulam. These ascetics abodes are unquestionable evidence for the flourishing nature of Jainism as early as the 3rd century B.C.E.⁷

The *Madurai Kanchi* is one of the Sangam literary works which refers to a great Jain temple at Madurai. The temple of the *Niggandar* (Jains) at Madurai was built of stone. Its walls were exceedingly high and painted red. Outside the walls were pretty little flower gardens. A large number of the followers of the *Nigganda* faith (Jainism) thronged there to see their monks.

In *Silppadikaram*, there is reference for the existence of Jainia monasteries of Arivan in Madurai.⁹ Karundi Adikal, a female Jain ascetic who accompanied the hero and heroine of the epic, in their journey to Madurai was anxious to visit Madurai in order to worship Arivan in the Madurai Jain temple.¹⁰ In the same epic *Silappadikaram* also mentions a shrine of a Yakshi was worshipped by the cowherds Madurai at Madurai.¹¹ Manimegalai also describe the influence of Jainism on Tamilnadu during its hey – day.¹² The other Sangam anthologies such as *Narrinai* (poem.141), *Agananuru* (poem. 123)¹³ mentions the existence of Jainism.

Moreover *Kalithogai* (Maruthakali. Poem. 28) contains the reference about the Jain ascetics and their abode.¹⁴ In spite of these Sangam literary evidences one more contemporary inscription also confirms the existence of Jainism

during 3rd B.C.E. Kalinga king Karavela constructed a temple for the first Thirthankara Adhinatha during 3rd century B.C.E. and one Pandya king had attended the installation ceremony which is mentioned in an inscription found at Hatikumba in Orissa.¹⁵

Though, during the Sangam period the Pandya rulers and merchants had contributed liberally for the erection of Jain caves and rock beds around Madurai. Such remains are found even today in the hills such as Mangulam, Arittapatti, Thiruvadavur, Kidaripatti, Kilavalav, Karungalakudi, Kunnattur (Varichiyur), Anaimalai, Thirupparankundram, Kilakuyilkudi, Muthupatti, Kongarpuliankulam, Vikkiramangalam, Nadumuthalaikulam, Mettupatti etc., other than Madurai in Pandya country the places like Kunrakudi, Thirumalai in Sivaganga district, Sittannavasal and Kudumyanmalai in Pudukkottai district, Marukalthalai and Ayyanakulam (Mannarkoil) in Tirunelveli district the Sangam Jain records are found datable back to 3rd B.C.E to 2nd century C. E. In allover Tamil Nadu about 90 Tamil Brahmi inscriptions related to Jainism have been found so far. Among them more than 60 records are spread around Madurai along which prove that Jainism was wide spread and enjoyed unchallenging support from then Tamil society.¹⁶ Sequel to that the Tamil Brahmi script with beds belong to 2nd and 3rd century C.E. mentions that the Jainism was well flourished at Madurai during the later Sangam period also. But after the Sangam period there might not be any developments occurred in these respective places for three hundred years.

Post Sangam period in Tamilakam (fourth – sixth centuries C.E. a period of transition in Tamil society and polity) was one great flux, in which the decline of trade and the Tamil politics of the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas is associated with an invasion by the Kalabhras and the subversion of the Tamil socio – political organization. Invariably, this tribal ruling family is believed to have patronized the *Sramanic* sect of Jainism. This assessment is based on later Tamil traditions and Brahmanical records like land grants describing them as evil king and *adharmic* that is, followers of non – Brahminical faiths. It may be noted that the decline of trade assigned to the post third century C.E may be true of the long distance maritime trade but it

does not seem to have affected the role of the Jains in contributing a rich corpus of literary works of the post Sangam era.¹⁷

The *Dravida Sangha* was established by Vajranandi ascetic in 470 C.E. at Madurai. This was a Jain missionary society, whose avowed object was the propagation of Jainism. Thus the Kalabhras rule till about the 6th century C.E. was also favorable for the growth of Jainism.¹⁸ But there was no any evidences regarding the next development occurred in the Jain caverns during this Kalabhra period in Pandya country except the eighteen minor works.

Early Pandya Period

It is remembered that the early form of Jainism was simple and thus, iconic and ritualistic worship of *Tirthankaras* and received little attention. This is borne out by the early bald caves of Jaina ascetic till about the 6th century C.E. However, the transformation state occurred since the 7th century C.E. with the advent of the Bhakti movement.¹⁹ The Jainism recovered and attained the next idolatry and ritualistic development stage between 9th and 10th century C.E. in the hills of Pandya country such as Muthupatti, Kongar Puliyankulam, Alagarmalai,²⁰ Keelakuilkudi, Anaimalai, Arittapatti, Tiruparankundram²¹ Kilavalavu and so on.

These 8 places are given much importance after 7th century. These are called '*Ennperunkundram Periyapuram*' also mentions like as follows, "*Enperunkunrathtil Ennairam*" Jains lived.²²

Silapathikaram deals about the existence of Jainism. But owing to the efforts of Siva Nayanmars in seventh century it received a setback to Jainism continued to survive to some extent in Pandya country and this is borne out by epigraphic evidences.²³

Many Vattelluttu inscriptions of about the eighth, tenth centuries C.E. found in the Madurai region as well as in other parts of Pandya country speaks of several Jaina religious teachers, Jain Pallis, the erection of Jain temple, images and donors. As already light out above that this paper focuses on the image of Parshvanatha, Jain purnaic theme and donors.

Parshvanatha Iconography

Parshvanatha was a prince from Varanasi. He was a twenty third *tirthankara*. His emblem was cobra. He is believed to be a historical Jaina and a predecessor of Mahavira.²⁴ He lived approximately 250 years prior to Mahavira.²⁵ The image Parshvanatha show him being sheltered from downpour by a canopy formed from the expanded snake-hood of Dharanendra, king (Indra) of the nagakumara gods. He attained liberation (*moksa*) on the mount Sammeta.²⁶ Tradition avers the Mahavira's parents were followers of the order of Parshvanatha.²⁷

In Tamil Nadu since eighth century C.E. a large number of Parshvanatha iconographies are made over successive centuries. Among them Chokkampatti in Tirunelveli district, image is said to be the earliest one. In Vaigai basin especially Madurai region his ten images are depicted like Anaimalai, Pechipallam (Samanarmalai), Kilavalavu, Thirupparankundram, Kuppalanatham and Malaiyadiatti.²⁸

Among the ten images, in Kivalavalvu (two images), Pechipallam (three images) and Kupalanatham (one image) found in *kayotsarga* pose with five hooded serpent above his head.²⁹ These types of images are in the 9th century C.E. specimens. Apart from the 9th century C.E. standing positions of Parshvanatha image in Madurai region and exquisite icon seated *ardhapariyankasana* adorns in Malayadiatti as in the rock cut temple as Sittannavasal. Although accompanying images like Kamada and Padmavathi are absent.³⁰

Jain puranic thematic sculptural panel is depicted in the Madurai region during the early Pandya period. This theme is found in Anaimalai, Thirupparankundram and Pechipallam. The story of Parshvanatha, the 23rd *thirthanakara* is sculptured exquisitely as a drama form. At first Parshvanatha is shown as standing straight (*Kayotsarga*) and by his left side one demon Kamadan is shown as trying to pelt a big rock bolder on him. Dharanenthra, the Yaksha of Parshvanatha spreads his canopy a five hooded snake above the head of Parshvanatha to secure him from the attack of Kamada. Padmavathy, the Yakshi as well as the wife of Dharnendra tries to save her husband by holding a vajra umbrella above the head of Dharnendra. The demon Kamada, who failed in his attempt finally surrenders to Parshvanatha and bowed down at

his feet and put his head at the feet of Parshvanatha. This whole scene is depicted in a single panel very neatly in the above mentioned places.³¹

Donors of Parshvanatha Iconography

During the 9th century C.E. onwards the Jain ascetic Achananthi was caused to set back Jainism in Pandya country. He spread and followed idolatry worship of the Jaina religion. The images of Parshvanatha were carved in all parts of the Pandya country except Chitharal, Thirucharanathumalai and Kalugumalai.³² The rest of the places in Pandya country have the image of Parshvanatha with inscriptions of the donors.

In this study area there are seven Vatteluttu inscriptions engraved below and within the panel of the Jain iconography. The inscriptions are found in the places such as Pachipallam, Thirupparankundram and Anaimalai which register the donors of the Parshvanatha iconography in Madurai region during the early Pandya period. The inscriptions and donors are as follow.

In Pachipallam there four Vatteluttu inscriptions are found below the image of Parshvanatha which belongs to 9th and 10th century C.E. The inscriptional record reveals about the donors of the Parshvanatha.³³ The first inscription from the right side of Jain sculptural panels in Pachipallam attest that the mother of Achananthi who was Gunamathiyar made endowment of Parshvanatha image.³⁴ It shows that the woman also had privilege to made donations.

The second inscription from the same place states donor name like Achchan-Sri Palan who was a son-in-law of Gunasadevar Satten Anthalaiyan. He carved the image and endowed.³⁵ Third script of the same place records the donation of Parshvanatha made by Porpattan who was a disciple of Guanasena Devar from Kurandi.³⁶ Fourth inscription also mentions that the image was donated by Jaina ascetic Aristanemi from the Maduraikattampalli.³⁷ It shows that the saint also made donation of Parshvanatha image. In Thirupparankudram, a Vatteluttu script is found under the Parshvanatha panel. This record reveals that this panel is cared by Vanan Baladevan who was a student of Nelan alias Ilan

thammadikai.³⁸ In Anaimalai there are two Vatteluttu inscriptions made which mentions about support and protection of the Parshvanatha image panel. The first script states that this panel of image left under the protection of Thinaikalathat.³⁹ The second inscription belongs to 10th century C.E. in the same place registers that the support was given by Porkottukkarathar to protect the image.⁴⁰

In the light of sources, Jainism was well flourished from the Sangam age to 6th century C.E. It was well attested by Jain beds, Tamil Brahmi inscriptions found in and around Madurai region and eighteen minor works also.

It declined after the Kalabhras were overthrown by the early Pandyas. Again it rejuvenated between 9th and 10th century C.E. as idolatry worship by the saint Achananthi. During that period, the image of Parshvanatha depicted with *puranic* themes and also carved panels at hills in and around Madurai. The images were endowed by the donors of saints and woman nuns, attested by the Vatteluttu inscriptions which engraved below the Parshvanatha iconography. Hence, the period between the 9th and 10th century C.E. is remarkable period for the development of Jainism due to the donor's contribution in Madurai region.

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INDIA AND ITS CULTURAL CONTACT WITH EAST ASIA

Dr. S. Pari Parameswaran

Each and every country, nowadays, endeavours to satisfy all its needs of multiple nature and desire to maintain its elite status and strong position on par with others. No country of the modern period can survive without the contact with other nations. The vast Indian sub-

continent's contact with East Asia was not mostly a political oriented one but it is rather a culture oriented one in the absence of the policy of expansion and consolidation from the ancient time onwards to till date. The history of India clearly reveals that the Indian subcontinent, the

conglomeration of states had no opportunity to think an expansion and consolidation of its territories beyond its natural boundaries and borders. India had vast and well developed cultural and religious contacts with the east. India never made even a single attempt to have territorial expansion in the east or in the west. One can understand that the policy of expansion was unknown to India due to the seas encircled in these sides of the peninsular India. In the north the Himalayas arrest it and in south there lies the Indian Ocean. The advent of the Europeans such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British enriched the contact between India and Eastern countries more prominent due to economic, commercial and cultural contacts. Hindu style of art and architecture gained veneration among the nations of the east. The Indian Muslims had expanded commercial inter-course with the east under religious backgrounds and supports. It was greatly beneficial for the future colonialist who exchanged their views and ideas with other nations¹.

The religious contacts between India and the eastern countries are remarkable. Buddhism of India is having a strong footing in the countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar, Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal etc. Even in the dominant Muslim country Indonesia, Buddhism is acknowledged as a recognised and approved and recognised religious order. The numerous Indian religious missionaries, scholars and merchants took Buddhism to the east. Its helped the spread of India art and architecture. The importance attained by Sanskrit influences and the Indian artistic phases too promoted the cultural expansion and contacts. The kingdom of Sumatra, i.e., the **Srivijaya Kingdom** had its own attachment and affinity to Indian customs, traditions and the Hindu temple architecture. The traces still available there stand testimony to that. Thus the cultural synthesis avoided political and territorial expansion. There emerged a commingling of Indian and east Asian cultures.

Further **Ramayana**, the remarkable Indian epic, is honoured as the National epic of India. As an impact, the first international Ramayana festival was conducted at Jakarta during September 1971. It brought India nearer to the east. The Indian coastal line has 12 major ports and 184 minor ports and all of them assist the promotion of the cultural contacts with the east

Asian countries. The westerners also rendered maritime co-operation with the neighbouring regions in the east⁴. Such aspects were immensely beneficial for all the nations of the world in exchanging their cultural prospects and pursuances. The devotional works of India have been revered by the people of East Asia. They are reflected in their art and architecture.

People of different countries by making regular visits to other countries, by having personal exchange of trainees and interactions with other nations along with the assistance rendered in naval activities also added the cultural and commercial contacts with high frequencies⁵. The east Asian countries have enriched the social, cultural, commercial and economic pursuits of themselves and that paved the way to witness a peaceful and progressive world with the co-operation and co-ordination all. So the people are the real beneficiaries.

The coast guard relations between India and east Asian countries too also led to naval co-operation among them for the maintenance of the safety and security of each nation⁶. Diplomatic relations with the east Asian countries have caused the frequent visits of delegates from Maldives⁷, Sri Lanka⁸ etc. to India and vice versa. They too assist the adoption of friendly and cordial relations and peaceful co-existence with east Asian regions with all co-operation and amity. India is always cautious in maintaining its cordial relations with other nations and is so critical and particular in promoting and developing its socio, cultural and economic prospects⁹. All the contacts were mostly cultural and not at all political or territorial expansion. So the contact is a longstanding one without any intercasteism or regional variations. In general they stand for peace, security and development its solid and successful ways.

The contact among them is also an outcome of the internal and international migration and movement of people from one state to the other due to political as well as economic and commercial considerations. During this materialistic age people of all the nations involve in migration to other countries to satisfy all their needs and requirements of varied nature and to have a developed and comfortable life economically. Under such a pretext, liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation aspects have come up as causes for migration.

So, the migration, occurred due to cultural contacts, have their own indelible, social, economic, cultural and political impacts and changes of cultural traits over the nations. These facts are the outcomes of cultural contacts among nations and India is not at all an exception. The policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence adopted by India has its own effects in this aspect. The cultural contacts favour the transfer of skills, techniques, traits and qualities from one set of people to the other. They, in turn are beneficial for the growth and development of human beings of all the countries and nations. In general they form the basis for development of the world and its citizens.

The cultural contacts always assist the adoption of social, economic and political strategies in a compromising way without interfering in the internal or external affairs and culture of the other nations. In the same way such types of contacts centre on the foreign policy of India and other nations. The contacts, further encourage, control and assist the creation of the total infrastructure of the social, political, economic pursuances of any nation. They change the principles and policies of a nation like India along with the transformed attitudes and outlook of the people. On that line the entire humanity is a beneficiary because of the approved policies by that.

The Indian sub-continent co-operates and co-ordinates with other nations for the promotion and development of the undeveloped as well as the underdeveloped countries along with self development. They borrow assistances, supports and helps in the field of economics from India and vice versa. So there emerges the scope and opportunity for both the nations to develop themselves in solid forms. The "**Parcha Sheela**" concept of Nehruji, expressed on cultural basis, stood for the maintenance and upkeep of India's natural individualities unmedeled by any power at any context. On that line, the cultural contacts have brought the nations nearer to each other and have enhanced the cordial relationship among different nations which acknowledge each other. Further, the cultural contacts with East Asian countries by India have introduced the concept of the **citizens of the world** among people of all the nations which have promising cultural contacts. This has revealed and

highlighted India as a super power of cultural highness and superiority in all the aspects. Cultural contact has its own echo over the foreign policy of India with regard to the eastern and western countries. It provides ample scope and opportunities and facilities for India to maintain India as a state without any enmity with any nation. So the concept of non-alignment gained value and popularity with improved cultural contacts. But the nations co-operate with each other for maintaining their status quo.

The regular and strong cultural contact of India with the east Asian countries is a remarkable endeavour for growth and development and it avoids the adoption of the balance of power theory. They in turn leady to the development of the nations positively with co-operative joint endeavour. "Peaceful co-existence" is allowed to survive in India as a solid measure. The lessons learnt from history of the Buddhist, Mauryan, Guptan, periods enabled the free India after 1947 to formulate its own individual co-operation and peace based foreign policy without any influence from the stress of any extraneous power. The causes for the formation of a foreign policy during the modern period were innate and inberent in India. In the world forums like United Nation Organisation and regional forums like South Asian Association of Regional Co-operation (SAARC) India is maintaining its status and prestige and assists the states of East Asia.

It is apt and appropriate to note that the cultural contact with east Asian countries has promoted peace, regional security and guaranteed developed economic activities and concept of modernism as well as economic progress and afflunecy. The cultural contact, by pushing back the other kinds of contacts, has brought the people of all the nations nearer to each other with the adoption of the concept of "each for all and all for each". They assist progress and development. Again all the political and economic rivalries are amicably settled by mutual understanding and co-operation. They assist the concept of war free and peaceful world. In that respect the cultural contacts contribute to peace, progress and development of the nations.

Without giving any room for Communism and Capitalism, in India the concept of **Sarvodaya** and **Socialism** takes up the lead and all people, without any disparity are treated

equally as the creations of god. Along with Christianity and Islam, the east Asian countries are influenced by Hinduism mostly by and the Indian religion Buddhism. On the basis of **Dharma** the contacts between India and east Asian countries are framed and formulated. The cultural contacts of India with other nations of the world have placed India at the highest level of regard and recognition. So the cultural contact among nations should be always an enhanced and developed one.

Further, in this modern age of materialism and improved science and technology, the co-operation among the different nations is an imperative need for progress and development, India possesses such qualities and has assumed a appreciable level. Thus the cultural contact between India and east Asian countries has allowed and enabled the Indian subcontinent to be a pioneering state of peace and non-violence.

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INSCRIPTION BASED PLACE NAMES IN BAILAHONGAL TALUK OF BELGAUM DISTRICT

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Bailhongal is one of the ten taluks in Belgaum district. Bailhongal which is in the South of Belgaum district has tropical climate, except part of it in dryland. The Kadambas, the Kadambas of Goa, the Chalukyas of Badami, the Chalukyas of Kalyan, the Adilshahs of Bijapur, the kings of Vijayanagar, the Peswas and the princely state of Kittur have ruled the area. The orthography of local names is undertaken in view of the edicts belonging to these dynasties. The local names which, in fact, precede edicts helps us to understand the pre-history of the taluk.

The study of local names first began in the 18th century in the west, and it was started in India. 20th century Scholars like Shamba Joshi began this study in Karnataka. Fortunately studies in local names is a matter for Ph.D programmes in these years.

Usually the village names have two units: the preceding word and the final word. The final words such as pura, vaada, baada, uru, palli,

haala and others are indicative of a village or hamlet. This unit is of categorizing factor. The preceding unit is of importance, useful in recognising a village. In the name 'Nandihalli,' 'Nandi' is a preceding word, and 'halli,' a final word. The word 'Nandi' is important. On the other hand, 'halli' is of categorizing type and a common term still. The final words facilitate the signification of the preceding terms. For example, the final unit 'waad' in 'Doddawad' is a category word meaning 'a castle' or a corruption of baad (a hamlet) is uncertain. The presence of a castle in the village is likely to confuse us. Experts feel that the 'castle' is likely to lead to this signification. But the truth is different. In this regard, 'Doddabaad' (meaning a big village) has become 'Doddavaad'. The existence of the name preceded the existence of a castle there.

The concept of origination of village names may be studied in three ways - the layman's way, the scholar's way and the realist's way. For example, the layman thinks that the village of Kittur is 'a shifted one' from some other place.

The root 'Kittu' means 'shifted' and 'uru' means 'village.' The scholars think 'Kirtipur' (a famous town) turned into Kittur. The reality is that 'Kit'+ 'uru'=Kittur, means a 'small village' ('Kiridu' means small). On the other hand, Dharwad District Gazetteer mentions that Kittur's earlier name was 'Gijaganahalli.' However it lacks evidence for it.

The names of villages erode, change and get corrected in course of centuries and if we study it with the help of inscriptions, we shall realize the value of it culturally and geographically. In this regard, the village names of Bailhongal taluk are studied in the backdrop of the local inscriptions and they are categorized as nature-bound and culture-bound.

I. Nature-Bound Village Names:

Man, living in his pristine biological surroundings, liked to name his places as biological factors dictated. This was the first historical phase for inscription based place names. The common nouns were common then. Basically Bailhongal taluk is covered with hills and valleys as it is tropical geographically. Therefore, the area has many natural names for human habitations. As per the inscriptions of the area, the nature-bound village names are as follows.

The names of villages like Sampagaadi and Kammudavaad remind us the abundance of jasmine (Sampige) and lotus (Kumad) flowers respectively in these two villages. The earliest name of Sampagaon is 'Sampagaadi'.¹ This is sampage (sampige)+ haadi= Sampigehaadi> Sampagaadi> Sampagavi> Sampagaon> Sampagavi. 'Gaon' means 'a village' in Marathi. In the times of the Peswas, Gavi became 'gaon.' The name 'Kummadavaad'² turned into 'Kalabai.' This is Kumud (lotus)+baad= Kumudabaad. Kammu is a pounding object. However, Kummud stems more from the flower 'kumud' than from the object of pounding. Likewise, 'Kadalavalli',³ is the first name of the place 'Kadrolli'. This is 'kadal' (a kind of plant) + palli=Kadalapalli>Kadalavalli>Kadrolli. In a way, it is not a village (palli) where battle took place. Maybe the village name may pertake the meaning of 'Kadal,' meaning a friend. The village Kulavalli was first called 'Koolavalli'.⁴ 'Koola' (Kulya= forest)+halli=Koolahalli>Kulavalli. An inscription has this line 'Kulavalliya

gramadhidevate Kulakabbeya degulada jirnodharakkam.⁵ We have the assumptions whether the village has the name of Kulavalli, because of its goddess Kulakabbe, or Kulakabbe has this name because of the village. scholars assume that the village is named after the goddess.

The earliest name of Basarakod is 'Basarikod'⁶ (Basuri+kod (peak)= Basurikod). The local peak has a look of a pregnant woman, hence the name of the village. Maybe there is a plant called 'Basuri.' Likewise, the village name 'Kurugund'⁷ speaks of its geography. 'Kuru' means a 'swollen place' or a hill. 'Gund' means 'a bigger hill.' The village name describes a hilly hamlet beside a hill. It is therefore Kuru+ gund= Kurugund. 'Turumari' is said to be the old 'Bettad Kurugund'.⁸

The earliest name of Udakeri was 'Udakeere'.⁹ Probably it was called Udakeri, because the hamlet was once infested with the wild animals called Udas in Kannada. There are many village names, all of them nature-bound.

The village Belavadi was first called 'Belvadi' or 'Belvaadi'.¹⁰ Historians Dr.S.J. Ritti and Dr.P.B. Desai think that the village should have known for its lands for bumper harvest or cotton crop. Linguistically the name may be 'Bellavadi.' This is Bela+vala+baad= Belavalabaad>Belavalavaad> Belavalavadi> Belavadi> Belvadi. The village is called 'Belavadi' and as 'Bellodi' in folklore.

II. Culture-Bound Village Names:

The origin of place names provides us our ancestor's way of life, ideas, beliefs, occupations, values and other things. In this regard, the place names of Bailhongal taluk provide us names which emerge from gods, race and history. Inscriptional support is available in this regard.

The village Kittur has got its origin, meaning that Kiridu (small)>Kit+uru = Kitturu."¹¹ *Doddavaad*¹² as it is auto-telic means a big village. That is Dodda+ baad= Doddabaad>Doddavaad> Dodavaad. Likewise, the village with temples – *Degulavalli*¹³ (Degula+ palli= Degulapalli>Degulavalli>Degalolli>Degalolli) has become Degalolli. *Degaon*¹⁴ is Devara + gaon= Degan or it may be from an individual Devanna or Deranna (Deranna+gaon=Derannan gaon> Derannangaon. Degan). *Ornanuru*¹⁵ has become

Orannan+uru=Orannanuru>Ornanuru> Vrnanuru> Vannuru. Likewise, *Kolanooru*¹⁶ has become Koladuru (Kolana + uru = Kolanuru> Koladuru). The names of such individuals as Oranna and Kolana might be the factors behind this orthography. Linguists think that the preceding units in the names of human beings end in the nasal sound 'n' at that.

The village name *Neesaragi*¹⁷ emerges from the ethnic tribe of Nesara. Neesaragi is from Neesara+ kai= Neesarakai> Nesaraki> Nesaragi. Since the Nesara people settled down in the place, the place was called Nesaragi. Today's Bailuru was once *'Mindavalli'*.¹⁸ That is Minda+ palli=Mindavalli. 'Minda' means 'brave'. So the village was full of brave people. Since the name also meant lovers or debauches, the name must be changed to Bailavalli. That's why Bailahalli in the dryland could be called Bailuru. Likewise, Chinchunike turned into Hannikeri (hanni (plant)+keri=Hannikeri). The first name of 'Devara Shigihalli' is *'Magod'*.¹⁹ This is Ma+kod (peak)>goda=Magod. The preceding unit is not clear. It is only the sound 'ma.' Hence we cannot understand its original form. This may be

mahaa+koda=Mahakoda>Magoda or muru+koda=Murukoda> Mukoda>Mugoda. But the village name changed to Devarashigihalli later. In a way, the place had a kind of a wild nuts (shigi) used in washing clothes and hence the name. We may think that such a plant existed beside a temple, and the people called it Devarashigihalli. In the same manner, *Gottigavalli*²⁰ has become Kotabaagi and *Bettada Kurugund*²¹ has become Turumari.

The village 'Budihaal' is called *'Budupalli'*.²² Probably the village was burnt down and re-built. This is Budupalli> Budupaalya> Buduhaal> Budihaal. The first name of the village Avaradi was *'Avaravaadi'*.²³ The equation may be Avara+baad=Avaravaad> Avarabaad> Avaraadi. Probably the names emerge from an ethnic group, or it might be a lesser hamlet. (The equation can be Avara=Kadeya; meaning lower or meaner). In brief, Bailhongal taluk is known for its rugged landscape as it is tropical in its geography. It is yet a land of beauty. The village names in the area tell their own stories of rich cultural and social past.

End Notes

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF VIJAYANAGARA RULERS FOR THE GROWTH OF RITUALS IN THE TEMPLES OF KANCHIPURAM – A STUDY

P. Perumal

Introduction

Kanchipuram is known for its multi – religious faith from the earliest period. It is the only south Indian city which has flourished with a rich heritage in many aspects. A number of researches were done by the eminent scholars in the Socio- cultural and religious life of the people in Kanchipuram. In this paper an attempt is made to highlight the contribution of the Vijayanagara rulers for the growth of the rituals in the temples of Kanchipuram. After the advent of Kumarakampana, the temples of Kanchipuram has underwent many changes. The generous gifts and donations made by the officers and kings of the Vijayanagara Empire. Both primary and secondary sources are utilized for the authentication for the proper understanding of the main theme. In this paper, the historical methodology of descriptive method is followed.

The antiquity of rituals in Kanchi

The Sanskrit term, '*puj*' means worship, which denotes the absoluteness of the rituals, from that receiving the gods grace and divine knowledge. In Tamil term, *pucey* indicates the offering of flowers to the deity. There are two kinds of *pujas*, they are *Atmartha* and *Parartha*. The former denote the performance of this puja in domestic places. But the latter is performed in the temples commonly. Festivals were a ritual practice and unavoidable component of Hindu religion. Perumbanarrupadai has mentioned that Kanchipuram was the busiest city having celebrated many festivals of different faith.¹ Kanchipuram was enriched with the observance of many *utsavas* and the congregation of large number of devotees has mentioned in the work of *Periya Puranam* The derivation of the name of Kanchi is also explained by its ritualistic affiliation to the deities, worship pattern and a city of pilgrimage.² Kanchi was a ritualistic centre for the Saivites, Vaishnavites, Saktas, Jains and Buddhists. Among the Saivites, *Kapalikas* were worshipped lord Siva in the form of Maha Kala in the temple of *Tirukachchi Mayanam*. The *Pasupatas* were worshipped lord Siva in the temples of Piravatesvara and Iravatesvara. The Saiva Siddhantins also worshipped lord Siva in many temples of Kanchipuram. Among the

Vaishnavites, *Tenkalai* and *Vadakalai* friction was very dominant at the times of Vijayagara rulers. The Kamakshi Amman Temple is known as one of the Sakti peetams in India. The word *Kottam* stands for the temple of a deity. The Kanchipuram city is sacred centre of many deities includes of Kamakkottam, Rudrakkottam and Kumarakkottam, which are most sacred for Sakthi, Siva and Subrahmanya³ A part of the ancient Kanchipuram is known as Jina Kanchi for its affiliation with Jainism. The Jain Temple is located in Tirupartuttikunram, a suburb of Kanchipuram. The goddess was worshipped by the devotees for a long time. During the period of Vijayanagara, a number of gifts and donations were made to strengthen the worship patern. Taradevi was worshipped by the Buddhists. Scholars are of opinion that Taradevi was later converted into Kamakshi in the ritualistic worship pattern in Kanchipuram. It is proved by the existence of Buddhist sculptures in different parts of Kanchipuram T.V. Mahalingam views that *Kanchi* as a tamil word, *Ka* means the lord Brahma and *Anchi* to mean worship. It denotes that the place where Brahma worshipped lord Siva.⁴ It is attested by some of the sculptural representations has found in the temples of Kanchipuram

Cultural Legacy of Vijayanagara rule in Kanchipuram

The Sambuvarayas were defeated by Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka I. He reinstated the worship of deities in the temples of Kanchipuram Region.⁵The epigraphical sources have mentioned the active role of the ministers of Kumara kampana in the development of ritualistic pattern in Kanchipuram. Somappa and Kopanna were the eminent officers in the supervision of temple affairs in Kanchipuram. There are sixteen inscriptions belongs to Kumara kampana has found in the temples of Kanchipuram. Almost all the epigraphs are conveyed the message of donating lands and the appointment of officers to supervise the temple affairs and administering the local people. The Srivimana of Kamakshi Amman Temple was gilded with gold by Harihara II. The residential quarters of Brahmanas was established in the

name of the deity Kamakshi and that was called Sri Kamakshipuram. Devaraya was issued an order to his officers for making arrangements to reinstate the properties of the temples, which was misappropriated by the officers and the local people.⁶ another inscription from the Kamakshiamman temple mentions that *Kavalkaniyatchi* right in the temple was given to Mudaliar Vijayingadevar. It was accepted by *tanattar* of this temple. There are Twenty Three inscriptions belongs to Krishnadevaraya has found in the temples of Kanchipuram. They furnished the details of the gifts of Krishnadevaraya and his officers. He built temple cars for Vinayaka and Krishna has mentioned in the temple epigraph of Ekambaranatha temple. He made the arrangements for the procession of temple cars without any hindrance. He gilded the *Punyakoti vimana* of Arulala Perumal Temple.⁷ He celebrated the *Tulabhara* ceremony in the occasion of Temple festivals at Kanchipuram. The epigraph of Achyutaraya gives the details of *tula purusha tana* in the temples of Varadaraja Perumal Temple. Achyutaraya, his queen Varada devi and the prince Kumara Venkatadri was offered pearls and gold through weighing themselves. Krishnadevaray has strengthened the pattern of worship by constructing the tall towers in the temples of Ekambaranatha and Vardaraja Perumal at Kanchipuram. The cult of worshipping Vimana from distant place was very common in Tamil Country.

Festivals played a vital role in the development of worshipping pattern of deities in Kanchipuram. The congregation makes the cordial relation and good inner feelings among the people in society. During the times of Vijayanagara, many festivals were celebrated with great pomp and gaiety. An epigraph datable to 1595 A.D., enumerate a festival as Thiruvural for the celebration of this festival on the river bed in the month of Chitra (April).⁸ The Brahmotsavam festival is celebrated in the month of Vaigasi at Varadaraja perumal temple in Kanchipuram. It became the popularity during the times of Vijayanagara rule in Kanchipuram. A separate hall was utilised for bathing the Utsava bheras and taking into procession. Garuda Mandapa, abisheka mandpa and Vasantha Mandapa were found in the premise of the temples of Kanchipuram. The Pavithrotsavam festival has celebrated in the Vishnu temples of Kanchipuram.⁹ It is a purification ceremony

observed to get rid of sins in the daily worship and other ritualistic practices in every year. The epigraphs of Achyutaraya have referred the Thirupavitra tirunal. The Thiruppuram festival was celebrated in the month of Aippasi in Kamakshi Amman temple has testified by the epigraphs of Devaraya Maharaya. The Tirukarthigai was celebrated in the temple of Arulala perumal during the times of Vijayanagara rule in 1553 A.D.¹⁰ It is held in the month of Thai for three days. The floating of the *utsavar* of Ekambaranathar decked with flowers ornamentation in a *theppam* is noteworthy. This festival was patronized by Krishnadevaraya in 1517A.D, with the grant of two villages for the celebration of this festival

Rituals in the Sculptures of Vijayanagara period

Sculptural specimens are found in the temples of Ekambaranatha and Kachchapesvara. A random survey of sculptural specimens found in these temples would be helpful to bring a clear picture about the influence of temple legends as the mark of symbolism in the temples of Kanchipuram at periodically. Primarily the religious themes displayed in the sculptural panels had taken from the local legends (sthalapurana), mythical stories and puranas. Here the iconographical features are commonly followed in accordance with the prescribed text. A study of many miniature curvings reveals us that the rites and rituals played an important role in the process of evolution of sculptural art in this region. We have ample evidences to prove that the change was occurred during the period of Vijayanagara. In Ekambaranatha temple, a miniature sculpture is found in one of the columns found in the prakara. It portrayed the story of Parvati worshipping a Siva linga with a garland under the Mango tree. Parvati is in standing posture. The sculptural pattern and style belongs to the Vijayanagara period.

A series of miniature sculptures found in the Lower part of the prakara of Ekambaranatha temple indicates the ritual dance of common folk. a man playing drum on the left side, at the centre four womens dancing with sticks on their hands. The portraits of the women is clearly visible and looking very beautiful. They adored with suitable garments and wearing a number of ornaments. On the right side, a woman has portrayed with playing the drum has found.

In a miniature found in the Katchabesvara temple, Vishnu is found in the form of tortoise and worshipping a Siva Linga. Vishnu has four arms; the two front arms are carrying a vessel to pour water for performing abisekha ritual. The rear arms are carrying a Sanku and Chakra.

Another miniature sculpture portrays that Parvathi is embracing a Siva linga under a Mango tree. She tries to safeguard the siva linga made of Sand is the mythical story of the sculpture. She is found in seated on her legs and strongly embraced the siva linga.

Another sculpture found in the Pillar of a mandapa in Ekambaranatha temple, Vishnu is in standing posture. He is performing the abisekha ritual to Siva Linga. He has four arms, in the front arms are carrying a vessel and pouring water on the siva linga. The rear arms are carrying a Chanka and chakra.

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RESTRUCTURING THE REGION: LAND, STATE AND CULTURE IN TAMILAKAM (16TH-17TH C CE).

Dr. B. Prabu

Sixteenth and Seventeenth century Tamilakam of its society and culture is broadly discussed through this paper. During that period Tamilakam underwent a number of changes politically, socially, economically and culturally. In defining the boundaries of the territory on the basis of culture of *lingua franca* of the Tamil country is defined between two seas in the East and West and Vengatam hills in the north and Kanniakumari in the south could be seen in the early Tamil grammatical texts such as Tolkappiyam and Nannul. On the basis of various elements appearing in geography, climate, socio-political, and cultural criteria, the regional boundary has been defined.¹

Conclusion

The Vijayanagara rulers were enriched the temple rituals in many aspects. They rendered a memorable service for the growth of temples in Kanchipuram. They have brought in a controlled and well planned temple administration in Kanchipuram. They make provision for the proper administration of the temples including appointment of officers and making committee for the smooth handling of festivals in Kanchipuram. They have gifted many lands, villages and cattle for the maintenance of temple services. Temple was the centre of all Kind of Socio – Economic and Cultural activities during the period of Vijayanagara rule. The ritualistic favours of the Vijayanagara kings are shown in the epigraphs and sculptural specimens of Kanchipuram.

through dominating the old heartland associated with Cholas of Thanjavur was founded by Sevappa Nayaka in 1532 AD, and the other Nayaka lineage established itself at the hilltop of Gingee was by Dupaki Krishnappa Nayaka (AD 1541-1544).²

Among them, Nayakas of Madurai emerged dominant under the Viswanatha Nayaka (1529-1564). He ruled over southern and western districts of Tamilnadu and parts of Travancore. The territory under Viswanatha Nayaka was divided into 72 palayams headed each with a palayakar/poligar for administrative convenience introduced by Dhalavoy Ariyanatha Muthali, minister of Madurai Nayakdom in 1535 AD.³

Earlier to this period there was a unit of agrarian community (*Kutiga*)- called *nadu* which played intermediate role between agrarian village communities and the state. The state derived its revenue by extracting the surplus produce from rural based agrarian-communities through the office holders (*Nattar*) of the Nadu assembly.⁴ During the Vijayanagar period the whole of Tamilakam was brought under the control of Nayakas among whom Nayakas of Madurai, Thajavur and Gingee emerged as powerful.⁵

So, during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the *nadu* set-up began to lose its importance at the wake of *ṅayakkattanam-sermai* and Poligar system. Both were administered by military generals known as Nayakas and Poligars or Palaikars subordinated to Vijayanagar Empire. These systems successfully breached the Nadu set up of Chola and Pandiya regime.⁶ In the beginning, they acted as military generals, revenue collectors, and looked after judiciary. But arbitrary collection of taxes on agriculture by them provoked peasant protests in the lower Kaveri- delta region and in few places helpless peasants left the land. So, they increased the number of land grants and tried to bring more land under cultivation.⁷

They having some sort of authority over the region, the military generals granted vast parts of the lands to either temples (*Devadana land grants*) or subordinated officials (*Umbali village grants*) in lieu of salary. A notable number of inscriptional records consciously mention the prefix *Kudi Neengaa* (without evicting the Peasants)- *kudi neenga kaniyatchi/ devadana*

(land or village granted to temple without evicting the cultivators from the granted land). It means the land rights (*kani*) were being shifted from peasants to either Temples or officials of the state. In the Chola and Pandiya period, the lease holders of the temple lands were under direct cultivators. But, in this period the lease holders were Nayakas and Poligars. Thus, almost all the granted lands came under the office-bearers of the state. So, the deprivation of land made the peasants to remain either as tenants or landless labourers in their own land.⁸

The state also secured its revenue from the surplus produce of the expanding dry-land cultivation. The dry land cultivation was promoted by migrants particularly from Telugu speaking region. Unlike wet-land cultivation, the production in the dry land cultivation supported commercial activities in a wider extent. So, to survive in the region, the migrants continuously engaged in the exploration of black soil and expanded the dry land cultivation. Mostly the black soil is optimum to cultivate cotton plant successfully depending on rain-water alone. This is the only reason for the distribution of Telugu speaking population very densely in the black-cotton soil areas.⁹

These historical developments brought a shift in the existing social structure of the region. Importantly, the caste disparities got sharpened. Naturally, during incessant invasions and large level migrations, any human community cannot lead a peaceful life. There would be a tendency in every community to unify for some common interest. The same thing happened during this time. Various communal groups strengthened their unity on the basis of kin based relations for saving themselves and their assets from other communities. The condition of caste system shows that people from some caste groups emerged as land holders by accumulating the land rights through securing tenancy rights and safeguarded state. These castes, such as Gavundars, Reddis, Kaikolars, Manradis, apart from having better hold over the black-cotton soil also emerged as landed magnets throughout the wet-land regions. Consequently, the wet land cultivating caste of Mallars lost their communally owned land rights and also (*kani*) and became tenant cultivators and land labourers on their own lands. All these developments led to the peasants uprisings against the state suppression in the Kaveri delta region.¹⁰

Women also played a major role in the agrarian set-up. There was a close relation between the women and arable land. These relationships is categorically treated into two. The first one is women who did not engage with agricultural operations but played intermediary roles in the transactions of the landrights; the ruler controlling all the lands in their region as donor of lands; and women being donor becamelandowner/landholder. Second is the women as direct cultivator or a labour-providing groups for cultivation.

From the throne of Nayakas of Madurai, Mangammal and Meenatchi were the acting rulers who contributed to the agrarian society and economy by digging many canals and tanks. But, we have notable information only to draw their political history and not their socio-economic roles. During this period the affinity between the temple and the courts of Nayakas got sharpened. The idols of the gods and goddesses in the temples were erected with the models of the kings and queens (Nayakas and their Nayakis)¹¹. The temple dancers became a part and parcel of courtesan groups. So they enjoyed financial assistance from either coffers of the state or treasuries of the temples. However, in comparison to the Chola period, now they were gradually deprived of becoming land owners who secures land grants.¹²

The women who belonged to the groups of direct cultivators formed two groups on the basis of the nature of the land ie., wet land cultivators and dry land cultivators. The women who were associated with wet land cultivation were mostly from mallar caste. During this time their position was degraded corresponding to the negative shift in the socio-economic position of their caste in the social structure. Comparatively, the living condition of these women were much better than their counterpart in the other strata. But, their position in the family became disreputable due to the emerging tendency of polygamy. Literature of this period registered their voice with rebellious character against the ill-treatment of their husbands, supervisors, and land lords in the respective fields.¹³

The women from this wet land cultivating caste also enjoyed a kind of wisdom. A few prevelant systems among them were the systems of *parisam* and *aruthukkattu*. The

parisam (bride price) as a custom, in contrast to dowry system, required the groom to pay a sum of money to the bride. In case, if the groom failed to pay the price he was not allowed to get the bride for marriage. This custom might have come into existence because of the inevitable demand for the women's labour in the sectors of social production and social reproduction.¹⁴

In contrast to the women in the wet land cultivating communities, the direct sources for the women who belonged to dry land communities were very less in number. The presence of large number of dry land agrarian communities in the region was very recent to this period. Earlier the dry land cultivation had been carried out in a limited extent. Therefore migrants did not settle in a full-fledged manner. Further, during this period the region was not politically stable due to the internal hostilities among the Nayakas, the sultanate invasion and the presence of Nizam's armies in the region. So, the invaders and warriors targeted the women mostly. This resulted in the presence of large number of female *sati* cults/ clan cults (Kula Deiva) in the region from this period onwards.¹⁵

These cults were women who committed self immolation (*sati*) by setting fire on themselves after they were sexually harrassed by either soldiers, local lords, nayakas or any other office-bearers of state administration. The practice of immolation by women was not due to sexual harrassment alone. *Sati* became a popular practice only because of assuming that the women should be bodily pure. Maintaining the so-called purity, the caste based male-dominant societies diverted the possibility of inter-mingling with castes. In general, these women were helpless, even their lives were questioned not only by males from outside the caste(soldiers, local magnet) but also from within their kins, who kept rigid rules on the victimized women to commit suicide(*sati*). During this period the women were under degraded condition. They were simply treated as labour providing tool or force rather than human beings.¹⁶

Since the agrarian technology of the pre-colonial period gradually evolved throughout the period, it had a numbers of positive development. The study views technology from combined aspects of tools and techniques. The agrarian technology is broadly divided into two i.e.,

irrigation technology and the rest. The irrigation technology constitutes dam, channel, canal, tank, bund and wells. These are otherwise called as artificial irrigation arrangements. Though the region does not have any perennial river system the people evolved and adopted those artificial irrigation arrangements to the micro regions wherever the geographical and environmental condition allowed it. These helped the cultivators to get water almost throughout the year for their operation otherwise they could grow only one crop per annum. Further, this technological arrangements made even drier areas partially fertile in the zones around Pudhukkottai, Ramanathapuram, Sivagangai and Viruthunagar. About 40% of the total cultivation of Tamilakam got supported by these artificial irrigation arrangements. Obviously, the wet-land rice paddy cultivation was occupied by the given proportion. History of dam constructions in South India goes back to the beginning of the Christian era and this tradition is continuing till date. By using the canals and sulices, the distribution of water had been done properly. These arrangements were usually followed in the river valleys such as Tanjavur, Thiruchirapalli, Madurai and Thirunelveli. Besides the river zones, the adjacent parts were provided water through the arrangements of canals and larger number of tanks. According to records from colonial period, about 60,000 tanks were maintained in pre-colonial Tamilakam for promoting the cultivation and keeping prosperity in state revenue.¹⁷

Apart from the irrigation techniques, the cultivators used many tools and techniques to reduce the burden of labourers and to harvest the crops successfully. According to the sources, at the first sight of the company officials from the Europe, they mistook the indigenous tools and techniques to be not well-shaped, disciplined and inferior to theirs. Later they understood and corrected their mistakes by noting that whatever the nature of the tools and techniques used in each regions of India were very applicable. They commented that the indigenous techniques were easy to handle and were not even applicable to other regions within India. The indigenous techniques extended even in selecting the seeds and crops. They used variety of seeds for every crop in food grains and practiced mixed crop cultivation. This approach secured atleast foodstuff for their livelihood even during the times of failure of monsoon, low rainfall and crop failure due to diseases. There are very few famines recorded in 16th and 17th century but 18th century marked with series of famines in the region. In this regard the sixteenth and seventeenth century agrarian region of Tamilakam was in a progressive nature in terms of culture and its temporality, could also be included the presence of dominant mode of overseas trade, connecting Europe and converting the culture, widely differs from earlier period in Tamilakam.

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ANIMAL WELFARE IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1869 to 1949)

Prashanth Krishna

Within the sphere of colonial laws for animals in India, there were two kinds of laws regarding animals: one involving animals and their use, and the other for animals. Examples of the former would include the Calcutta Hackney Carriage Act of 1891 and the Central Provinces Slaughter of Animal Law of 1915. The latter would include the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act (PCAA) of 1890¹.

The PCAA of 1890 was based on the Cruelty to Animals Prevention Act of 1849 in English law. A law based on the latter was first enacted in Calcutta in 1869, termed as the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act (PCAA) of 1860. In the North-West Provinces (modern Pakistan), there were laws similar to those in Bengal. Other early laws in the various provinces dealt with cases of cruelty towards animals and inhuman behaviour. These included the Special Act (I of 1869) in Bengal and Assam, the Madras Nuisance Act and the Madras Police Act and the District Police Bill in Bombay. The scope of these early laws was limited².

Due to the existence of many instances of cruelty to animals in the public sphere, as well as the need to improve the earlier Act of 1869, the PCAA of 1890 became the first comprehensive Act made explicitly for animals in colonial India. It was an important legal provision, which generated great discussion among the state departments and various other agencies and individuals. Firstly, the difficulties of defining cruelty led to debates over the application of this law, as to whether it should apply to all instances of cruelty, wherever and whenever? There was

also a debate over necessary and unnecessary cruelty. Secondly, questions arose about those practices which should or should not come under the purview of cruel treatment, raising old debates of means and ends. Does killing animals justify for certain specific reasons, whether related to medicine or food; does it justify the act of killing or experimentation? Also, in such cases, who would be responsible? Thirdly, deterrents like fines and punishments were also debated: who is to be fined and who is to be punished, and what is the impact on the animal?³

The 1890 Act was central to ideas of welfare and cruelty as applied to animals. The idea of cruelty was linked to a "somewhat paternalistic idea of welfare, mainly for those who are dependant and need to be looked after or are considered vulnerable and in need of protection". The question was whether animals were to be regarded as individuals as victims of cruelty or and whether the subjectivity of being was to be accorded to the perpetrators of cruelty. Was there change in the understanding and definition of cruelty, violence, abuse and exploitation? Did the term reflect the seriousness of the offence and the issues at hand? Did the debates over the provisions of the acts reflect the seriousness of the offence and the issues at hand?⁴

It appears that the reasons and objectives of the Act and its fines and punishments were regarded from the view of human needs. The demand for scientific approaches, definitions and descriptions, as well as the debates over the provisions of the acts reflected typical

anthropocentricity, even in an act made specifically for animals. Cruelty and welfare are universal ethical concepts to be admired and followed, but legislation and its execution, including the difference in attitudes and the ability to understand, appreciate and learn, become important factors.

One of the respondents to the initial draft of the Act argued that 'neither English law nor abstract morality is a safe index of what might be made penal in this country'⁵. The reasons for the enactment of the Act went beyond ethics. Several aspects had to be kept in mind: the habits of the people, the agency which would enforce the law, the spread and poor connectivity of rural areas and the lack of competent tribunals. It was suggested to proceed with caution and to carry the people along. It was also deemed as desirable to involve and consult local governments regarding the measures to be taken. In case there was a plan for general application of this law, then framing had to be done with moderation. The suggestions regarding moderation became the topic of discussion among various stakeholders, legislators, lawyers, judges, police officials, members of various social communities and members of the select committee. Suggestions were raised that the area of application should be decided by the local government, and that any act of cruelty was to be punished only when occurring in public or within the vision of any person.

This last suggestion concerning the evidence of the punishable act, was widely debated. Those against a hard approach pointed out that to ascertain cruelty within domestic spheres and enclosures required checking and searching, for which police officials would have to enter houses and search warrants would have to be issued. This would be regarded as an infringement of privacy by the native population and could lead to extreme discontent. There was also concern that activities which had religious sanction as acts of cruelty would cause outrage among the natives⁶.

Some of the important definitions formulated through this law indicate what cruelty in the PCAA of 1890 entailed, namely:

'If any person in any street or in any other place, whether open or closed, to which the

public has access, or within sight of any person in any street or

in any such other place, cruelly or unnecessarily beats, overdrives, overloads or otherwise ill-treats any animal, or binds or carries animals in such a manner or position as to subject an animal to unnecessary pain or suffering, or

offers, exposes or has in his possession for sale any live animal which is suffering in pain by any reason of mutilation, starvation or any other ill-treatment, a person found guilty of such cruelty shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to Rs.100/- or with imprisonment up to 3 months, or with both. Other acts of cruelty to animals were subject to similar punishments. Additionally, killing any animal in an unnecessarily cruel manner might result in a fine, which may extend to Rs. 200/- or imprisonment for a term extendable to six months, or with both. However, if people employed in any work or labour any animal which by reason of disease, infirmity, wound, sore or other cause is unfit to be so employed, or permits any such unfit animal in their possession or under their control to be so employed, they shall be punished with a fine which may extend upto Rs. 100/-.'⁷

While cruel actions perpetrated by humans were penalised, no remedy was available for the animal that suffered cruelty. These issues were highlighted in a letter dated 14th February 1890, by Captain R.C. Temple, who was on special duty to the Government of India, Legislative Department. Based on his experience of dealing with cases of animal cruelty, he divided them into two categories: One consisted of 'cases of ordinary cruelty arising from vicious tendencies on the part of the offender, which are best punished by such provisions as contained in the Bill'. A second set of cases are those 'which arise from the necessities of an indigent population, combined with that incapacity for sympathetic feeling which distinguished many uneducated persons. These...required to be dealt with in a different manner.'⁸

Other early Indian Acts dealing with animals included

- The Calcutta Hackney Carriage Act of 1891, which dealt primarily with the procedure for registration, prices, distance

to be covered, behaviour of the driver, rights of the passengers and settlement of disputes. The horse was a mere addition, with the addition of conditions of harness and by-laws to treat cruelty towards the animals⁹

- The Central Provinces Slaughter of Animals Law of 1915, covering the states of Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh and Maharashtra, which defined a slaughter house as “any place where more than 10 animals are slaughtered on any one day. The animals to be slaughtered included bull, bullock, cow, buffalo, goat, sheep and their young ones¹⁰. This Act regulated the growing meat trade. Inhuman methods of slaughter were punishable but not defined.

The Indian Penal Code (45 of 1860) was probably the only early legislation which gave any protection to animals under the following provision¹¹:

47. "Animal". — The word "animal" denotes any living creature, other than a human being.

428. "Mischief by killing or maiming animal of the value of ten rupees". - Whoever commits mischief by killing, poisoning, maiming or rendering useless any animal or animals of the value of ten rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

429. "Mischief by killing or maiming cattle, etc., of any value or any animal of the value of fifty rupees". —Whoever commits mischief by killing, poisoning, maiming or rendering useless, any elephant, camel, horse, mule, buffalo, bull, cow or ox, whatever may be the value thereof, or any other animal of the value of fifty rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, or with fine, or with both.

Other laws include

The Cattle Trespass Act, 1871, provided pounds for the seizure and maintenance of impounded cattle¹².

The Elephants Preservation Act, 1879, banned the killing of elephants except in self-defense or when permitted by licence¹³.

The Madras Wild Elephants Preservation Act 1 of 1873¹⁴, (now Tamil Nadu Wild Elephants Preservation Act, 1873), aimed to prevent “the indiscriminate destruction of wild elephants”¹⁵, but the Act did “not in any manner prohibit or restrict the owners of forests from capturing, taming and owning wild elephants”¹⁶.

The Madras Livestock Improvement Act, 1940, was made “for the improvement in the state of live stock in Madras”, including bulls, cows and buffaloes.¹⁷

The Tamil Nadu Animal and Bird Sacrifices Prohibition Act, 1950, totally banned sacrifices in the state of Tamilnadu (carved out of the erstwhile Madras State).

Tamil Nadu Animal Preservation Act, 1958, provided for the preservation of certain animals – primarily bulls, bullocks, cows, calves, buffaloes and their calves - by regulating their slaughter before ten years of age¹⁸.

The Madras City Police Act, 1988, empowered the police “to prevent cruelty to animals and penalise the people doing so”¹⁹.

While human cruelty could be fined, no remedy was available for the abused animal that had suffered cruelty, primarily due to lack of infrastructure facilities like shelters, veterinarians and para-veterinarians.

Animals have been an essential part essential to human development. Animals are also sentient beings. Phrases such as ‘Horse Power’ and ‘the dog is man’s best friend’ suggest that animals have been actively associated with human history. While cruelty to animals should be a simple and straightforward concept, its complexities in its cultural context are ambiguous. Is cruelty to be understood by human action, or by the pain and abuse suffered by the animal, or both? Is the context of the perpetrated cruelty important? Is killing an animal an act of cruelty? If yes, then how is slaughter justified, and is there any humane way of killing? These problems are still relevant and debated today, and are reflected in India’s laws preventing cruelty to animals. But in colonial India, framing a law to prevent cruelty to animals, one which had never existed earlier, entailed these critical questions. Framing a definition for legal purposes described those actions that were

to be termed as cruelty, while excluding actions that are not a part of the definition.

However, the laws – then as now – though excellent on paper, were hardly ever implemented. The very low fines that were incorporated into the Acts were no deterrent.

INDIAN SPCA MOVEMENTS

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, or SPCA, is a common term used for non-profit organizations for animal welfare around the world. The oldest SPCA is the RSPCA, founded as the London SPCA in England in 1824. Indian SPCAs operate independently of each other; they are supposed to campaign for animal welfare, prosecute cases of cruelty to animals, rehabilitate and find homes for maltreated and unwanted animals that can be rehomed.

The SPCA was the first animal welfare charity in the colonial world. Queen Victoria had granted the British SPCA its royal status in 1840 and it became the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) (see above), which is how it has been known ever since. The RSPCA is important because it provided a model for similar societies to come up in India.

On October 4 1861, Mr. Colesworthey Grant founded the Calcutta Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the first organisation of its kind in Asia. at a public meeting presided over by the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt and attended among others, by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff, Dr. Fredrick John Mouat, Baboo Peary Chand Mittra, Seth Apar, M. Rustomjee, Raja Pratap Chandra Singh Bahadur, Maulavie Abdul Luteef Khan, Colesworthey Grant, and others. Lord Elgin, the then Viceroy of India, lent his powerful support by consenting to become its first patron of the Society, and Colesworthey Grant its Honorary Secretary. The Royal Society of London gave it the benefit of its experience. The Society was supported by the Government of Bengal. Peary Chand Mittra, the life-long friend and biographer of Colesworthey, took the advantage of his position as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council to introduce in the Council two Bills for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which was passed into law as Acts I and III of 1969, in spite of opposition from a few Europeans, including

Stuart Hogg, then Commissioner of Police, and later on, Chairman of Calcutta Corporation. The Corporation of Calcutta could not be persuaded to take up the responsibility unless the terms were revised, and finally decided to entrust the Society with its own administration and the Act was put into operation with effect from October, 1926. Till then it was an unregistered body. On the 17th November, 1932, the Govt. appointed a Committee consisting of 9 members under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice H.G. Pearson to examine as to how the working of the Society could be improved. Though the Pearson Committee noted along with its other recommendations that the Society should be registered under the Society's Registration Act (Act XXI of 1860), it was registered much later i.e., on the 5th February, 1954, under the Society's Registration Act (Act XXI of 1860)²⁰.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the animal welfare movement in India gained momentum and several SPCAs came into existence. In 1874, the Bombay SPCA was established prevent cruelty to animals and provide help and relief to all animals in Bombay (now Mumbai). In 1877, the Madras SPCA was established to prevent cruelty to animals and provide help and relief to all animals in Madras (now Chennai)²¹.

In 1929, the All India SPCA, the first known attempt to create an organization representing the Indian humane movement, was founded at a conference in Delhi and housed in Calcutta by the Calcutta SPCA, and remained active at least until 1935²².

The Indian SPCAs successfully lobbied for anti-cruelty legislation and, in 1890, the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act was introduced in India. Versions of this legislation were adopted throughout the British empire, but enforcement was both rare and difficult.

The Lahore SPCA was founded in 1890, while the Kakinada SPCA was formed in 1896²³ and the Amritsar SPCA in 1906. In 1896, the Maharajah of Pithapuram donated 98 acres for the newly incorporated Kakinada SPCA, which was supposed to support itself through judicious use of the land, but instead sold most of it, and by December 2008 had just two acres left when investigated by the Animal Welfare Board of India for alleged mismanagement²⁴.

Indian organizations were represented at the First International Humane Congress held in Washington D.C. in 1910, and in subsequent meets till 1947²⁵.

The National Humane Review (July 1938) reported that a Miss Howard Rice, of Pune, had extensively documented the cruelty of the Indian monkey export trade²⁶.

Meanwhile, in 1908-9, the last remaining Asiatic lion habitat, the Gir Forest in Gujarat state, was protected by order of the Nawab of Junagadh. The Gir Forest lion population was hardly 10 to 12 when the Nawab acted. Human encroachment had shrunk the protected area. 1530 sq.kms. were placed under the Forest Department of which 326 sq. kms. were reserved exclusively for lions. It was the first wildlife sanctuary in British India²⁷.

If there were positive efforts to prevent cruelty to animals, negative voices were not far behind. In 1926, Mahatma Gandhi authorized Ambalal Sarabhai, a wealthy Ahmedabad mill owner, to kill about 60 dogs who were roaming the mill premises. The Ahmedabad Humanitarian League objected. Gandhi responded with a series of eight long articles published in his weekly newspaper *Young India* between October and December 1926, which reflected the then prevailing attitude toward dogs in Britain, and recommended to that India should adopt Britain's Dog Act of 1910, permitting all stray dogs liable to be destroyed date²⁸. This was certainly an unusual attitude from the votary of ahimsa.

On November 19th, 1947, according to the Department of Animal Husbandry and Dairying, the Government of India appointed a 'Cattle Preservation and Development Committee' under the chairmanship of Sardar Datar Singh, Vice President of the Indian Council of

Agricultural Research. Along with other issues, the Committee also studied as to how agencies like Gaushalas and Cattle Protection Societies and Salvage Centres could be utilised for preserving cattle wealth and for promoting its development. The Committee recommended establishment of 'Gosadans' where 'uneconomic' cattle could be housed cheaply and allowed to die a natural death. The Goshalas and Pinjarapoles managed by the community were still running. during the First Five Year Plan, there were nearly 3,000 Gaushalas and Pinjarapoles spread over the whole country. These institutions maintained over six lakh cattle at an annual cost of Rupees seven crores. In 1954, the Gaushala movement was quite strong in Rajasthan, UP, Bihar, Bombay (including present Gujarat and Maharashtra) Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat²⁹.

The terms "gaushala," "gosadan," and "pinjarapole" are often applied interchangeably to cow shelters, and often refer to the same facility, but different legal definitions. "Gaushalas" are officially considered to have an animal welfare role. Unfortunately, Gaushalas often breed cattle, ostensibly to conserve native genetic traits, but many have become commercial dairies. "Gosadans" are hospices for dying cattle. "Pinjarapole" seems to be the most inclusive term for cow shelters – retirement homes - of any type.

In 1949, Article 51-A(g) of the Constitution of India stated that "It shall be the duty of every citizen of India...to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life, and to have compassion for living creatures³⁰". Thus the early movements for compassion towards animals, a heritage from the times of the Buddha and Mahavira, were incorporated into the Constitution of the new nation and would lead to further efforts to ameliorate their condition.

End Notes

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FROM THE COURTYARDS TO RATION SHOPS: STORY OF RATIONING IN A MALAYALAM NOVEL

Rahul M Ramesh

A description about the severity of the economic crisis and inflation in Malabar and the adjoining districts during the Second World War was there in the diaries of A.C.Kannan Nair, a Congress leader and member of the Echikanam family, a prominent land owning family in Madikkai village of Kasargod district. Kannan Nair had recorded about the economic problems during the War in his diary on 5 August 1940. He said:

Damodaran (Kannan Nair's son) didn't send to school. His fee not paid because I don't have the money. This is for the first time happening like this. What a pity.¹

This description by A.C.Kannan Nair, a member of the Echikanam Nair family, which owned 16 big granaries in the Thrikaripur Kasargod –region, is revealing the fact that even the landlords, who easily survived famine and inflation had been haunted by the famine broke out in the days of the Second World War.² The famine affected people of all sections irrespective of class, caste and religious differences. Like peasants and workers, middle class people and land owners had been struggled to live.

The famine in Malabar was a reflection in local level of the crisis in world politics, which was a direct outcome of the beginning of the

War. The Japanese invasion of Burma in 1942 had disrupted the import of rice from Burma to Malabar. Burma was the major supplier of rice to Kerala.³ It is usual that when a state involved in any war, prices could always be high, because a war demands more resources from people. In Malabar the prices of all essential commodities including rice, kerosene, sugar and textiles were went up in the War period. Inflation became uncontrollable and it necessitated an intervention by the Government.⁴ As a measure to control inflation rationing in a preliminary level had introduced in Malabar in 1943. But in 1944, rationing had extended further by including more goods.⁵

When the system of rationing came into force, the Government had taken the direct control of the distribution of goods and private sale of commodities banned. Orders were issued prohibiting the export of rice and paddy from Malabar. The government had given the right to fix the amount of food stuffs to be consumed by each person. Food committees and P.Cs had formed to help the government in the process of collecting rice and paddy.⁶ Volunteers of all major political parties including the Congress, the Muslim League and the Communist party had worked together setting aside ideological differences between them for preventing the

landlords from selling goods for higher prices in black market and to ensure the fair distribution of food stuffs among common people.⁷

The famine in Malabar was not an isolated one. The province of Bengal had witnessed for a great famine, which was the biggest in its history in 1943. Janam Mukharjee and Srimanjari made successful attempts to study the social, economic and the cultural aspects of the Great Bengal famine in their works.⁸ M.Raghavan, who studied about the famines in British Malabar under the colonial rule in detail by using the methodology of Economics and Statistics has identified some resemblances between the famines in Malabar and Bengal during the Second World War.⁹

Dilip Menon, when critically examining the role of the communist party in famine relief works in Malabar has put forward some arguments about the changes in the dominant position of matrilineal joint families or *marumakkathaya taravadukal* as the distributor of food stuffs to people.¹⁰ As the biggest land lords of Malabar, the matrilineal joint families had traditionally been the major producers and the distributors of food. But there was a change in this situation, when the distribution of food stuffs came under the direct supervision of the state. Under the new system, even the quota of food stuffs allotted to each member of a matrilineal joint family was fixed by the state. Earlier this right was a monopoly of the *karanavar* (the senior most male member and the head of a matrilineal joint family). It was in this same period the words 'ration' and 'ration shops' found its place in the vocabulary in the daily life of the people of Malabar. When the place of distributing foodstuffs had been shifted from courtyards of matrilineal joint families to ration shops, ration shops were emerged as an integral part of the public sphere. This paper based on the Malayalam novel *Marumakal* (The Niece) by the famous writer Cherukad is an attempt to analyze the impact of the introduction of rationing in the daily life of the people and to explore the way in which the coming of rationing had questioned the dominance of matrilineal joint families as the major distributor of food stuffs to the people of Malabar district.

Fiction and Autobiography

Most of the works by Cherukad are political.¹¹ Being a supporter of the Communist

Party and the leader of the progressive Writers Association in Kerala, he had never hidden his politics in his works. But the nature of the novel *Marumakal* is different and this novel is apolitical. This novel, which set in the background of the Second World War hadn't any direct references to the national movement in Malabar during the World War or to the activities of the Communist Party, which was very active in the District, especially in the region where Cherukadu was living. Even though, the novel had handled many socially relevant issues of this particular period like the famine, rationing and the decline of matrilineal system, for an ordinary reader the political outlook of the novel is too narrow. Most of the characters in the novel belonged to a matrilineal family of temple servants (*Ambalavas*) and the novel kept silence about the contemporary political issues.¹²

Rajat Kanta Ray through a comparative analysis of the novels and the autobiography of the famous Bengali novelist Tarasankar Banarjee (1878-1971) had proved that many of the things presented as fiction in the works of Banarjee are historical facts. Rajat Ray has successfully established his arguments by citing relevant points.¹³ Applying the same methodology adopted by Rajat Ray and comparing some of the incidents in the novel with the real life of Cherukad as told by himself in his autobiography, it is very easy to argue that the novel *Marumakal* is autobiographical.¹⁴

Cherukad begins his famous autobiography with the statement, "I am an *Ambalavasi*."¹⁵ The plot of the novel including the disillusionments of youngsters in an *Ambalavasi* matrilineal joint family under the misrule of their *Karanavar* (uncle) and the conflicts between the *karanavar* and *marumakkal* (nephews). Majority of the important characters in the novel are members of the *pisharody* community, a sub caste among the *ambalavasi* castes. Cherukad too was a member of the *pisharody* community and he had that freedom as a writer, while telling the story. According to the *Keralolpatti* the hereditary profession of the *pisharody* community were making garlands for deity and sweeping temples. Like the Nairs, member of the *pishrody* community had followed the matrilineal system of succession and joint family system with joint ownership of property.¹⁶ It seems that the real life

experiences of Cherukad had influenced the personality of some characters in the novel. For example, Kunhunni Pisharody, the head of the matrilineal joint family in the novel had the same personality of Cherukad's uncle, whom he addresses as *kunjammaman* (younger uncle) in his autobiography. Narayanan, the nephew in the novel and a firebrand was the other of Cherukad. Cherukad had narrated the prolonged confrontation between him and his uncle in his autobiography. Narayanan has once beaten terribly by his uncle for disobeying his word. After that incident Narayanan left his village and has joined in the army. An uncle in a matrilineal joint family always had the fear of the birth of a nephew, who is dare to question his authority. This same fear propelled the uncle in the novel to beat his nephew Narayanan, who took the money without uncle's permission for buying *beedi*. Cherukad also had the habit of smoking *beedi*, when he was young. He in his autobiography describes an incident of plucking coconuts by climbing himself on the coconut tree in the land owned by his family with an intention to earn money from selling the coconuts for purchasing *beedi*.

Like the uncle of Cherukad, Kunjunni Pisharody, uncle in the novel had more allegiance to his wife house than his own house. In the matrilineal system, uncle's wife and children hadn't any right over his husband's or father's property. Kunjunni Pisharody had smuggled money and other things to his wife house from the *taravad* without informing other family members. Cherkad wrote in his autobiography that besides money his uncle had taken away other things like paddy, rice, coconuts, jackfruits and mangos from the *taravad* to help his wife and children, who were residing in his wife house. In one occasion Narayanan obstructs his uncle, when he is trying to smuggle things put in a wooden basket to his wife house. Kunjunni Pisharody, who is always living in his wife house has nicknamed by other members of his family as *Andur kakka* (Andur Crow. Andur was the place, where Kunjunni Pisharody's wife house located). His wife house was regarded by the family members as *Vaikundam* (the residence of Lord Vishnu, where he is living with his wife Lakshmi). Cherukad's mother is using the same term *Vaikundam* to denote the wife house of the uncle in the autobiography. Cherukad's uncle had ordered

the members of his joint family to cut short their cost of living for gaining private property. He had been earned 2,000 Rupees in one and a half year and started to construct a new house for his wife and children.

In the matrilineal system father was always a guest or a visitor, who appears very rarely in the life his children. In the novel there aren't many occurrences, where Narayanan's father's name has mentioned. Likewise, the autobiography of Cherukad in which his uncle had a very strong presence, he limited the description about his father in a few pages. In a matrilineal family the real guardian or parent of children is uncle, not father. An uncle had the unlimited power to punish his nephews. Cherukad has beaten by his uncle occasionally. Narayanan's mother in the novel once said to him very proudly that Narayanan had the face cut of his father.

Though there aren't any direct references about politics in the novel, in some occasions the *karanavar* was compared with British officials and matrilineal with the colonial rule in Malabar. The brave act of the members of the joint family, who had broken the lock of the and took rice and coconuts to eat without consulting their uncle was regarded in the novel as 'something like a colony got independence'. Cherukad in his autobiography, compares a *karanavar*, who is ruling his joint family by residing in his wife house as an imperialist power. At the same time, Cherukad regarded the people, who entrusted with the duty by his uncle to look after his *taravad* as viceroys.

Being a school teacher and a leader of the Teacher's Movement in Malabar, many of the protagonists in Cherukad's works are teachers by profession. Nani, the heroine of the novel *Muthassi* (The Grand Mother) is the best example. The leading female character in the novel, Janakikutti was a school teacher. Teaching profession was one of the main choices opted by the youngsters of middle class matrilineal families. The custom of marrying daughter/son was very common in matrilineal families. In the novel, to control his rebellious nephew Narayanan, his uncle had decided to give his daughter in marriage to Narayanan. In real life Cherukad married his father's niece.

Cherukad was born in a village near Perinthalmanna, the headquarters of Valluvanad *taluk* in the erstwhile Malabar district. This region had a huge Muslim population. Consequently, Cherukad's life and works has influenced by Muslim culture and life style. Unnimammath, who managed the property of Cherukad's family in the absence of his uncle was a Muslim. One of the most attractive thing in the novel for the readers was the love between Janakikutti, an upper caste Hindu girl and Kochuvappu, a Muslim boy.

Story of Ration Shops

Direct control over the process of production and distribution of food stuffs was one of the important factors, which perpetuated the dominance of matrilineal joint families in the society. Peasants and people of other subaltern classes had always been depended upon matrilineal joint families for food and existence. As a fatal blow for the hegemony of the land owning matrilineal joint families, immediately after the introduction of rationing, ration shops took over the duty of distributing food stuffs to people. Cherukad had explained this change in his autobiography as '*pattaparakal poliyukayayirunnu.puthiya alavuthappukal vannu* (The old vessels used for measuring paddy and rice had broken and new weights and measures came in its place).¹⁷ Cherukad had added that, land lords, local rulers and their *karyasthans* (managers) had been frightened like a hog-rat saw fire, when the responsibility of distributing food stuffs had handed over to ration shops and societies.¹⁸

As a writer and a communist, Cherukad was an active participant in the popular resistance against the acute shortage of food during the Second World War. The play *Kanjikalam* (The Rice Gruel Pot) wrote by Cherukad and dealing with the famine and black marketing had been staged all over Valluvanad *taluk*. Under the newly introduced system of rationing the power to measure the area of land under cultivation and to fix the levy from it had given to the official called *Amsom Menon* (The Village Accountant). As said earlier, new weights and measures had introduced in the place of the old volume of measuring out food stuffs used by landlords. Rationing and control was also applicable for textiles. But landlords were permitted to keep food stuffs in a fixed amount

for their private consumption. By using the loop hole of this provision, land lords had collected illegal permits and started attempts to sell rice and paddy in black market without measuring it in stores. The agrarian struggles in North Malabar including the Karivellur agrarian riot were a reaction against these attempts of landlords.¹⁹

The most important thing in the novel, which increases its readability is the love story of Kochu Vappu, a Muslim boy and Janakikutti, an upper caste Hindu girl. In the novel, Janakikutti was an innocent girl with an immature character, who once says herself that 'though, Kochu Vappu is looking good, he is *Mappila* (Muslim). Kochu Vappu had earned huge amount of money from managing the collection and distribution of rice and paddy in the area under the Kottapuram Society. The image of Kochu Vappu in the novel, who goes to his godown in a bicycle with a leather bag in his hand had resemblances with the image of a ration shop owner, whom a Malayali is very familiar with in his daily life. Kochu Vappu born in a rich family of merchants doubled his wealth by the new business.

Cherukad's nephew, Unnikrishnan Master was the grain collecting agent in Chemmalasseri village. The duties of a grain collecting agent including the collection of paddy from peasants, to keep it in godowns and to hand over it to ration shops by receiving money from society according to the instruction of the Civil Supplies Department. Money circulated through a grain purchasing agent was a huge amount of that period. Cherukad wrote in his autobiography that in most of the cases the amount is more than 1,000 Rupees. Cherukad narrates how the job of a grain collecting agent had given a reputed position for his nephew in the society.²⁰ He writes:

When my nephew went to collect paddy with coolies and tools like gunny bag, thread, needles and weights and measures, many dependents followed him like the people behind a *karyasthan* (the manager of land lords).²¹

It is possible that the character of Kochu Vappu had the influence of the real life of Unnikrishnan Master.

Mayan, Kochu Vappu's father was passed away during the Second World War.

Consequently, Kochu Vappu had taken over the responsibility running his father's business. Purchasing and distribution of grains in the area under the Kottapuram Society also came under Kochu Vappu's control. Kochu Vappu bought lorries to replace the old bullock carts owned by his father. Kochu Vappu, who was the owner of two lorries had many employees under him like grain purchasing agents, workers of ration shops, accountants, lorry drivers and head load workers. All the products, to which rationing was applicable including food stuffs, textiles and kerosene had been supplied through Kochu Vappu.

In the meanwhile, Kochu Vappu got married. But in most of the days he was unable to reach home before midnight after settling his workers and agents. Thus, he never permitted his wife to live with him. He visited his wife only once a week. Kochu Vappu's life is proving that how much a grain merchant was busy in his life in those days. This business was very profitable and it enabled Koch Vappu to buy a school paying 3,000 Rupees and starting a bus service in his son's name.

The decision of the Government to implement rationing and control had been touched every aspects of day to day life because, it is applicable to all necessary commodities like rice, kerosene and textiles. Rationing of rice had a particular importance, because Malayali had a routine practice of eating rice. Even though, huge quantities of rice had been imported to Malabar, matrilineal joint families remained as one of the largest producers of rice and paddy in local level. The same factor had forced peasant to depend matrilineal joint families to live and survive. The role of matrilineal joint families was not limited to the production of paddy but they had an equally important role in distributing it. Thus, the self reliance of matrilineal joint families was affected by the introduction of rationing, which brought the process of distribution of paddy under the direct supervision of the Government. There was a change in the loyal attitude of peasant workers depending matrilineal joint families for livelihood.

Peasants started to show sympathy to the Communist Party, who worked hard to collect paddy from landlords and to prevent black marketing. The new circumstances had destroyed the slave mentality of peasants

towards his land lords. Godowns of ration shops as the new storage of paddy replaced the old wooden granaries in matrilineal joint families. Dilip Menon has argued that in the period 1942-45, the Communist Party had adopted a policy of conciliation and collaboration rather than confrontation to land owning matrilineal joint families. He added that as most of the leaders of the Communist Party belonged to land owning matrilineal joint families, it was very easy for them to act as the intermediaries between landlords and peasants.²²

But Menon's arguments are wrong. It was the Communist Party made every effort to solve the food crisis during the World War. They organized food marches and wrote plays and songs as part of the cultural resistance against the famine. Activities of the right wing in the Congress were limited in its extent as a movement solely against British imperialism and not against landlordism. They always adopted a policy of persuasion towards landlords. Use of force was essential to prevent the land lords from black marketing and hoarding. The method based on the principle of Gandhian non-violence was not practical before the black marketers and the Communists always made use force to resist them. Cherukad in the autobiography has shared about an incident of obstructing forcibly a cloth merchant, who attempted to sell cloth in black market.²³ Moreover, the process of collecting paddy was not an easy task as it demanded the involvement and co-operation of people belonged to different sections of society. The Communist Party had a number of committed volunteers and a strong organization. These were the factors, which helped the Communist Party to enhance its popular base and not their work as intermediaries between land lords and landlords and peasants as pointed out by Dilip Menon.

Lorries capable of transporting more loads of paddy had come into common use instead of old bullock carts. The term 'ration' became a common word to denote all essential commodities in daily life. The People, who waited long in the courtyard of a *taravad* bending their head for food shifted their place as members in the long queues in front of ration shops. The Government was failed in controlling black marketing and hoarding, despite they had introduced rationing. The Communist Party

made use of this opportunity and strengthened their popular base. The same period gave birth to a new kind of Malayali, who are running to ration shops with a cloth bag for buying food

stuffs and kerosene and those who shouting slogans against the Government for the unavailability of rice and kerosene.

End Notes

1. K.K.N.Kurup (ed.), *A.C.Kannan Nair:Oru Padanam(Diarikalilude)*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995 (2008), p.116.
2. For more details see K.Madhavan, *Oru Gramathinte Hridayathilude*, Kottayam, 2014(1992).
3. Dilip M.Menon, *Caste, Nationalism, Communism in South India: Malabar, 1900-48*, Delhi, 1994, p.162.
4. P.Govinda Pillai (ed.), *E.M.S Sampoorana Krithikal*, vol.IV, Thiruvananthapuram, pp.321-25.
5. Dilip Menon, *op. cit.*
6. P.Govinda Pillai, *op. cit.*
7. M.P.Manmadhan, *Kelappan*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2014 (1986), pp.248-251.
8. Janam Mukharjee, *Hungry Bengal: War, Famine and the End of Empire*, Delhi, 2015., Sriranjari, *Through War and Famine, Bengal,1939-45*, Delhi, 2009.
9. M.Raghavan, *State Failure and Human Miseries: A Study with Special Focus on Famines in British Malabar*, Delhi, 2016, pp.252-73.
10. Dilip M.Menon, 'Conjunctural Community: Communism in Malabar, 1934-48', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.XXVII, No.51/52,1992.
11. C.Govinda *Pisharody* (1914-76) was a famous Malayalam writer who adopted different pen names like *Asad*, *Malankadan* and *Cherukad*. Cherukad was his family name. He was born in Chemmalasseri village near Pulamanthol located in the erstwhile Valluvanad *taluk*. He joined in the national movement as a Congress worker and later became a member of the Communist Party. Leader of the Progressive Writer's Association and the Teacher's Movement in Malabar. The Founder of the *Sakthi Publications*. Arrested for the Makkaraparmbu *Jatha* case in 1946. His works including poems, short stories, Novels and Plays.
12. Cherukad, *Marumakal*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2014 (1963). The novel *Marumakal* was published for the first time in 1963.
13. Rajat Kanta Ray, *Exploring Emotional History: Gender, Mentality and Literature in Indian Awakening*, New Delhi, 2001, 124-42.
14. Cherukad, *Jeevithapatha*, Thrissur, 2013(1974).
15. *Ibid.*,p.17
16. Herman Gundert, *Keralapazhama, Keralolpatti, Aayirathirunooru Pazhanchol*, Kottayam, 2014, p.138.
17. Cherukad, *Jeevithapatha*, p.441. *Para* is a vessel used for measuring out the quantity of paddy paid by a tenant to his landlord as the *pattam* or the rent in kind. A *Para* is equal to Ten *Edangazhi* of rice.
18. *Ibid.* *Pantham kanda peruchazhiyepole* (Like a hog-rat saw fire) is a local Malayalam proverb.
19. A.V.Kunhambu, *Kayyurum Karivellurum*,Payyanur, 2013 (1986), p.26.
20. Cherukad, *Jeevithapatha*, pp.41-42.
21. *Ibid.*, p.442.
22. Dilip M.Menon, 'Conjunctural Community: Communism in Malabar, 1934-48'.
23. Cherukad, *Jeevithapatha*.

A VISUAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE SCROLL NARRATIVE- KALAMKARI ART IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Dr. M. C. Raja & Jyoti Phogat

Introduction

The art and craft of the visual-narratives is not a new phenomenon however the study of historical scroll narratives as visual narratives is a modern phenomenon. The task is undertaken so as to understand the ancient wisdom, decipher and transmit the inner workings of the visual idioms coupled with the processes and the usages of the Kalamkari scroll narrative. Artists and designers have been employing visual imageries to propagate stories for thousands of years. From pre-historic cave paintings to modern-day computer animations, human

beings have been exploring and integrating many visual elements. The eternal pursuit of tailoring techniques aims toward attracting onlookers' attention, to stimulate interest, and to entice into a process of interpretation and story making. Indeed, it is a tradition that has worked its way successfully through time, adapting along the way to meet the advancements of each successive and increasingly visual generation.

The aim of this probe is to explore the historical journey of Kalamkari scroll narrative through the ages. In particular, it will examine how the scroll narrative medium has brought

with it a new treatment of space, and then how this has influenced the broad mythological visual-narratives and the art of story-narratives. The study also critically probes upon the varied applicability and importance in the current times.

The probe embarks on how the traditional art and crafts are very much the need of this hour and looks into this powerful medium as an economic provider and a bearer of positive environmental factor and in being termed as a burgeoning sustainable alternative for fashion. The looks at the origins, the various socio economic factors, the artisan's involved and their contribution towards the posterity of the traditional scroll narrative format of Andhra Pradesh. The visual narratives and the dynamics are also considered with comparisons culled from modern and ancient mural art traditions of the Kalamkari scroll narrative format.

History is seen through the past encoded events, which are decoded and probed through today's modern techniques for creating a better tomorrow. Since antiquity here has always been a societal need for constructing stories, narratives and visual depictions ranging from cave art to modern day's narrative art based multiple player interactive games. The need for communicating with others has been paramount, towards the internal and external improvement, for an individual or a society as a whole. Visual narratives preceded oral narratives as cavemen drew on the various rock shelters much before the written word. These visual narratives and oral transmissions have only gotten more complex and elaborate with the passage of ages. They have accumulated metaphors, determined cultures, identity for civilizations and portrayed social meanings to be transferred, assimilated and registered for societal functioning and norms.

India being a cultural hotspot since ancient times and being a diverse cultural cornucopia the probe borders along the history of hand painted and block printed tradition of the Kalamkari technique which employs mordants and natural dyes. The gradual development of the visual techniques and the artistic employment through the ancient times unto the modern times had been elaborated.

The Origins

The Kalamkari scroll narrative art can be traced back to the Vijayanagara period (1336 AD) in the region of Sri Kalahasti in Andhra Pradesh. The stylistic resemblances and comparisons can be positively culled to be ascertained between the scroll narratives and temple murals of the Vijayanagara period. The South east coast of India, has been a prosperous stretch for the trade of Kalamkari products. Later the scroll narrative art was favoured by the Mughals in the Coramandel coast and the Golconda provinces where the scroll narrative art bifurcated into two stylistic bearings; the block printed and the hand painted styles. The scroll narrative Kalamkari's primary function was serving as a religious tapestry and later transformed into a secular craft under the Muslim rule.

The scroll narratives accumulated broad acknowledgement in numerous junctures of development as a traditional scroll narrative comprising of folk beliefs, which had on a later stage metamorphosed as a secular craft within the Muslim rule and advanced as an amplified cultural component under the British thus achieving a status of being an indigenous art form and also garnering international market's acknowledgement.¹ Gradually with the transition of time Masulipatnam which was under the Golconda province supplied Kalamkari art woks which appealed to the Mughal tastes with Persian influence and entrenched itself as the originator of Kalamkari in its block printed style. Whereas Srikalahasti which was supported through the patronage of Hindu rulers matured a unique style of narrative scroll art as elaborately hand painted temple cloths narrating the various Hindu epics and Mythologies. They are at times worshipped under individual circumstances as they have mythological renderings consisting of deities and are also at times considered to have apotropaic properties.

Kalamkari scrolls are inspired from mythological renderings. It is fascinating that epics like the Mahabharata, the Bhagavata Purana and the Ramayana in their totality are depicted in pictorial format. This obviously means that the scrolls are visually voluminous, and at times reaching up to a staggering 30 ft. in length and 7-ft. in width. Every episode is portrayed in sections featuring illustrations and detailed written briefs, in the south Indian

language of Telugu. The art of Kalamkari has two distinct forms, each with its own unique features. One of these imbibes the original folk form, the other a more evolved version which pays greater attention to the detailing of design and layout.

The essence of the craft is summarised in its name "kalam / qalam", meaning 'pen' and "kari" meaning 'craft' in Urdu. The craft has been exercised in assorted areas in southern India, and has been mentioned to as "chintz" by the English and "pintadoes" by the Portuguese. Srikalahasti, a small pilgrimage town in the Southern Indian state of Andhra Pradesh is home to this narrative art in its natural dye painted format. Kalamkari at Srikalahasti burgeoned in the precincts of the temple and principally prevailed as temple cloths hung on walls to form a colourfully illustrated narrative background. Predominantly utilised to characterise the effervescence of Hindu mythology, these scroll narrative art fabrics have been employed as temple backdrops or as visual aids for the narration of multitudinous mythological Hindu epics.

The Visual Stylistic Features

It is the nature of man to seek and assimilate stylistic features from the nature or the nearest environment. This has been held true when the cavemen tried depicting the animals and scenes related to their daily routine onto the various caves they had sheltered in. It is also the same with Kalamkari scroll narratives as they too had been derived through inspiration from a variety of motifs and art forms which were firmly rooted in the surroundings of Andhra Pradesh. The bold black lines of the Kalamkari adequately resonate with the temple murals from the Vijayanagara period. They stylistic resemblances between the traditional textile art and the temple murals are quite uniquely related (*Plate-1*). The quintessential characteristics of the craft exercised here features predominantly on the religious motifs and figurative traditions which constituted a substantial component in the 17th century and progressed into the modern times at Srikalahasti which materialised as a major centre for figurative scroll narratives based Kalamkari in the latter half of the 19th century. The free style drawing of pictorial depictions called for the skilled usage of kalam where its minimal usage for repeated works was never suited for block printed works.²

The Narrative Stylistic Features

The Kalamkari scroll narratives are unique to the Sri Kalahasti region of Andhra Pradesh. The Kalamkari scroll narratives arrive constitute a 'continuous method', where they depict separate events taking place at very many aspects of time; the protagonists are described frequently and there are repeatedly formal division of frames and at times depictions that split up visual scenes, thus enabling a narrative progression. The Kalamkari scroll narrative has sequence and consequence wherein events are selected, organised, connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience. Narratives represent storied ways of knowing and communicating.³ The 'cyclic method', represents a story by a succession of images, or a cycle of separate monoscenic scenes and the 'continuous method', in which a story is narrated by a continuous series of scenes arranged in a sequential succession and uninterrupted composition of coherent and orderly placed pictures.⁴ The Kalamkari scroll narratives occasionally have written textual accompaniment along with the illustrated narratives for the convenience of the onlookers to understand the story and its context to the illustration. This can also be considered as an early format of modern day's story book formats, as the textual accompaniment occupies a prominent part in the negative space. The Kalamkari scroll narrative is hugely mono directional and multi directional on the emphasis of visual depiction. The inclination of characters and the temperament as depicted within a single scene is very likely to be controlled or determined on the relative position of the other immediately related scenes. The opening gap that exists between these two modes of narration in the field of western art has been observed by scholars, who witnessed a considerable consequence linking the isolating, monoscenic mode of narration and the elaborated method of continuous narration.⁵ Others consider the excerpted method of monoscenic narrative as a degeneration of prior narrative cycle.⁶ In the Indian context, however these two modes of narration exist side by side, frequently on the same artwork. The restrictions of space may have been partially responsible for the decision made as the artists choose the ideal method fitting for the narrative continuity in the artwork to take advantage on the available visual space.

The Eco-Craft

Indian textiles have collected an exceptional admiration in the immense repertory in textile history of the world and have constituted Indian culture on a global cultural podium. Traditional arts and crafts have frequently been distinguished as historically eco-sensible, which apportioned with changeover of raw materials into finished merchandise, employing principally hand skills with simple tools and employing the local traditional practices and collective wisdom. *Kalamkari* of Srikalahasti in Andhra Pradesh is one such traditional indigenous Indian craft which is an embodiment of the spirit of organic fashion. As a renowned composition of scroll narrative workmanship, *Kalamkari*, was practiced in the form of block prints and as well as manually hand painted versions in organically prepared dyes. They had clearly dominated the European and French markets during the 17th and 18th centuries. The 19th century had seen a steep downward surge in the international and domestic market and currently the practitioners of traditional scroll narrative *Kalamkari* artisans is dwindling. The usage of natural dyes, indigenous tools and soulful rendering of lines make this craft unique to its existence. The craft struggled to keep up to the demands of the changing markets and is found to be slowly adapting itself to the dynamic market orientation. The authentic profile of the craft in its journey and highlights the significance of traditional skills as a powerful medium in the field of alternative and sustainable fashion.

Conclusion

Illustrations - Plate-1

Stylistic resemblances between the traditional textile art and the temple murals:



The Indian scroll narrative, *Kalamkari*, serves as a foremost exemplification of cultural fabric which had been cultivated within the borders of tradition. The knowledge has of creating the scroll narratives had been passed over the generations in a traditional and formalistic manner. The scroll narrative *Kalamkari* had been an assimilation of plurality in practices, bearers of social changes, alleviators in socio economic factors and positive bearers of art on a broad spectrum. Traditional art and craft has been susceptible to various factors ranging from governmental policies to environmental factors, hence this craft too had experienced the various ups and downs as the new generation pursues to rejuvenate and resuscitate on the grounds of historical background.

There are various negative factors ranging from commercial to environmental bearings which solely aim to threaten the very existence of *Kalamkari* narrative art form. However, in the current scenario the craft supposedly is seen to have a broader foot hold on being recognised as vegetable based scroll narrative art medium and also as an organic part of fashion industry with the employment of non polluting natural methods and employment of ancient wisdom. The degree of a positive environmental impacted future can be determined upon how successfully today's generation are able to accredit, acknowledge and successfully implement the available ancient knowledge. The passage and transfer of the ancient knowledge is essential for posterity and for future practices and archival purposes.

Plate-2

Textual accompaniment in the negative spaces:



Plate-3

Mono directional scroll narrative (Left to Right):



Plate-4

Multi directional scroll narrative (Left to Right, Right to Left and Centre Placement):



End Notes

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CHAVITTUNATAKAM: THE GOTHURUTH TRADITION

I.S. Remya

Chavittunatakam is an art form which reflects the heroism and heroic deeds in its content. It is highly related with martial tradition of Kerala. It had beautifully assembled dance, drama, music, martial traditions, etc. It is a healthy mixture of eastern and western traditions of stage performance. It emerged in the coastal area of Kerala. It is considered as a cultural contribution of Latin Christians of Kerala. It was originated by the inspiration of Portuguese Missionaries. They protected and patronized it from early times. Once, this art form had a wide acceptance in the coastal area of Kerala, but now it is facing some backlashes.

From the available historical sources, Cochin is regarded as the home of Chavittunatakam in Kerala, From Cochin it spread throughout the coastal area of Kerala. As a matter of fact the coastal town from Cranganor to Quilon has a tradition of Chavittunatakam Kalaries and very interesting folk tradition connected with them.

Chavittunatakam suddenly reached Gothuruth because Gothuruth is a coastal area, under the direct control of Portuguese and the population of the Gothuruth were newly converted Latin Catholics and migrated Latin Catholics. This enabled the local population to adopt theatre art form Chavittunatakam as a part of their cultural identity.

Gothuruth people believed that, Chinna thambi Annavi introduced Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth. But there is no sufficient historical evidence for that. We have only legends about ChinnathambiAnnavi. According to one legend, ChinnathambiAnnavi came to Kerala from Tamilnadu ¹. After reaching Kerala he travelled throughout Kerala, especially Kochi, Kodungallur region. He spent 17 years in Kerala and went back to Tamilnadu. It is not a proven fact, but Gothuruth people strongly believed that he introduced Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth.

According to one legend, some rich families of Gothuruth, when they heard about Chavittunatakam, brought Annavi from Cochi in a boat. They had great enthusiasm about Chavittunatakam. They celebrately brought Annavi to Gothuruth. During the journey they sung Chavittunatakam song in boat. After reaching Gothuruth he gave training in chavittunatakam to some people. That was the beginning of the Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth. after that it spread throughout Gothuruth and near places.

In 17th Century, Gothuruth including Chennamangalam region was under the control of Portuguese. Most of the Portuguese controlled regions had practiced and propagated the Chavittunatakam actively. Because Portuguese Missionaries realized that Chavittunatakam was a effective instrument for Latinization. Another reason for the spread of Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth was its procity to Kochi which was the home land of Chavittunatakam.

Another reason is the people of Gothuruth. Early time the inhabitants of Gothuruth were Backward Hindus but later most of them were converted as Latin Catholics and some Latin Christians family also migrated to Gothuruth. The population of gothuruth was dominated by Latin Catholics which made it a fertile ground for the growth of Chavittunatakam.

Chavittunatakam like art form was very essential for Gothuruth Because it helped to unite the newly converted people and convey the new beliefs like Christian beliefs Roman tradition and heritage. This aim was successfully achieved through Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth. The Gothuruth people were familiar about Christian beliefs and Roman tradition before they saw and read the Bible. Chavittunatakam was very helpful to propagate the Latin Catholicism in Gothuruth. In earlier times it was very active in Gothuruth². But slowly it lost it's significance But after some time it regained its strength. For eg. In 1920's Chavittunatakam was very active in Gothuruth. But 1940's it became inactive. The 2nd rise of Chavittunatakam started from 1952.

One important evidence for the early existence of Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth was the second house name of the Gothuruth families. Some families were known as *Rajav*, *Manthri*, *Chekkuthan*, *Malagha*, *Predam*,

Koothadiparambu etc depending on the part played by them in Chavittunatakam. In early times some characters were performed traditionally by some families. This practice resulted in the second house name for that family

After the withdrawal of Portuguese Missionaries from Kerala, Chavittunatakam slowly wiped out from some places. But Gothuruth survived from that wind. But it is true that in Gothuruth Chavittunatakam had some intervals. About this situation, SabeenaRaphi, strong propagator of Chavittunatakam said that in her childhood chavittunatakam was in its full swing but later it slowly disappeared from Gothuruth. After a short break, in the middle of the 1950's Chavittunatakam was revived due to the efforts of Sabeena Raphi.

Sabeena Raphi had contributed greatly to Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth and propagated its significance before the people. Teacher considered the resurrection of Chavittunatakam as her duty. For this purpose she got great support and inspiration from her mother Mariyamma.

Sabeena Raphi realized that, before starting Chavittunatakam activities she needs sufficient knowledge about it. So she firstly tried to collect maximum data about Chavittunatakam from Chavittunatakam Asans, actors and Chavittunatakam related persons. After that she wrote an article named Chavittunatakam and published it in Sahithya Parishath Magazine in 1956 July³. It got a nice response from art lovers, including Vallathol, Narayana Menon. Not only that, it provided Gothuruth chavittunatakam artist a chance to perform in annual assembly of SahithyaParishath in 1957 at Kottayam⁴. They performed *Veerakumaran* story in halfhour. It was a resurrection of Gothuruth Chavittunatakam. Also This was an opportunity to unite the Chavittunatakam artists from various parts of the state. Kottayam performances gave lot of appreciation to the Gothuruth Chavittunatakam artists.

After the show they wanted to systemize the Chavittunatakam activities. They planned a systematic way for performing Chavittunatakam for that they select the Poulouse kattiparambil as Asan, who was the disciple of famous Chavittunatakam asan Varghese Asan.⁵ After some time Chavittunatakam artists of Gothuruth

realized the necessity of a Kalasamithy. So they formed a Kalasamithy named as Yuvajana Kalasamithy Chavittunatakam Sangam Gothuruth in 1957⁶. Ist president of that Kalasamithy was Nesso Manakkal and its Secretary was SabeenaRaphi.

In 1959, Gothuruth team got another opportunity to perform in Tiruvananthapuram. It was a competition program. It was a competition to select the Chavittunatakam team for Republic Parade show in Delhi for next year (1960) Gothuruth team represented the Ernakulam District and they performed in Folklore competition in Trivandrum. Gothuruth team won the competition defeating about 14 teams. Gothuruth team played *Karalsman Charitham* in Trivandrum. It was a wonderful performance on the part of Gothuruth team. In that natakam K.J.Lonakkutty acted *Caralsman*, The emperor of France, K.J.Francis acted as Turk emperor and ManikManakel as *Roldon*. The artists showed an unmemorable performance in Trivandrum.⁷ They got to opportunity to went to Delhi and performed in Republic Parade show.

Gothuruth team considered the invitation for performed in Delhi as a golden chance After one year's hard work and practice they went to Delhi before a month of show. The 25member team included SabeenaRaphi teacher, PoulloseAsan, Anthappan Pulikkathara, Joseph Manakkal, Peter Baghavadar, Varoothuti etc. *Carelamn Charitam* was performed there in 1960 January 26. In the performance Harmonium, Mridangam, Dollek, Fiddle, Chenda were played by Poullose AsanKattiparambil, Peter Bhagavadharm Josephai Manakkal, Kalari Vareeth respectively. Performance was very short but very attractive⁸. After the show, Maneek Manakal, Rolden of the *Chareلمان Charitham* took his crown from his head and put that on Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. it was an unforgettable incident for Gothuruth Chavittunatakam artists and people. It was a golden feather for Chavittunatakam.

The performance of Gothuruth team in Delhi is a milestone of the Gothuruth Chavittunatakam. After that performance, some shows were played in different parts of Kerala by Gothuruth team especially in Ernakulum, Thiruvananthapuram, Calicut etc. Beside these, Thiruvananthapuram, Delhi stations of Doordharshan and Akasavanis of all stations

telecasted the Chavittunatakam of Gothuruth team. All these, helped to increase the popularity of Chavittunatakam not only in Kerala but also in India.

After 1960's Chavittunatakam again became actived in Gothuruth, Yuvajna Nataka Kalasamithy gave a good instruction and helped Chavittunatakam artists in various way. In early days of Yuvajana Nataka Kalasamithy was very active in Gothuruth. Two Chavittunatakam Samithy are Yuvajana Chavittunatakam Samithy and Kerala Chavittunatakam Academy.⁹

Yuvajana Chavittunatakam samithy was formed under the leadership of Maneek Manakel, Sabeena Raphi, Poullose Kattiparambil Cheekkamma Gothuruth, Lonakkutty in 1954. This Samithy gave a good organization to the Gothuruth Chavittunatakam from 1954. But later it became martine. In 1983, Yuvajana Chavittunatakam Samithy reorganized under the leadership of Maneek Manakkal. The Ist President was Maneek Manakkal. Present President of this Samithy is M.J.Antony and Secretary is Shajan Attipetti. Famous Chavittunatakam artists like Thampi Payyappilli, Jossy Payyappilly etc. are the member of this Kalasamithy. 56 Chavittunatakam artists in Gothuruth are the members of this Samithy¹⁰. Under this Kalasamithy new artists completed basic training and Arangettam in previous year. About 7 and 8 months weretaken for this training.

Yuvajanakalasamithy got lot of opportunity to perform Chavittunatakam in various places. In 2002, 2008, they got a chance to perform outside Kerala, in Madras. These members got opportunities in Avani Poovarag Nadan Kalamela, POC organized etc¹¹.

Kerala Chavittunatakam Academy was formed in 2005.The leading members of this Samithy are M.P.lalan, A.N.Anirudhan,K.P.Joseph Stalin, Ajith Kumar,P.R.Lorance. In starting President of this Samithy Ajith Kumar Gothuruth, Secretary was M.P.Lalan, Treasurer with Manager was K.P.Joseph Stalin. Now (2010) M.P.Lalan in President and Ajith Kumar is Secretary of the Kerala Chavittunatakam Academy.

In Gothuruth, these Chavittunatakam Samithy played an important role for the development of the Chavittunatakam. It helped

to produce some skillful Chavittunatakam Artists in Gothuruth. And it gives good organization for this art and artist, which was not organized in early times¹². These Samithies tried to widen the scope of Chavittunatakam. It helped to perform outside of Gothuruth, to the artists. For eg: competition undertaken by POC, Tourism related shows, etc. In 2006, POC (Pastoral Oriental Centre) started a Chavittunatakam competition in Ernakulam. Gothuruth teams participated these competition and got two awards to Gothuruth. One for pinpattu, A.N Anirudhan or Anirudhan Asan. These two artists are the members of Kerala Chavittunatakam Academy.

In 2007, Gothuruth also get two award from P.O.C's competition. Best actor of 2007 POC's competition was AN Raju and A N Anirudhan Asan got the award for Pinpattu. In 2008 the member of Yuvajana Chavittunatakam Kalasamithy, Thampi Asan got one award from POC. These awards are the approval of Gothuruth Chavittunatakam¹³.

2010 May 23 is a very significant day of Gothuruth Chavittunatakam History. Because that day A N Aniridhan Asan got the Kerala

Folklore Academy award for Chavittunatakam. This incident was witnessed at kundara in Kollam District. In May 23,2010. 30 Folk artists got award for each folk arts. And there award revised the glory of the Kerala Chavittunatakam Academy of Gothuruth. In the case of Chavittunatakam also had some changes during the time. Its aims and nature changed during the time. The custodianship of Chavittunatakam were changed in Gothuruth during the time.¹⁴ These changes also changed the impact of Chavittunatakam in Gothuruth people. Chavittunatakam had some socio-cultural impact on Gothuruth. Really it had the main reason Chavittunatakam still active in Gothurth.

The study of this art form is very essential to understand the artistic tradition of gothuruth and the interventions of Portugese in kerala society and history. The art form reflected the socio, economic, religious and cultural condition of the society in which it originates and exists.so the study about chavittunadakam not only gives the knowledge about that art form but also the socio, cultural, economic and religious elements of that time.

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ROLE OF BASEL EVANGELICAL MISSION IN MOULDING MALABAR PUBLIC SPHERE

A.P. Renjith Kumar

Malabar is a region located in the northern part of present Kerala state, consist of 6 districts. It was one of the densely populated districts in Madras Presidency under the British rule. Before the colonial period itself Malabar became the centre of attraction of foreign traders from Greece, China and Arabia. During the colonial

period Malabar was under the direct administration of British colonial power. The present study is an attempt to trace out how the contributions of Basel Evangelical Mission, A European Missionary played a vital role in the formation of a Literary public sphere and through that a political public sphere in Malabar. The

study concentrates from the last decades of 19th century and upto the first half of the 20th century.

The Charter Act passed by the British Parliament in 1813 allowed English missionaries to come India and to make permanent settlements. Until 1833 the British did not give permission to the non-english missionaries. Several Missionary groups reached in Kerala as per this Act. London Mission Society (LMS), Church Mission Society (CMS) and Ringel Taube etc., worked in Travancore region. Basel Evangelical Mission was the prominent Missionary reached in Malabar. Basel Evangelical Mission (BEM) reached in Malabar in 1833.

BEM was a Christian missionary society originated in Europe, its headquarters was in Germany. Even though the Main objective of BEM was the conversion of the native people to Christianity, but they established many Educational institutions and Industries throughout Malabar. In the beginning this missionary was known as German Missionary Society, but later it was renamed as Basel Evangelical Mission (BEM). It was a Protestant missionary group. BEM had an important role in social and economic transformation of the society of Malabar. They started primary schools and High schools in Malabar, government policies also encouraged these agencies because the colonial rule did not undertake the economic liabilities of Public education.¹

In 1839 Dr. Herman Gundert a Basel Missionary started a primary school at Nettur in Thalassery. Science, Geography, Malayalam, English and Bible were the subjects. These subjects were also taught in another school in Kannur. In 1848 mission started another Primary school at Kallayi, Kozhikode. The reports from Mission station councils gave valuable information about their educational activities. People from all castes had got admission in Mission schools, but majority were Thiyyas.²

BEM was a model for the British in the field of Primary education. Another important contribution of Basel mission was foundation of Malabar Christian College Kozhikode. It was established in 1909. It was a centre of higher learning in Malabar, now also working as a reputed institution in Kozhikode.

Most of the students got admission in BEM schools also got fee concessions. Moorcoth Kumaran later became a journalist was studied at BEM School and passed Matriculation examination says that like him many others got the benefit of fee concession.³ The indigenous people were appointed as teachers in Basel Mission schools, it included Christians, other castes, men and women also. All students in Basel mission schools mingled together and studied without any Caste discrimination. Thus Basel mission was like an umbrella which joined all castes under it. All these changes were occurred in the Malabar society when the lower caste was not allowed to educate.⁴

The Basel mission established their schools in different part of Malabar like Palakkad, Kozhikode, Vatakara, Thalassery and Mangalore, they became the focal point of educational advancement for the whole district. English education was well received by the people of Malabar, who thus came to an early lead in the field. Thus Malabar became an enlightened area in the whole Madras Presidency which practically consisted of the whole of the British South India.⁵ The western education brought by Basel Mission helped the people to read English books. When printing came into being the Sanskrit works and works in different languages were translated, this resulted the people to read Malayalam books. It created renovation of ideas and an enthusiasm in the mind of people.

Western education of Basel mission created an awareness of freedom among people, that became one of the causes of the social reformation and renaissance in Malabar. Its contribution in the growth of the Malayalam language was unforgettable. They contributed many grammar works and dictionary. One of the most important effects of Western education was that the lower caste people were aware about their rights. The basic objective of the Basel mission was in spreading of literacy, that every convent should be able to read the Bible. Another notable contribution of missionaries in the literacy and educational sphere was the publication of Pioneer Journals in Malayalam.

Early industries in Malabar were the result of group activities of Basel mission. In 19th century Mission made experimental activities in agriculture and industries. Industrial activities of the Basel mission were not only a nourishing

activities but also mission activities. The arrival of Basel mission benefitted traditional handicrafts, this resulted in production and distribution, in the case of weaving, these changes were beneficial. Workers were essential for these factories, people from different castes and different religion got employment. The indigenous handloom industry was declined because of the handloom products of Basel mission.⁶ By using modern machines their production became increased. As a result of Industrial revolution invention of new machines such as Flying shuttle helped the large scale production in textile industry.

Another industrial sector started by Basel mission was Tile factories. They started a Tile factory at Feroke near Kozhikode.⁷ Other fields of Basel mission generated the employment opportunities are Printing, Book binding, Mechanical engineering work, carpentry works, Timber industry etc., All these sector needed workers, people from different castes and converts also came to job. Thus Basel mission offered good living condition through basic education, employment opportunities, changes in caste order by the conversion to Christianity from socially backward castes. Basel mission's industrial venture helped to achieve economic development of society. The lower caste people became skilful in the field of basic education, reading and writing, thus talent achieved lower castes could transferred to a new casteless society.⁸

As a result of the literacy developed in Malabar due to the activities of Basel Mission common people started to think against the social evils, people became more aware about thought of freedom. By getting English education the learning attitude increased among the people. Through this people were familiar with books, books helped to understand about the developments in the world. The ideologies like freedom and nationalism were spread among the people. This made the people to turn against English East India Company's administration and their exploitation. Their involvement brought about changes in the educational and socio-economic realms of Malabar society. The spread of educational facilities made the lower caste people's rapid advancement in social scale.

A middle class formed in Malabar society as a result of the Western education provided by

the Basel mission, this middle class who got western education began to question the caste system existed in Kerala. As a part of this awakening some of the social practices such as untouchability, superstition and Brahmin domination were questioned by the educated people. Thus there emerged a new enthusiasm among the people of Malabar from the new situation introduced by Basel Mission.

The basic objective of the mission in spreading literacy was that every convert should be able to read the Bible.⁹ Many Missionaries have contributed the enrichment of the language by compiling lexicons and books on grammar, most important among these were the English – Malayalam lexicon compiled by Dr. Herman Gundert. Apart from the above, the Basel mission press in Mangalore printed and published text books for school.¹⁰ Another notable contribution of the mission in the literacy and Educational sphere was the publication of pioneer journals in Malayalam. The prominent journals were published from Thalassery were "Rajyasamacharam" and "Paschimodayam" in 1847 using a Lithographical press.

As a result of the contributions of Basel Mission in Malabar printing as well as reading culture developed as a site of colonial discourse amongst the Malayalees of Kerala.¹¹ Print, education and salaried job were three main areas of "Primitive accumulation" of class awareness.¹² The following table indicates the number of educated people in Malabar during the second half of the 19th century.¹³

TABLE

Year	University pupils	High school pupils	Middle school pupils
1857- 58	-----	205	580
1862 -63	-----	381	577
1867 - 68	10	753	2012
1872 - 73	32	562	3698

In 1884 Valiya chenkalath Kunhirama Menon started a publication known as "Kerala patrika" from Calicut also accelerated the advent of a new era of transformation in Malabar.¹⁴ The communication between the newspaper and the

reader is not just like a private conversation of two persons, somebody who reads it may sometimes respond or not. Anyhow by this interaction, there develop a communication network and thereby some kind of 'link up' which results in the formation of certain public opinions. In the process many such networks may evolve, which may collectively form into Public sphere.

For Jurgen Habermas, a German Sociologist, the Public sphere is a "network for communicating information and points of view".¹⁵ Thus "Public sphere is a common space, in principle accessible to all, which anyone may enter with views on the common good realised wholly or particularly: a ground, coffee house, an exhibition hall, sweet shops in the locality as also the discursive and representational space available in the Newspapers, Magazines, Journals, Radio, Television and now Internet".¹⁶ In the ancient days Communication transmission was exercised mainly through oral means or spoken voice when the speaker and the receiver were in face to face situation.¹⁷ In this method, people who spread up in the market and festival places were the vehicle of such transmission. But this situation changed with the growth of literacy on one side and that of print media on the other. The invention printing made it possible for a single written message to reach many receivers and thus to increase the potential effectiveness of a few individual communicators.¹⁸ Printing accelerated the spread of literacy.¹⁹

The influence and spread of literacy and medias like Newspaper, often regarded for its role in moulding public opinion in Malabar. By the late 19th century various innovations took place in the field of journalism in Malabar. The telegraph helped the newspapers a lot to publish the hot news, events, before it got cold.²⁰ Newspapers are an essential ingredient of public action, High levels of literacy, dissemination of information by means of the written word goes much deeper in Malabar than elsewhere in Kerala, this has important implications for the quality and depth of public opinion. The early half of the 20th century witnessed a host of people's struggle related to agrarian, the land relations in Malabar. The Morazha, Mattannur, Thalassery struggles of 1940s in Malabar were the struggles that questioned agrarian power and raised livelihood questions.

An important part in the pivotal transformation of the Malabar society was played by Poets and writers. They could see that there was the presence of a fully developed reading public in Malabar born out of the educational institutions started by the Basel Evangelical Mission, Colonial government and Landlords. This reading public was ready to accept those changes in favour of the national modernity launched in a powerful form in other urban spaces in Colonial India. Thus the literature in Malabar is integral to the discussion of the reformation of the Malabar public space during the time of the national movement.

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CLAIMING HISTORICAL CONTINUITY AND AUTHENTICITY THROUGH THE TEXTUAL TRADITIONS WITH AN EMPHASIS ON ASHTANGAHRIDAYA

Rennu George

INTRODUCTION

The Brihatrayi or Great Trinity of Ayurveda includes Compendia of Susruta, Caraka and Vagbhata. The verse towards the end of Ashtangasamgraha states "There lived a great physician named Vagbhata who was my grandfather. I was born in Sindhudesha. After learning the science from Avalokita, my teacher, and more from my father, and devoting myself to a large number of books on this science, I have composed this text." Vagbhata's religion is yet another scholarly debate based mainly on internal factors highlighted in Ashtangahridaya. Based on the middle path concept adopted in various regimens, habits and treatments, he has been often called as a Buddhist. But Ashtangahridaya includes hymns ascribed to both Vedic and Buddhist divinities.¹

Ashtangahridaya is believed to be composed approximately in the fifth century CE.

Scholars like Meulenbeld held him to be from Sind or Karachi. I-Tsing Chinese traveller and pilgrim in between AD 672 and 688 has held the work as recently composed. "All physicians in the five parts of India practise according to this book, and any physician who is well versed in it never fails to live by the official pay"². Ashtangahridaya till this date is widely used in the medical recipes and treatment procedures in South India especially Kerala. The translations of Ashtangahridaya appeared in many languages like Tibetan, Arabic etc. and over thirty commentaries are to our knowledge other than in regional languages. 'Sarvangasundara' of Arunadatta is often with highest approbation and critic.³ In Kerala PM Govindan Vaidyan's 'Arunodaya' and Cheppad Achutha Varier's Malayalam commentary is read widely.

I

Ashtavaidya tradition of Kerala and Ashtangahridaya is all highlighting the self-same 'Ashta'. The eight classification of treatments depending upon the body part under treatment and mode of treatment. They include⁴ i) Shalya Tantra ii) Shalakya Tantra iii) Kaya Chikitsa iv) Bhutha Vidya v) Kaumarabhrtya / Bala Chikitsa

vi) Agada Tantra vii) Rasayana viii) Vajikarana Tantra. The Ashtanga Hridaya or the Heart of Medicine is elaborated in six Sthanas or sections and 120 chapters.⁵ The main areas dealt with the broad following topics Svstavrta or Code of healthy living elaborates on the Dosha prakriti, the six savours⁶, on Gunas or qualities of substances⁷, on how to examine the patient and prognosis.⁸ The text in detail discuss on Rucarya or the seasonal regimen, on how to diet and live in various seasons.⁹ It deals with solid and liquid food and food safety and about Panca Bhoothas. It has a chapter dealing with complexities of pregnancy called 'Garbhavyapat' and also about body parts and functions (Angavibhaga). There is a vital discussion on the lethal spots or 'marmans' numbered by the author to be 107. Pacification of Doshas, Svedana, Purgation and Enema therapies, Nasya, Eye care are all intricately put up. Medication for jwara (fever), cough, diarrhoea, Abscess (Vidradhi) are also detailed. Vata induced disorders or presently what is called rheumatism is meticulously arranged in the text. This child-snatcher concept is vividly described as each kind of disease is ascribed to a particular evil spirit usually a female manifestations like Revati, Sakuni, Putana, Skanda, Visakha etc.¹⁰ This might seem to be primitive, still we have to keep in mind the keen observation that has been made on the symptoms of various kinds in paediatrics and the treatments.

Among the desiderata in Ashtangahridaya, lies proper diet as per seasons, exercise, sleep, virtuous life. Vogel¹¹ points out the cruel acts to be denounced with one's body, speech and mind; highlighted by Vagbhata like cruelty, theft, sexual perversion, calumny, abusiveness, mendacity, showing dissension, malevolence, envy and heresy to be almost the similar way in Buddhist Canon 'Mahavyutpatti'. The same conclusion is drawn when Vagbhata poises the 'Middle Way' for life.¹² This is a major argument put up by scholars like Wujastyk, Vogel, Meulenbeld etc. This middle way may be identified even with the instances of medications and treatments in the work itself. For example insanity is treated focusing on purification and especially use of oils. The formulations included

herbs well known for their capacity traditionally for enhancing memory and mental faculties and sometimes bloodletting is also used. The Middle Way or gentleness of therapies is understood when we compare the above with the electro-convulsive therapies¹³ that is presently used to treat insane. In places like Kottakal Arya Vaidya Sala, Kottakal, Kozhikode; Vaidyaratnam Oushadhashala, Ollur, Trissur; Chingolil, Kottayam and many centres in Kerala the tradition is kept alive. Many a times, this is seen as spa treatment or medical tourism, in general. But the records of the Vaidyas and the witness patients shall tell us the accomplishments of Ayurvedic tradition of Ashtangahridaya so often.¹⁴ The medical journals like Dhanwantari in its issues from 1903 to 1925 had several articles on Ashtangahridaya, its efficacy, lineage about various Vaidyas practising medicine sourcing on Ashtangahridaya. Although none of these practises are purely based on a single text there were very few acknowledgment for other regional texts.

II

To be very fundamental Ashtavaidya is a medical tradition in Kerala and as per the social atmosphere of the past, they came from the then superior Brahmin families. The term Ashta as indicated earlier tell us about the expertise in the 'Ashta Anga' or eight divisions of body and treatments specified by the Ashtangahridya. All of them trace their lineage and tradition to Vagbhata school of Ayurveda. The legacy that Ashtavaidyas believe is that Vagbhata was born at the time when Buddhism and Jainism was predominant in medical field¹⁵ and he was born to retrieve the medical tradition to the Hindu religion. And for some reason he was ostracised from the community, his work was unaccepted and under banishment he has moved to Kerala. This is not historical and as per the majority scholar communities, Vagbhata is interpreted as Buddhist. However there may be some historical coincidence in the fact that Buddhist medicine was pushed aside from the main medical stream. We already have seen the deteriorating status that medical practitioners been through over time, with compulsions from the higher castes and communities with instances from Manu Smriti and also Later Vedic literature. As per the legacy of the Ashtavaidya families, Vagbhata

was welcomed so warmly in Kerala and thus he decided to impart the body of knowledge in which he was a doyen to the land and its people. As per the tradition Vagbhata first visited the house of Alathiyur Nambi and then travelled across Kerala and spread the knowledge to the members of higher sections of society.¹⁶ Thus Alathiyur Nambi, Karathol Nambi, Choondal Nambi, Olassa Mooss, Vyaskara Mooss, Kuttancherry Mooss, Elayadathu Thaikkatu Mooss, Pazhenellipurath Thaikkatu Mooss, Parappur Mooss and Vaidyamadham became Ashtavaidyas. The belief is that Vagbhata breathed his last at the residence of Pulamanthol Mooss and till this day they observe the day as 'Vagbhata dinam'.

A possible interpretation is based on the preface of the commentary of Ashtangahridaya by Harishastri Paradhkar in which he says that Buddhist medicine was looked down upon consciously in Northern India.¹⁷ But, Ayurveda in the classical terms has arrived the land of Kerala in the fourth fifth centuries CE and probably from the Buddhist Viharas of Deccan.¹⁸ Of course when we consider the socio-cultural milieu of the times, we have to admit such abody of Sanskrit literature shall be accessible only to restricted numbers who had good command over Sanskrit. This especially becomes significant when we consider the non-classical traditions of Kerala and the martial arts and concept of 'marmans' and treatment provided for fractures and dislocations in the centres other than Brahmin Ashtavaidya centres. The people of the land irrespective of caste had very practical command over various flora of the region. This is what we see in the Introduction for 'Hortus Malabaricus' about Itti Achuthan who introduced larger diversities of flora to Van Rheede¹⁹ that he cited him in his great work. In fact, there were not just eight families of Ashtavaidyas, in the earlier Brahmin congregations assumed as eighteen, there were Vaidyas who were well versed in the eight branches of medicine. Such an authority over the 'Ashta Angas' was called an 'Ashtavaidyan'. The expertise of the Ashtavaidyas over the subject was most fundamentally from the Ashtangahridaya although there are changes in proportions of medical recipes even among these families based on the interaction with other practitioners and experiences. Even one among these families, the Vaidamadham possesses the few

manuscripts of the famous commentary of Ashtangahridaya called 'Shashilekha' by Indu, who is believed to be a disciple of Vagbhata and has given a brilliant commentary on Ashtangahridaya. One among the Pulamanthol Mooss family has presented another commentary on Ashtangahridaya called the 'Kairali'. There are also commentaries like 'Hridaya', 'Lalitha', 'Vakyapradeepika' etc. The commentary on Ashtangahridaya by²⁰ P. M. Govindan Vaidyan called 'Arunodayam' and the commentary by Cheppat K. Achyutha Varier is also famous. The translations of Kaikulangara Rama Varier of Sarartha Darppanam, Bhavaprakasham and 'Ashtanaghridayam Bahsha' by P.M. Govindan Vaidyan is also noteworthy. The gist of the Sanskrit medicinal repertoire given by Vaikom Pachumoothaathu called 'Hridayapriya' is also contributing to this. Paravoor Kesavanasan has produced a complete commentary of Madhavanidana called 'Sarachandrika' and incomplete commentaries on Bhavaprakasham, Bhaishajyaratnavali etc.

Towards the end of first millennium CE, Buddhism began to decline in Kerala but still existed till sixth seventh centuries. Vagbhata or his disciples might have been received by Buddhists still existing in Kerala. Vagbhata might have migrated to Kerala to find patrons there and probably the earliest disciples were Buddhist. Sankaracharya (8th -9th century CE) who was born in Kerala and wrote seminal philosophical works of Advaita Vedanta took on the Buddhists in his writings and considered them as the main enemy of Brahmanical orthodoxy.²¹ Tolkappiyam mentions the same vocations as Manusmriti for Brahmins and do not include Ayurveda or medicine among them. The post Vedic Brahmanical system proposed medicine as not ideal for Brahmins because they had to come into contact with blood, body, corpse etc. and were considered impure. First inscriptional evidence of using the text Ashtangahridaya and Charaka Samhita in an educational institution attached to a Matha is Chola inscription of 1121 CE at Tiruvaduturai, Tanjore, Tamil Nadu.²² The epic of Mezhathole Agnihotri who performed ninety nine Vedic sacrifices to reinstate Vedic Culture in Kerala and subsequent upgradation of a family of Ashtavaidyas, they being the penultimate sub caste among the ten tired Brahman hierarchy. Including them to the Vedic fold because medical aid was inevitable and then

transforming medicine to fit the Vedic system by various epics and claims and weaving Sanskrit s which are even today considered to be relevant. Ashtangahridaya was given much thrust in this classical Vedic framework, which was seminal in producing many translations.

Conclusion

The hoary history of this text that travelled far and wide and got translated and influenced medical traditions in the home country and abroad since ages is difficult to trace because of the discontinuity in the sources and research gaps in the area is plenty. Since, it is a tradition since ages, transformed through ethos, a continuous history of its transformation has never been fulfilled. The paper was a humble attempt to take Ashtangahridaya forward till this day to the land of Kerala, where it is often a subject of legitimacy in Vaidya discourses even today. The Ashtavaidyas, their lineage and history, legacies along with their contributions to the rich materia medica other than Ashtangahridaya and the mode of treatments intermingled with both indigenous tradition and classical tradition is noted. Medicine in Kerala, is highly prominent in the world systems, and the income generated from medical tourism in Kerala is high. The increasing number of spas and foreigners and people from various regions of the country approaching Kerala. A single visit to the institutions like Kottakal Arya Vaidya Sala, Vaidyaratnam, Thaikatu Mooss etc. conveys how within the modern infrastructure and facilities, the mechanisation process in factories, even mobile applications to trace the medicines and their proposed history has marketed the so called Ayurvedic system. There has been even flexibility in various aspects of traditions from the so called classical texts of Ayurveda in discipline, diet, regimens, ambience etc. are observed. The Dhanwantary temple in Kottakal Arya Vaidya Sala, with the entrance arch bearing the symbols of Christian, Muslim and Hindu faith and permitting everyone's entry since eighteenth century, even before temple entry proclamation is an example of the social updating that P. S. Varier has proposed. The system of Ayurveda has been updated suiting the changes in the social, cultural and technical milieu and is sourced from various communities and various texts over time. The Vaidya discourses still owing legitimacy to the so called classical texts has

among them. Food consumption has never been a constant subject in the history of the world. One of the facts, the cooking process never remains static and keep on evolving from centuries and with the amalgamation of several cultures in the gastronomy. Even today, it is growing from one cuisine to another with the help of so many ingredients.

Similarly, cooking is also a kind of alchemy that transform basic ingredients and raw materials into a lavish dish or healthy food. Food history is a wider topic and needs to investigate the cultural and traditional value of our food consumption. Food has always seen as a backbone for a prosperous economy and for the survival of humankind. India for being one of the oldest civilization and with the passage of the time it got amalgamated with so many cultures and tradition that helps in the beauty of Indian food and cuisine. The proper food consumption always got cherish as a sole purpose for a healthy and prosperous life. The Indian food and cuisine can be said as the blend of multiple cultures and available in a one platter. History as a discipline always seen as an incident of the past but the relevance of the past in today's life has not been focused much in the contemporary writing. Moreover, the medieval period of India mostly got attention for its political, socio-economic, architectural changes by the historian and scholars but unfortunately not much have been discussed on food culture in Indian history writing. Hence, here this paper tries to fill that lacuna which exists in the current writings. Food is an ever evolving process, in which culture and tradition also imbibed in our gastronomy of the present society. The varieties in food consumption come with various cultures in society. It is necessary to note that food and cuisine were always dynamic and also varies from region to region in India and very often region, religion and ethnicity attached mostly through the kind of food consumption. Indeed, the food consumption binds the people to connect to their cultural or ethnic tradition 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 culture in medieval India contributed immensely in the formation and making a diverse nature of the Indian culture

and society. This was the time when the taste of the food and ingredients in the cuisine got preference along with the European influence in the culinary culture of India. The various existing cultures represent different signs of prosperity and prestige, and food consumption is also one of the parameters used for defining the socio-economic culture of society. The northern foodways in medieval India were very much vibrant not only in cuisine or food varieties, but also it was open for all various types of food or technique coming from outside. For instance, one of the contemporary traveler in medieval India states 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.¹ This was also the time when cultural boundaries were not restricted to any place or region for the consumption of food. 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.² Thus this lavishness and splendour indicate the elaborate system of food consumption marks legitimacy and power in the society. This can be considered as a symbolic way of showing power or supremacy among the masses. One of the traveler account of that time, Father Monserrate says that the emperor table is very splendid and it was filled with more than forty courses of dishes. The foods were always taken care off to avoid the unforeseen tragedy for which every food were covered with the linen cloths and tied up having sealed by the cook. However one more aspect of royalty can also be traced when foods were carried by youths to the dining hall along with the master of kitchen and from there it further passed to eunuchs who passed it to the serving girls who were part of the royal table. Generally emperor prefer to take his meal in private except certain occasion where he had to dine in public banquet³.

On certain occasion the banquet filled with all kind of luxuries items. For instance, the emperor Shah Jahan was invited for the feast by Asaf khan, the hall was decorated with the luxurious carpets, fine white muslin table cloth with cushions, and perfume holders were present around the room. This feast continued for around four hours with music.⁴ This was also the time of the political strengthening, Emperor Jahangir in his time declared not to kill animals on Thursday

and Sunday in the remembrance of his father.⁵ Despite the fact, he was very fond of chased meat. 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.⁶ The lavishness and splendor always indicate that the elaborate system of food creates a legitimacy and power in the society. For cooling of water, saltpeter is used mostly for the elite section and Akbar was the first emperor who introduces it in India.⁷ That indicates it was used for the elite section of the society. Apart from this, a kind of ice cream (kulfi) was also prepared which was part of the royal kitchen by freezing a mixture of khoa, pistachio nuts and kesar in conical shape of metal device.⁸ This introduction added to the royal feast and enhance their lavish banquet. Traveler Francisco Pelsaert also confirmed that rich people were having all kind of lavish food some of which were not known to his own country as well. The lavish feast consists of many dishes like Brinj (dressed rice), Aeshelia (spiced meat), Pollaeb (pulao), Zueyla (spiced wheaten cakes), Dupiyaza (meat with onions), roast meat and other items but before having food they washed their hands and table clothes would be put before them on floor. The head servant served everyone but from dishes spoon, napkins and knives were absent.⁹ He further gives the table manner as well in that it consider bad behavior to lick the fingers and food should not go beyond knuckles.¹⁰ The description that he provides clearly indicate the food consumption was not only confined to splendor but etiquette regarding food and the manner of its consumption also become important and this distinguished the nobility from the other section of the society. A drink called Falooda, a favorite drink of Jahangir was also a rich drink only consumed by a higher section of the society and the other sections of society could not afford this as it was a mixture of fruit juices, creams and jelly.¹¹

So far as the southern Indian foodways is concerned in the medieval India, it was interesting to see the changes and the variation in the food culture, it was as dynamic as it was in the Northern india. Interestingly, today the common classification in modern life for food like south indian thali, Gujrati *thali*, and North Indian *thali* only on the basis of regional or local cuisine respectively, does not justify its diversity

of the food culture. In the beginning itself, 'Manasollasa' one of the finest work done by the king Somesvara III of chalukya dynasty. He was of the opinion that the king needs to maintain a good life style to keep himself good looking for that purposes he needs to eat sufficiently and healthy food. He discussed that there were eight types of rice available before the king.¹² Apart from these, this work extensively talks about the various types the meats, seven types of lentils, *dosa*, *idli*, and methods for drinking water for a good life.¹³ Interestingly in the medieval times, the southern region were also enrich in their tradition and culture, one of the important book on food '*Supa Shastra*' written by mangarasa were well documented the culinary tradition of sothern India. Though most of the description available in this book is more about vegetarian food and among them Rice is one of the principle food.¹⁴ This was also the time when the varieties of cooked rice were available, rice-ghee combination flavored with garlic and salt popularly called as *katttogara*, crushed *papad* for yield, crisp fried sandiges made of the ash gourd and varies cooked greens gave rise to another cuisine in the southern region.¹⁵ These all shows the people of southern region were having appetite for good food and at the same time were also interested in various cuisine.

However, the southern foodways was not only popular in the varieties of available food but also in the technique for the preparation of the food. Gurulinga Desika, one of the prominent figure in the medieval south India, who wrote 'Lingapurana' a kannada text, mentioned about the preparation of various types of vegetables. One among them is brinjal which can be prepared several ways in the sixteenth century like seasoned with ghee, salt, methi, urad, and cream before boiled.¹⁶ The balaka was made by soaking large chillies in salt water, drying them, frying them in oil when needed as a crisp and spicy. Twenty kinds of balaka were prepared as per the lingapurana using various vegetables and their peels. This work of sixteenth century also mentions about the five kinds of happala or pappad and fifty kinds of pickle or uppinkayi were available before the people.¹⁷ The dishes with the help of curd, relishes of greens and raw vegetables were popularly called as *pacchadi*, *kachhadi*, *karsara kachhadi*, *palidya*, *thambuli*, and *rayatha*. Indeed, the sweet dishes were very much part of the gastronomy of the people.

Interestingly, jaggery was one the source for making sweet dishes like, rava grits, wheat vermicelli, sweet wheat rotis, stuffed with a mash of boiled chana, termed as hurige.¹⁸ Thus this all indicate medieval south india was very much vivacious and attached with the gluttony of the southern people for the consumption of varieties of dishes.

Hence we see a very vibrant picture of foodways of northern and southern medieval India. Food consumption has always treated as a necessity for human being's survival and growth but in the medieval period, we see the role of food and cuisine in the two different culture and

continuity of the past in the present society as well. With the passage of time, the food system got elaborated and attracted the more people and which leads to the formation of identity in the respective region. The Indian cuisine can be said as the blend of multiple culture and available in a one platter in a nation with diverse identity. As the present paper highlights the food culture of the two specific region and continuity of historical things in the present society. This can also be seen as a cultural heritage of India is very wide and vibrant in nature not only on the basis of language, appearance and tradition but also on the basis of food consumption.

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FROM AMERICA TO INDIA: THE ASSIMILATION OF NEW WORLD CROPS INTO INDIAN FOODWAYS

Dr. Sandip Kumar

The European discovery of the Americas initiated an era of exchange of people, flora and fauna between the old and the new world. This process, called the Columbian Exchange, led to the introduction of many American food plants like potato, sweet potato, maize, tomato, chilli or capsicum, cacao, etc to Europe. From Europe many of the plants were disseminated to other parts of the world by traders and others. In India, the Portuguese were responsible for the introduction of many American crops like maize, chilli, potato, sweet potato, tobacco and fruits like pineapple, papaya, guava and cashew-nut.

Another plant of American origin, the tomato was introduced later by the British.

This paper examines the assimilation of three important new World crops- potato, chilli and tomato into Indian foodways. Introduced into India at different points of time by Europeans, all the three food crops were incorporated into local cuisines in most regions of India. What were the factor and conditions responsible for the acceptance of these new food items? Research on the culinary impact of the Columbian Exchange on European food ways has shown that crops like potato and tomato

were accepted very slowly.¹ The apprehension that they might be poisonous combined with what Brian Cowan has called 'stubborn conservatism of early modern culture' lay behind reluctance of people in consuming the two new crops.² The potato became a European dietary staple in the eighteenth century while the tomato became popular in the nineteenth century. The gradual assimilation of the New World food crops in Europe forms the backdrop against which I analyse the reception of the three food crops in India from the sixteenth century onwards.

The Chilli was introduced to India by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century from the Perambuco region of Brazil. Portuguese ships carried the chilli to Lisbon from where they were transferred to the ships going to Goa. The Botanist Crolus Clusius wrote that capsicum was called Perambuco pepper in Goa in the mid sixteenth century.³ How fast the chillies spread from Portuguese territories on the West coast to other regions is not very clear. The botanist and historian B.G.L. Swamy mentions a reference to chilli in the writings of the sixteenth century Kannada poet and musician Purandaradasa.⁴ If the identification is correct, then the chilli had reached Karnataka in a fairly short period. Some historians have argued for a rapid diffusion of chillies consumption all over the sub-continent.⁵ But the evidence indicates that the process of dissemination of chillies was gradual in many areas. The chilli was well known in Western India in the eighteenth century. James Forbes, an employee of the English East India Company noted

"The Chili pepper (capsicum), of various sorts, is planted throughout Hindustan, and forms a principal ingredient in curries, and other savory dishes, which the natives are all fond of, whether they eat animal food or not: to the capsicum they generally add the cardamom (*amomum-repens*, Linn.), a pleasant spice from the Malabar coast; which, with salt, pepper, and ginger, season their viands, mingle in small quantities with the rice, which is the chief article of food among all the higher classes of Indians: the poor live principally upon *juarree* (*holcus sorghum*), *bajaree* (*holcus spicatus*), and other inferior grains."⁶ Another observer, Dr Hove found the chilli being used to season the Kebabs in Gujarat in the 1780s.⁷

In the southern part of India, chilli was cultivated in many regions of Karnataka in the late eighteenth century and it had become included in the diet of the poor.⁸ In Bengal, the chilli was introduced by the Portuguese. Ghulam Husain, a historian of Bengal noted that the people of the region consumed large quantities of red chillies.⁹ In North India, the chilli was introduced in the middle of the century by the Marathas for whom it had become a dietary staple. North Indians were said to have started using the new spice which had been unknown to them previously.¹⁰ Chilli consumption however, had not spread to all sections of North Indian society even by the early nineteenth century. A collection of recipes for making *kawabs* from 1820s shows that while the kebabs sold in the market were flavoured with chilli, those made in the kitchens of the wealthy Muslim residents did not use it.¹¹

While the use of chilli was becoming more widespread in many areas, there were regions where it was not known as late as the 1830s. The Telugu scholar Enugula Veeraswamy recorded that the servants accompanying him on his journey from Madras to Benaras in 1830-31 were disappointed at not being able to find chillies and tamarind in the markets of Central India. They believed that the absence of these ingredients from their food in the last few days had affected their health. Veeraswamy advised future pilgrims from the South to buy chilli and tamarind in Nagpur to avoid any inconvenience.¹² When Veeraswamy reached Orissa, he noted that the people of the region consumed chilli in lesser quantities than those living in the south but the spice was available in the markets for travellers.¹³

Published recipe books from various parts of India show that the chilli had been incorporated into local food ways. The Gujarati *Pak Shastra* (1878) suggests adding red chillies along with cumin, coriander powder to most vegetable dishes.¹⁴ The *Ath Rasvyanjan Prakash*, a Hindi work on dietics written in 1903 recommends adding red chillies to various types of dishes like vegetables, lentils and pickles. Interestingly, it suggests using black pepper in some recipes while in others, the red chilly is recommended. Chilly was meant to be used as a spice that could substitute black pepper and provide a hot taste to foods.¹⁵

What accounts for the assimilation of the chilli into Indian food culture? Before the introduction of chillies, black pepper and long pepper were used to impart a hot taste to Indian food. But these spices were expensive and were therefore used by the wealthy. The chilli provided a cheaper alternative by which the poor could season their food.¹⁶

Unlike the chilli, the potato was not introduced directly from America to India. The potato arrived in India from Europe although the date of its introduction remains unknown. Some English sources from the seventeenth century mention the presence of the potato in India. Thus, the chaplain Edward Terry, who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe to India, noted that the potato was once served to them on one occasion in 1617.¹⁷ The doctor John Fryer, present in India during the 1670s noted the consumption of potatoes in Kanara. He also records potatoes being grown in the gardens of Surat.¹⁸ It has been suggested that the Englishmen could have confused a local variety of yams for the potatoes.¹⁹ But the potato had become a familiar crop in England and is mentioned in several recipe books from the latter half of the century.²⁰ It seems unlikely that Fryer would have failed to identify the potato. The potato was probably being cultivated in Western India in the seventeenth century.

The Englishmen did promote potato cultivation in their settlements from the Eighteenth century onwards. James Forbes noted that potatoes, lettuce and cabbages had been introduced from England and the Cape of Good Hope region to Bombay. He also recorded their presence in Surat²¹. Another observer recorded that peasants of Surat grew bajra in fertile soils while yams and potatoes were chosen for poorer quality soils.²² Twining observed potatoes of an "indifferent" sort being cultivated in an Englishman's garden in Madras during the late eighteenth century.²³ In Hyderabad, potatoes were unavailable in the same period, much to the dismay of James Kirkpatrick, the English resident at the Nawab's court. He once ordered a variety of potato named after the city of Patna, proving that the potato was then being cultivated there.²⁴

Consumption of potatoes became common in Bengal and North India from the early nineteenth century. In 1820s, Bishop Heber

noted that the potato had become a favoured item of consumption in Bengal. The tuber had not been popular earlier but the local people had started liking it.²⁵ Heber observed that in North India too, the potatoes "were becoming great favourites, particularly with the Mussulmans, who find them very useful as absorbents in their greasy messes."²⁶ Around the same time, an English lady had noted that while the Europeans had introduced the potato in Muradabad district, "the natives are all fond of it and eat it without scruple"²⁷ The inhabitants of the Himalayan region of Almorah had also started cultivating the tuber.²⁸

Going by the evidence of published Hindi recipe books, potatoes were being consumed in greater quantities in the early decades of the twentieth century. The *Ath RasVyanjan Prakash* (1903) and the *Pak Shastra* (1913) contain very few references to potatoes. The *Pak Chandrika* (1926) has several recipes featuring the tuber crop. It calls the potato 'the king of vegetables' and notes that its taste and nutritional qualities have made it popular among people.²⁹ Praising the potato for its versatility, it mentions a long list of items that can be made with it. Both the poor and the rich can enjoy the potato according to their abilities.³⁰

The tomato arrived in India much later than the potato and chilli. It was not the Portuguese but the British who introduced the fruit to the country in the nineteenth century for their own consumption.³¹ Anglo Indian cook books from the latter half of the century contain several European style recipes for the tomato like soups, sauces, soufflés and custards.³² It was also used to make 'Indian' items like chutney and mash where its sourness was complemented with chillies.³³

The tomato was gradually incorporated into regional cuisines. People of Bengal and Burma had started adding it to their curries in the late nineteenth century.³⁴ The tomato had become a familiar food item in Calcutta by the early part of the twentieth century. Peasants in Bengal had also begun to cultivate it using seeds imported from America.³⁵ The tomato was unknown in Gujarat and North India till the early decades of the twentieth century since it is not mentioned in any of the recipe books. A Hindi recipe book called the *Pak Chandrika* published in 1926 refers to the tomato as the 'vilayati

baingan' or imported aubergines. It contains only two recipes where the tomato is used-a mash and and a chutney.³⁶ Another recipe book, the *Vrahad Pak Vigyan* published in 1939 includes tomatoes in the list of vegetables that are to be eaten raw. It recommends that the tomato be eaten after mixing it with black pepper, ginger, green chillies and lemon juice. No recipe in the book includes the tomato in any cooked form.³⁷ Thus the early use of the tomato in North India was confined to making dishes like chutneys that accompanied the main food items. It was not added to the main components of food like

vegetables and lentils as is seen today in most parts of North India.

The tomato appears to have consumed more frequently in the Tamil speaking region. S Meenakshi Ammal's recipe book *Samaithu Paar*, published in 1951 mentions the tomato in a few recipes where the tomato is cooked along with spices and other vegetables.³⁸ The book advises its readers to reduce the quantity of tamarind in *Sambhar* and *rasam* in case they want to add tomatoes.³⁹

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CULTURAL CONTEXT OF INTOXICATION: A STUDY OF PERCOLATION OF TODDY IN KERALA

Saritha P.V

Palm toddy, coconut toddy, wine are commonly used intoxicant drinks in Kerala. The present paper is an attempt to find out the context of spreading the consumption of intoxicant drinks in Kerala society and its impact in culture. The emergence of new community based on hereditary occupation of toddy tapping is also an interesting aspect with regard to it. Toddy also percolated gradually in to the religious practice of the indigenous people. There are not many studies on intoxicant drinks in Kerala. Few works such as K.Sadanandan Vaidyar's *Eezhavacharithram*; *Ariyappedattha Edukal* gives details about toddy tapping community in Kerala. The early Tamil literature, oral sources like *thottampattukal*, *manipravalam* literature, traveler accounts, accounts of missionaries and various myth related to toddy are made use of in this study.

The earliest evidence of intoxicant drinks can be traced from the Rigveda. In the Rigveda a distinction made between *soma* and *sura* (liquor), the former being an intoxicating drink, but reserved for being offered (as a sacred beverage) to the gods and to be drunk by the priests, while the latter seems to have been meant as a beverage for common men and not usually offered to gods.¹ How *sura* (liquor) was prepared is described in the *Satapata Brahmana*.² In *Aitareya Brahmana* (37.4) it is stated that when a king has undergone a solemn coronation ceremony, the purohita places in his hand a vessel of *sura*.³ The *Grihyasutra* referred that a rite on *Anvastaka* day during that time offering of

liquor to ancestor.⁴ *Manusmriti* forbid all kind of intoxicants to Brahmanas at all stages of life.⁵ Intoxicants are not forbidden to sudras. Megasthenese and Strabo noted that Indians did not drink wine except at sacrifices (in the 4th century B.C).⁶

Toddy in Early historic period

In early historic period Kerala was part of *Tamizhakam*. The early Tamil literature shows different geographical area known as *tinai*, they are *kurinchi* (hill area), *mullai* (pastoral tract), *palai* (dry land), *marutham* (wetland), and *naithal* (coastal area).⁷ In these area there had certain peculiarities in their life style. These different area produced variety flavour of toddy that made with available items in that place. The early Tamil literature that referred toddy extracted from different flavour palm, coconut, *takathi* flowers, rice, bamboo, etc. In early historic period toddy played important role in the society. It became inseparable part during special occasion like conducting feast, festival and for love making etc. Most of the songs of *Purananuru*, *Pathupattu*, *Pathittipathu* deals with the feast conducted by the king after the war victory or before the war, toddy was the essential item of the feast. The feast is mentioned in the song as *undattu* (feast). In *Kurinchi* region, Kuravas consumed the toddy extracted from honey.⁸ In the *marutham* the *Uzhavar* consumed toddy that extracted from ragi and rice known as *Ariyaal*.⁹ The *Maravar* and fisherman also consumed toddy that extracted from rice.¹⁰ *Naravu* and *Thoppikallu* were other intoxicant drinks used in early historic

period. *Munnir*, a special kind of intoxicant was popular with the women folk. It was prepared from juice of tender palmyra nut, the tender coconut and sugarcane.

Toddy were commonly used in early historic time.¹¹ Toddy consumed by all strata of society without caste distinction in that time.¹² Drinking is not considered as bad habit. The toddy tappers and *Uzhavar* (cultivators) they occupied high status in the society. The toddy tappers mentioned as *chandhor* in the early tamil literature which means gentle person (*manyar*).¹³ Poets considered the king as a protector of *chandhor* (toddy tappers). King consumed toddy along with his subject like warrior, poets, bards etc. In *Purananuru* the poet Kapilar memorise on king Pari and fabulous wealth of his reign. He also deal with toddy considered as part of wealth that buried in the house it distributed among the subject during Pari's reign.¹⁴ Another song of *Purananuru* deal with importance of *maruthanilam* (wet land) that was demanded by warrior. Toddy extracted from flower was one of the peculiarity of *Marutham*.¹⁵ The *Naithal* region specialized in coconut cultivation and toddy extracted from the coconut tree.¹⁶ In the *Marutham* region toddy extracted from bamboo.¹⁷ Toddy was the special item in the royal feast. King consumed toddy in golden vessel.

Toddy was one of the trading item during early historic period. *Purananuru* give a clear picture of toddy sale centres, where a particular flag indicate toddy selling.¹⁸ Women also engaged in toddy selling.¹⁹ *Manimeghala* refers city of *Vanchi*, inhabited by goldsmith, courtesans, astrologer, architects, dancers, and toddy sellers. Wine was one of the importing item mentioned in the *periplus*.²⁰ Early Tamil literature refers that king consumed drinks brought by *Yavanas*, which was corroborated by the finding of amphora jars used for preserving wine by *Yavanas* in Pattanam excavation. According to Rajan Gurukkal " it is reasonable to presume that the item such as grains, olive oil, dry fruits and wine were imported obviously not for exchange but for self consumption of merchants and organizers of trade who were primarily, Greeks, Arabs, Egyptians, Jews and Philistines".²¹ According to Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier, there is a type of exchange system that existed among the *Aintinai*s (five

ecozone) instead of trade. The value of product never considered because they gave prime importance to utility only. For example the *Maravan* handed over ivory for toddy. There is no price value.²² *Marutham* and *naithal* region were important centres of exchange system.

Toddy in Pre-modern Kerala

In the period of later tamil literature we can see the arrival of Budhhist, Jains and Brahmins. During that time the status of toddy degraded. Toddy consumption restricted among upper strata of society. *Manimeghala* deals with five great sin one of the great sin is toddy consumption.²³ *Thirukkural* also refer toddy consumption as one of the great five sins. Thiruvalluvar says that those who pay the drink and lose consciousness as the most ignorant. All good men's esteem is lost by drinking.²⁴ It continued as a practice among lower strata. Brahmanical text and law books that prohibited drinking. The consumption of toddy is a major sin among Brahmins. If the Brahmin consume toddy, he will be punished by out casting.²⁵ The Nambutiri observe 65 *anacharam* or irregular customs which are said to have been promulgated by the great reformer Sankaracharya, drinking liquor include in 48th *anacharam* (irregular customs). *Unnicchirudevicharitam* depict *Chittangadi* (a town during that time) which provide clear picture of toddy consumption among the lower strata of society.²⁶ The *Mushakavamshakavya* (1100 A.D) refers drinking of intoxicating liquor in the company of gay and youthful damsels and indulgence in amorous dalliance as means of enjoyment resorted to by the king.²⁷

The Syrian Copper plate deals with the revenue tax imposed on toddy tappers ,that is *kudanazhi* (land lords share of toddy tapper's produce).²⁸ In the first set of Syrian Copper Plates the different *iraikal* (taxes) previously realized by the governor from the *Ilavar* and *Vannan* families and now transferd to the church along with these families are enumerated, *talaikkanam* (fetter fee). Even now *talai* in Malayalam generally denotes a ring around the leg and it is used in technical sense to denote the ring made of palmyra fibre which is applied by *Ilavar* or tree climbers round the ankle and with whose grip they are able to climb the trees. Both *tala* and *eni* are tools of toddy tappers. The term *talaikkanam* and *enikkanam* suggest professional taxes.²⁹

Emergence of new Community based on Toddy distillation

The hereditary occupation of toddy tapping led to emergence of separate caste in Kerala. In southern Kerala toddy tapping community known as *Channar*, in the central Travancore as *Ilavars*; in Quilon to Paravoor, *Chogans*, whereas in the Malabar region they are known as *Thiyya*. And still further north *Billavars*, which appears to be a slightly altered form of *Ilavar*.³⁰ We can see that some differences of customs between them. The traveler accounts and accounts of missionaries also provide a detailed account of toddy tapping community. One of their caste name (*Tiyan*) denotes that they came originally from an island, while the other caste name *Ilavan* denotes that island was Ceylon. *Tiyan* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Duipan* passing through *Tivan*, a name which is even now sometimes applied to the caste. In the records of the Tellicherry factory the caste is generally alluded to as '*Tivee*'. *Simhala* was the ancient name for Ceylon, and the other caste name of the planters must have passed through *Simhalam* to *Sihalan* and *Ihalan* and finally to *Ilavan*.³¹ L.K. Krishna Iyer, C.A. Innes, Nagam Aiya, T.K. Velupillai, C.A. Achutha Menon subscribed to this view. But according to Elamkualam Kunjan Pillai, Brahmin alone came from outside Kerala and all other communities of Kerala are indigeneous.³² The early time the dominant community in Kerala was known as *Villavar*. They are later known as *Ezhava*, *Thiyya* and *Chokons*.³³

Extraction of wine from grape was unknown to Malabar (whole Kerala).³⁴ Ludovico Di Varthema describes in his work about the coconut trees and making toddy from this tree. In the morning and evening toddy tappers make an opening with knife and collect the fluid through the fixed under neath pots. This they place over the fire and boil it once, twice and thrice, so that it appears like a brandy. This is the wine which is drunk in these countries.³⁵ Varthema also deals about the apes they do immense damage to those poor men who make wine. These apes climb on the top of those nuts and drink same liquor and then they overturn the vessel and throw away all the liquor they cannot drink.³⁶

The scientific cultivation of coconut on a large scale in the coastal area of Kerala at the instance of the Portuguese and the Dutch gave

an impetus to the toddy tapping operations.³⁷ The rulers they used *Arak* for welcoming guest, welcoming of Gama, the Portuguese traveler by the ruler of Calicut describes that 'one of the king's attendants offered his majesty a golden vessel with *arak* and betel'.³⁸ The coco tree furnish them with drink, which if not used to excess is tolerably whole same. Out of this liquor they distil their *Arak*, much courted by the common soldiers and seamen, to their great detriment.³⁹

Assimilation of Non-Brahmanical God in to Brahmanical Cult

Toddy percolated into the religious practice of the indigeneous people. During the early historic period onwards toddy used as one of the important offering item for worship. If any hero died the people installed '*nedukkal*' (hero stone) for his memory and in the special occasion they gave toddy as an offering to it.⁴⁰ Toddy was used in ancestral worship like *muttappan* which is continued even today by *Thiyya* community. Another worship of the deity is *Kuttichathan* which exist in different part of Kerala. According to traditional belief *chathans* are the son of God Shiva and Vishnumaya.⁴¹ The Ayyappan or Sasta is believed to be the supreme God and the highest ruler among the non- Aryan aborigines in south india. Some of the minor demons whom the caste men worship are *Kuttichathan*, *Parakutty*, *Karinkutty*, *Mundian* etc. These are believed to be either the debased aspect of Sasta or subordinate demons under him. The unbridled malignity of these demons ever excites the fear of the people of the lower castes to a such degree that they, the descendants of the non-Aryan aborigines always seek their protection by doing pious worship and by making offering to them.⁴² According to traditional belief, the Nambuthiri of *kalakattu illam* who had no successor. So they got child with the blessing of God Siva and Parvathi in their incarnation as *valluvan* and *valluvathi*. This child is known as *Kuttichathan*. *Kuttichathan* never followed the Brahmanical way of life and custom. He always neglected their advice and began to drink liquor and animal blood. At last the Nambuthiri tried to kill the *Chathan* by cutting as 390 pieces. It placed in 21 fire altars. But *Chathan* never died and in fact multiplied as *Chathans*. The *Chathan* burned the *Kalakattu Illam* after that the people and Nambuthiris

began to worship *Chathan* in the form of *theyyam*.⁴³ *Kuttichathan*, *Bhairavan*, *Pottan*, *Karuval* were belonged to Brahmin's *theyyam*. The *Kuttichathan theyyam* indicate the assimilation of non-Brahmanical cult in the brahmanical fold of worship. Some caste men offer toddy to *Kuttichathan* for his blessings. The famous Nambuthiris like Panchanelur Bhattathiri and Avanagattu Panikkar they practiced witchcraft to getting control over *chathan* as per their will.⁴⁴

Coconut toddy used as major offering of *Parasinikadavu Muthappan* temple.⁴⁵ We can see that the assimilation of indigeneous Gods like *Muthappan* and *Kuttichathan* in Brahmanical fold of worship. Various myths that existed in Kerala relate with toddy include *Parasinikadavu Muthappan* myth and myth related to *Malanada Duriodhanan* temple. *Parasinikadavu Muthappan* myth is that the *naduvazhi* (landlord) Ayyankara Illath Vazhunnar had no son. His wife Paadikutty Antharjanam was a devotee of God Siva. They gave birth to a child by the blessing of Siva. The child never obey their advice and always keep relationship with lower caste people. Began to eat nonveg items and toddy. After that the boy revealed his divine form to his parents. Then he went to *Kunnathoor*. He was also attracted by the toddy of palm tree. The toddy tapper Chandan know that his toddy was being stolen from his palm tree. So he decided to guard them. He caught the old man stealing toddy from his palm. He got very angry and tried to shoot the man using his bow and arrow but he fell unconscious. Chandan's wife find him unconscious at the base of tree. She noticed the old man and asked to pardon Chandan. She offered boiled grams, slice of coconut, burnt fish, and toddy to *muthappan*.

The myth related with *Malanada Duriodhanan* temple is when the exile of Pandavas, Duryodhanan tried to trace Pandavas. Duryodhanan reached the forests in the Malanada hill. By that time he was much tired and went to a nearby house and asked for drinking water. It was Kaduthamsserry Kottaram where *Malanada Appoppan*, the priest and ruler of land was staying. An elderly women gave him toddy which was customary at that time as mark of respect. The toddy that extracted from the rice was peculiarity of temple during the festival season. Among the tribal community toddy is

one of the important offering item like *kurichiyas*, *paniyas* etc. *Kumbham vettal* (cutting of vessel) is the one of the important religious ceremony among the *kurichiyas*. The *Muppan* (headman) cut the bamboo piece containing toddy.⁴⁶ Then all similar bamboo pieces with toddy are emptied and the content consumed. The offering known as *Koll* contain beaten rice, plantain and jaggery placed on the plantain leaf at the shrine and the *Muppan*, after prayers, distribute it. *Muthappan* is their main God. Women and children are not allowed to the worshiping place of *Muthappan*. No animal sacrifices are performed, but each family celebrate annually a ceremony of offering toddy, for which the *pittan* (head of family) fixes an auspicious day. *Pullikurathi thottam* songs deal with toddy consumed by Pullikurathi (incarnation of Goddess Parvathi). *Thottam* songs of *Pulaya* also deal with worship of *Kuttichathan*.⁴⁷ *Kalladi Muthappan* a demon God conjured for odi (agreement to destroy something).⁴⁸

Among the Christian community intoxicant drinks especially wine is inseparable part of their religious ceremony. After the arrival of Portuguese they forced Syrian Christian to use strong wine in religious practice.⁴⁹ In Muslim community intoxicant drinks considered as *haram* (prohibited item).

In early historic time toddy consumed by all strata of society without caste distinction. Several early tamil literature reveals that king consumed toddy along with his subjects during the feast and war victory celebration. That time toddy tappers enjoyed highest status. But in later time toddy became degraded status after the arrival of Jainist, Budhhist and Brahmins, after that there emerged caste distinction in the society. Higher caste like Brahmins and others prohibited toddy consumption and it considered as bad thing. But lower strata of society continued toddy consumption. We can see that the hereditary occupation of toddy tapping led to emergence of separate caste, *Ezhava* in southern Kerala and *Thiyya* in Malabar region. We can see that assimilation of non Brahmanical God in the Brahmanical fold of worship like *Muthappan* and *Kuttichathan*. Intoxicant drinks prevalent in the tribal community and Christians but it was prohibited among the Muslims.

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SCULPTURAL ART OF THANJAVUR MARATHAS

Dr. B. Sheela & Dr. R. Udaichandran

Thanjavur, the headquarter of the district of that name, lies about 322 km to the south-west of Madras in Tamil Nadu. It is a grand old town as a royal capital for over 1000 years from the 9th to the 19th centuries. It has claimed to fame as a cradle of art and culture. Thanjavur was ruled by Marathas from C.E.1676 to 1855 nearly 180 years by 13 kings. They were builders and patrons of art and culture. They made the most imperishable contributions in music, literature and art. Maratha Kings were saivites, but they patronized the vaishnavite sect and were tolerant to other religions. They were not only adopted their customs and culture but also fostered their growth and development. They continued the art tradition of the Nayaks, and influenced by the European style.

Thanjavur Marathas constructed temples, palaces, choultries, churches, mandapas, administrative buildings, forts etc. They also renovated a number of temples.¹ As per the records of Modi script, there were sixty four temples under the control of them;² now eighty eight temples under the Thanjavur Palace Devasthanam.³ A number of monuments survives from the 18th century many in a fine state of preservation and still in use. Their temples and buildings are studded with sculptures and painted panels. They provide ample information about the political, social, economic, religious and cultural life of the people during the 18th and 19th centuries of Tamil Nadu. However, it has not received scholarly attention of the art historians that they deserve. Scholars concerned with the Indian art and architecture generally goes a preference for early iconic motifs and tends to ignore the later centuries. Hence, an attempt has been made to provide the significance of sculptural art under the Thanjavur Marathas.

The sculptures of Thanjavur Marathas are beautiful and ornamental. They are engraved on single stone and placed on the walls of the buildings. They can be broadly classified into four kinds as stone, bronze, stucco and wood corresponding to the materials. Another classification of images is divine, natural, imaginary and portraits. They consist of themes on Hindu gods and goddesses. The themes are

mostly mythological with figures of Lord Krishna in various poses and depicting various stages of his life being the most favorite. The portrait sculptures and the images of royal personalities are also received, their attention in this period. Generally, in the Thanjavur Maratha style, sculpture is massive strong, squat and muscular physique. The stucco and wooden sculptures were beautified with attractive paintings.⁴

Divine Sculpture

The Maratha rulers built many temples in Thanjavur region. Tukkoji alias Tuljaji I (1729-1735) built the famous temple of goddess Mariamman in Punnainallur near Thanjavur as desired by his guru Sadasiva Brahmdendra. Pratapsirinha (1739-1765) constructed the Sri Bangaru Kamakshiamman temple at Thanjavur. The remarkable specimens of Maratha art and architecture are found in these temples.

Marathas brought the cult of Ellamma as their tutelary deity or family goddess with them from Maharashtra to Thanjavur.⁵ Ellamma alias Renugadevi has been known as the village goddess in the Modi script.⁶ The temple of Ellamma in Thanjavur was built by Serfoji II in the year 1803. Kundaladeviamman holding a child in her right hand,⁷ has carved on the stone slab and erected next to the balipita of this temple. Madangi⁸ the goddess of wisdom, supernatural powers and music, enshrined in the southern prakara of this temple. She is considered as the Tantic form of Saraswati. The dancing Vinayaga of Orathanadu Muthammal chaultry and Thumbikkaialvar of Kaliyuga Venkatesa Perumal temple are notable specimens of Marathas. The ten avatar sculpture of Lord Vishnu are found in the latter temple. They have uniformly four hands and different types of head dresses.

Shakambari the Bearer of the Greens, is one of the aspects of Parvathi. It is said that during the famine, the goddess Adishakti appeared as Shakambhari to provide vegan food for hungry people. Her Sculpture is found in the car of Thiruvaidaimarudur temple. She has also placed in Navarathri festival and decorated with vegetables. She holds an axe, vegetables and pasa.

The sculpture of Ranu Bai, Amangala devi and chattu Bai, Sumangala devi in the Rajagopalasamy temple in Thanjavur are remarkable in the cultural history of the Marathas. They are worshipped considered as the angels who protected the children of Maratha family. Actually, it insists the ancestor worship.⁹ The drapery of the over coat of the guardian deities symbolize the influence of western style.

Anuman or Anjaneya worship became popular during the Maratha period. The sculpture of Anjaneya is depicted as Yoga Narasiraha with four hands holds conch and wheel. It is found in the Virapratapa Anumar temple at Thanjavur. The Ramayana Scenes found in the Nageswara temple, Kumbakonam, the scene of Rama story at Kaliyuga Venkatesa Perumal temple, the sculptures engraved on the walls of Ramasamy temple, Mannargudi are of religious importance and artistic note worthy.

The idols of Hanuman, Vinayaga, Dhandapani, Vittooba, Navagraha, Naga Devatha, Pandurangam and five faces of lord siva were found in the Thanjavur Rajagopalasamy temple and prove their sculptural talent.¹⁰ The Thanjavur Marathas introduced a sculpture in their own style called Sivendirar. It contains the figures of eight angels in round panel along with jvalakesa and chakra and trisul. They made the sculpture of Chakrapani with sixteen hands at Mannarkudi, Kumbakonam and Thanjavur.

The Marathas established the sculpture on the unplastered brick walls like the wedding scenes of Siva, Tirumal and Muruga of Darbar hall of Thanjavur palace. Sixteen handed Rama, five headed Tirumal, Anuman and Garuda are the typical Maratha style of sculpture. In the Tirumal Sculpture, human head at the center, kurma and Varaha sculpture on either side, lion head on the head, on the back uncleared head are also found. These sculpture of Hindu gods and goddesses coated with paintings are decorated buildings of the Thanjavur Marathas.

The Vaishnavite sculptures found at Thiruvedi, Orathanadu, Rajamadam, Needamangalarn, Saluvanayakan Pattinam, Mayuram and Thanjavur, express the artistic skill of the Thanjavur Marathas. The divine sculptures of the car of Thiruvaidamarudur,¹¹ the silver plated bull vahana and Palanquins of

Saptasthana temples exhibit the excellence of intricate carving of minute sculpture of the period. The pillars of the Savukandi mandapa of Orathanadu choultry are decorated with artistic spears.

Natural Sculpture

The buildings of the temples of the Marathas are decorated with flora and fauna. Naga worship is very popular in the Ellamma temple at Thanjavur. Naga Kanni is enshrined and flanked by female attenders in the prakara of this temple. Hunting scene, war scene, procession of elephants, Monkey fight are richly carved on the walls of the choultry at Orathanadu.

Imaginary Sculpture

Yali sculpture, the hybrid species like human head and animal body, Goat head and animal body sculpture are also carved on the walls of the buildings as panel sculpture.

Thirumbala Chakra is carved in the ceiling of the front mandapa of Saptarishvarar temple. The numbers from 1 to 9 mentioned in Tamil letters, have placed in nine boxes horizontally and vertically. By adding the numbers in all directions, the total number 45 would be come. It is called Vedikkai kanakku, a fun game by the local people. Thirumular, the author of Thirumanthiram the tenth Saiva canon speaks about this chakra as Thiruambala Chakram. (The Circle of Chidambaram). Thirumanthiram was written under 9 tantras based on 9 agamas taught to Thirumular by his Guru. The fourth tantra is highly esoteric work on mantras and tantra. In this tantra, he describes about the yantras including Thiruambalachakram

Portrait Sculpture

The Sages of Saptarishvarar temple of Sakvarambalpuram near Kumbakonam are shown with downward moustache, Beard, Rudrakshamala, Jatabandha¹² and Virisadai. Rasakumarabai Ammani sculpture is found in the Surakottai Rajagopalasamy temple. She has folding hands in anjali pose. Her costumes and ornaments are shown the figure as a royal woman. The sculptures of Yasuvantrao Mohiteh and Sulotchana Bai are worshipping posture in the Maratha style. The Scenes depicting the princesses riding on the horse with sword on their hands, warriors carrying weapons,

musicians playing musical instruments like cymbol, ekkalam, drum, flute, magudi, etc., kolattam, dancers, warriors, apsaras, illustrate the life style of the Marathas. It is notable that magudi is accompanying with dance. The Marble sculpture of Serfoji II (1798-1832) by Flaxman¹³ is an excellent piece of art for Maratha portrait. It is a life style statue costing Rs. 1200 in 1803, during his lifetime. It is erected on high pedestal with his hands clasped in a gesture of reverence creating an imposing image.¹⁴

Sculpture of the Schwartz, the Danish Rev. Friedrich Christian in death bed and Serfoji II is made by Flaxman in 1807, is placed in the church of Sivaganga tank, Thanjavur. It has engraved with the dying missionaty, blessing king Serfoji II surrounded by his ministers and students. These two marble sculpture are the best workmanship for the western influence in the sculptural art of the Marathas. The sculptures of kings, queens and chieftains are found in their construction with the Maratha royal dress and a

mark worn on the forehead. Their images are also placed in the Navaratri festival.¹⁵

The bronze idols of Serfoji I and his Queen found in Thanjavur Art Gallery, Thiruvudaimarudur Paavai Vilakku and Deepambal sculpture are the masterpieces of the Maratha style. The base of the lamp has an inscription datable to 1853 indicating the gift of Marathas to the temple. Bronzes are rare during this period. Meanwhile brass is high in alloy ratio in these bronzes. In the female figure, the nose ring holds a cultural significance. Though the custom of wearing began in very earlier, it became a part of life after the 16th century.

Thus, the sculptural art has admired and patronized by the Marathas of Thanjavur during the 18th & 19th centuries. The development of both religious and secular sculpture marks a new style called Maratha style of sculpture in Thanjavur.

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ANKAM: ARBITRATION METHOD OF MEDIEVAL KERALA

K.P. Shiji

Heroism and chivalry played an important role in the history of Kerala from early historic period onwards. The heroes got an aristocratic status in ancient and medieval society. They were promoted by the existing political authorities of that period. During the medieval period *Ankachecons* were the real heroes of society. This paper is an attempt to analyse the socio political circumstances behind the practice of *Ankam* in medieval Kerala. Why the state

promotes this duel as an arbitration method of medieval period is also discussed here.

ANKAM

Ankam was a custom of settling disputes, both of public and private character, through a fight between two men of higher valour from each party concerned, as common in Kerala.¹ *Ankam* was fought between two persons directly for settling disputes among persons, who rival

each other in connection with any issue.² According to Herman Gundert, *Ankam* was the ordeal for Nayars, a royal privilege for which each combatant had to pay, sometimes fought by hired champions.³ Logan remarks that, when a physical offence was done by one person to another, solemn contract used to be entered before the *Naduvazhi* of the locality to fight *Ankam*, the chief himself being umpire.⁴ The *Naduvazhi* was the ultimate authority to the settlement of disputes, the latter adjudicated as to what disputes should be referred to decision by *Ankam* and asked rival parties to choose their own champions who fought the battle for them.⁵ In fact *Ankam* was a very strange institution practiced for arbitration of issues. In which sometimes two rival persons themselves fight each other for victory. But in most of the cases *Ankam* experts called *Chekor* were hired by parties, and the *Naduvazhi* supervised the fight.⁶ The subject matter of the famous folk song of Aromal Chekavan in Malayalam is the tragic story of an *Ankam* fighter called Aromal Chekavar had lost his life while fighting for settling dispute over management of the property between two members of family.⁷ Most of this type of stories related to *Ankam* was included in Northern Ballads. These songs had been composed mostly in between the 16th and 19th centuries, particularly in Kadathanadu region.⁸ They depict the chivalry and heroism of several heroes and heroines of medieval and late medieval periods.

CHEKON

Chekon means a hired champion, who belongs to Ezhava or Nayar community. He was ready to submit his life for others. They had got an honorable place in society. According to custom, a real *Chekon* one must fight in a duel. In fact they were the slaves of the customs, which tempted them to fight the *Ankam* just to increase their family prestige even if they did not want to fight.⁹ It is the duty of a *Chekon* to wage *Ankam*. To retreat from the *Ankam* was considered as a humiliation and such disrepute even affected his family for generations. So a *Chekon* was always ready to accept the request from anyone.¹⁰ The defeat was also considered to be a matter of disgrace not only to the *Chekon*, but also to the members of the family.¹¹

According to custom, to uphold Dharma is the duty of a *Chekon* in a society.¹² Through this

social custom, the society enables to ensure the availability of *Chekons* in medieval social condition. A *chekon* was really acted as a member of Suicide Squad. The families of the *Chaver* were given the land on service tenure known as *Chavettuviruthi*.¹³ This system practiced to protect the heirs of suicide squad from insecurity. On fixing the *Ankam*, the *Chekon* had a free hand to claim his dues. The fighters were very well paid for their services, as one of the two was bound to be killed or defeated. The loss of the life of a *Chekon* was to be compensated by separate gifts to the family by the part for which he took part in the fight.¹⁴ The *Veettukizhi*, *Nattukizhi*, and *Ankakizhi* were the three forms of money related to *Ankam*.¹⁵ In which *Veettukizhi* was given to the *Tarawad* of *Chekon*, it may be taken by his son or nephew in accordance to their inheritance pattern.¹⁶ The *Ankakizhi* was given to the particular *Chekon*, who fought duel. If he dies that goes to his heirs.¹⁷ The third one called *Nattukizhi* was the money, the *Naduvazhi* received as umpire between two combatants and for the arrangements of *Ankam*.¹⁸ The consent of *Naduvazhi* was necessary for conducting *Ankam* in a particular *Nadu*.

Apart from heroic aspect of the *Ankam* there was a sentimental aspect also. As the slaves of the customs, *Chekors* were tempted to fight the *Ankams* just to enhance their family prestige. The song of Aromal Chekavar shows that his wife, sister, brother, and parents persuaded him to withdraw from *Ankam*. He was not accepting their request because he feared the humiliation of retreat.¹⁹ The *Chekor* bade farewell to all his relatives in a formal way and gives the domestic obligations to his nearest successor, as he was not sure whether he would return alive.²⁰ In fact this insecure nature of the institution was compelled the *Chekavan* to demand high amount of money as *Ankakizhi*. The best example is found in the song of Othenan where he demanded more and more money from Unnikonor.²¹ The *Ankapanam* was changed in accordance to the power and prestige of *Chekon*.

Kalari was the prominent institution existed during the medieval period as mainly for imparting military training. Duarte Barbosa refers the custom of sending boys to *Kalaris* at the age of seven. Boys and girls have undergone the

military training.²² Unniyarcha, Kudumala Kunki and others were examples of women learned fighting techniques.²³ The main weapon of *Chekon* was sword and shield. Most of the Nayars and *Chekons* regularly practiced in Kalari. Most of the Chekon families had possessed a *kalari* to practice *payattu*. Panikkar or Kurup was the teacher who practiced *kalari*.²⁴ The *Naduvazhis* gave all facilities to promote *kalari*. *Keralolpathi* tradition mentions about *kalaris* and *kalari paradevathas*.²⁵

The unique feature of *Ankam* was that they followed fair method to a great extent. Shiek Zainudin says that the people of Malabar are never treacherous in their wars. When fight was unavoidable, they fixed a date for it in advance. Nobody acts against the terms of this mutual agreement.²⁶ Whenever a *Chekon* starts a non technical feat he proclaims it to the opponent and asks him to be cautious. Each soldier believes that the strict principles of war were against his own Dharma.²⁷ But rare instances of treachery and malpractices in the *Ankams* were showed in Ballads. For example in the duel between Aromal Chekavar and Arnigodar, we can see the treachery of Arnigotar.²⁸ *Chekons* were accompanied by a person called *Mattachekon*, to support him in *Angathattu*, by giving weapon and so on. If the *Chekon* need to take rest, the duty of *Mattachekon* is to wage *Ankam* for that time.²⁹ The story of Aromal Chekon shows that Thacholi Chandu was the *Mattachekon* of Othenan.³⁰

The place of duel called as *Ankathattu* or *Ankakarali*, which is constructed under the supervision of *Naduvazhi*. That made out of wood for combat. The *Chekons* assembled in *Ankathattu*, at the specific time declared by the *Naduvazhi*.³¹ The ballad shows that the duel was performed in the centre of the town where the local chieftains and other important personalities and the people of that locality met for deciding local matters.³² In most of the cases the fight between different groups and *Naduvazhis* rather than those found between Kingdoms.³³ When *Ankam* started, the two rival parties come in to the *Ankathattu* with their combatants. They explain the reason of *Ankam* in front of the audience. The *Kozhiankam* was conducted to understand the decision of God. The winning party had got a psychological domination in the *Ankam*. During that time there is a chance to two

parties to retreat from the *Ankam* by settling their issues.³⁴

Nayars and Thiyyar or *Chekon* were the dominating group of population of medieval Kerala. Nayars were regarded as aristocratic community and they enjoyed high status in society. Most of the *Desavazhis* and *Naduvazhis* were from the Nayars and most of the soldiers of the territory were also belongs to the Nayar caste. Thacholi Othenan and Thacholi Chandu belong to the Kaitheri Nayar family. Other caste group engaged as soldiers was from Thiyya community. Aromal Chekavar and Unniyarcha belong to this caste group.³⁵ The *Chekon* were always ready to uphold Dharma of their own *Nadu* for the ruler.³⁶ The society and state were always tried to ensure the availability of suicide squads by giving sufficient support to them.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF ANKAM

After the disintegration of Chera Kingdom, there was no centralized political power in Kerala. This condition exploited by the ambitious chieftains who consolidated their authority in their territorial divisions.³⁷ The lack of centralized political power and continuous hostility between kingdoms gave much stress on personal bravery rather than on collective military heroism. The various petty principalities under the governance of the local chieftains always engaged in feuds and disputes. Medieval principalities and chiefly families maintained military groups of their own. The practice of maintaining local militia can be traced back to the period of *Nadu* formation in Kerala during the Perumal rule.³⁸ The fighters function was not to solve the rivalry between political authorities only. But they were invited for settling disputes between ordinary people. This practice of using fighters for judicial purposes resulted in the emergence of a peculiar institution of *Ankam*.³⁹ They had their own ways of solving internal problems and maintaining justice and order.

During the medieval period, the relations between individuals were controlled by *Nattumaryada*. The local assemblies like *Kuttams-Nattukuttam, Tharakuttam* etc. were committed with administration of justice in medieval society.⁴⁰ Most of the disputes in the *Tarawad* were settled by the *Karanavan*. The *Tarakuttam* is considered as the lowest body of judicial administration. In the institutions of crisis,

the members of *Tara, Desam* or *Nadu* met in an assembly and took decisions regarding the issue.⁴¹ The local institutions check the royal deficiency and protecting the rights and privileges of the people of the locality may be upheld. In most of the cases the *Naduvazhi* or *Desavazhi* solved the problems. But some cases remained as unsettled, and later that were settled through *Ankam, Poithu* and *Kudipaka*.⁴² The disputes on inheritance were solved by certain trials in the temples, and only if all those met with failure, direct *Ankam* was conducted for deciding the person. The rivalry between Unnichandror and Unnikonar was at last solved by an *Ankam*, even though the trials based on divine justice employed.⁴³

The institution of *Kalari* is generally traced to the period immediately after the disintegration of the Perumals in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D.⁴⁴ The scattered nature of land into a number of principalities and minor chieftains promotes the escalation of quarrels. They tried to encourage military training to large groups of people through *Kalaris*. The primitive aspect of military system and warfare compelled the *Naduvazhis* to promote these heroes. There was no shortage of individual heroes, but no efficient military organization during that time. This compelled the *Naduvazhis* to promote *Ankam*.

The evidences show that the *Naduvazhis* gave special power and privileges to *Ankachecons*. On many occasions Thacholi Othenan was appointed by the Rajas to punish their unruly feudatory chieftains. In return for these services they granted some privileges to this *Ankachecons*. One of the songs shows that Thacholi Othenan killed a woman, who did injustice to husband and relatives.⁴⁵ The *Ankachecons* were regarded as the lords of their

community rather than mere fighters. The *Chekons* of medieval Kerala belong to different communities and regarded as companions of honour and bodyguards of the local authorities. Later these bands of soldiers developed into a landed aristocracy supporting the established order with military power.

During the medieval period the state promoted *Ankam* as an arbitration mechanism to solve disputes. The various procedures of *Ankam* show that this mechanism is independent of the Brahmanic tradition. The shift of the importance from the early medieval *Salai* to the medieval *Kalaris* implies a transfer of emphasis from the temple-oriented Brahmin settlements to newly developed agrarian settlements. This newly emerged localization enhanced the role of Nayars and Ezhavas in society.⁴⁶ They played the prominent status in military system also. There was no permanent legal system and no well organized army as a regulatory mechanism. The military system of Kerala of the medieval period was a continuation of the ancient military institutions. The traditional *payattu* or military training given in *Kalaris* was suitable only for *Ankam*.⁴⁷ *Ankam* considered as one of the main source of revenue of state. State accumulated large amount of money through *Ankam* in the name of *Nattukizhi*. The presence of *Nattukizhi* in *Ankams* ensured the sanction of royal power.⁴⁸ During that time the state identified law with physical force. The practice of *Ankam* implies that the whole legal system itself is maintained by physical force. Tradition directed citizens accept law simply because it was a part of their tradition. So *Ankam, Poithu*, and *Kudipaka* were practices of by the society as part of their tradition.

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TRIBAL ART AND SOCIAL LIFE: A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GADHIKA OF ADIYAS IN WAYANAD

E. Shika

The study of the human life and culture help us to understand the different faces of culture. Each and every culture has its own importance and the tribes of Kerala also had its own features who are the part and parcel of our culture. They have a unique tribal heritage and cultural identity. Ethnic tribal group keep their identity in their ritual, worship, art, games and ceremonies. They are alienated mentally and emotionally from the mainstream and they have created their own world.¹ Tribes are broadly considered to be isolated, closely knit and having kinship based on common dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social structure, each with a well-organized socio-political setup and mode of living and settled in forest even in adverse condition.² Most of them lived in the harmony with nature without causing any imbalance in the ecosystem. The archaic form of life had helped them to their identity in the social, political, economic and religious spheres life.³ The tribes differ from one another in radical traits, language, social

organizations, economy, religion culture etc. The tribes are isolated in ecology, demography, politics and other social behavior from other ethnical groups.⁴

Kerala is one of the smaller states in the Indian union and holds unique position in the tribal map of India. Generally tribes are found in all districts of Kerala and it needs the tribes for its survival, especially for the geographical survival.⁵ Wayanad, the panoramic hill of Malabar in north Kerala, is a home land for various tribal communities. They are Paniyas, Kurichiyas, Kurumbas, Irulars, kattunaikers and kanikkarans and Adiyas. Our tribesmen are the true descendants of aboriginal people in India. The tribal people who depending on forest and live according its ecosystem are belonged to different groups. Most of the tribes are live in hilly areas and showing their own behavior. They have a unique identity which distinguish one tribal class from other and this difference is evident in ritual and cultural matters.

Adiyas are considered as the one of the prominent tribes in Wayanad. The word 'Adiya' means that one who stood six meters away from the higher caste people.⁶ So they were known as Adiyas in the history of Wayanad. They settled in Mananthavady, Anjukkunnu, Kuppathode, Vemam, Payampalli, Thrissilery, Tirunelly and the frontier region of Karnataka.⁷ It is believed that the Adiyas were migrated from Mysore to Wayanad because the Gods worshiped by Adiyas and worship centers were totally related to the areas of Mysore. Another opinion is that Adiyas were peasants who migrated to Wayanad in different periods with landlords and Chettiyar Gaundas from Karnataka. Now they are considered as the slaves of landlords and Adiyas have mentioned about them in their songs. In the early morning Adiyas will go to field for cultivation and returned to huts with their wage. The settlements of Adiyas known as 'kuntu' which existed near by the side of the field.⁸ The man who looked after the administration of each kuntu known as 'kuntukaran' and each kuntu has its tribal chief without 'kuntukaran'.⁹

The tribal huts which occupy in the woods, hills, slopes and lush green valleys are the centers of ethnic arts. The tribal communities are danced, sang and play the musical instruments thus, life was transformed into a group movement. As in the case of ceremonial rituals, the art that exists in different tribes are diverse.¹⁰ Evidence shows that various kind of ritual and cultural practices were existed among the tribes of Wayanad. The dance forms of tribal folks are not mere performing arts form; they are the wholesome articulation of their simple joys, life movements and rituals. They depict the essential winks of their daily life through steps so closely knitted with their surroundings. They are often performed to cast away evil spirits and at times exercise the magical ceremonies. Each tribe has their own ritual art forms, life style, customs and traditions. They have peculiar musical instruments made of bamboo and wood. Variety of tribal arts belonging to various groups which important among them were Vattakkali and Koodiyattam by Paniyas using Thudi and Kuzhal, Kolkali by Kurumas, Nellukuthupattu by Kurichiyar and Gaddhika by Adiyas. There are many rituals among the Adiyas like Arakemeetunekal,

Charaduketal, Kuliya and Gaddhika. The first one is performed that when evil spirit entered into the body of pregnant woman and avoid all problems during the time of delivery and Kuliya is conducted to find solution for the sickness of women.¹¹

Tribal art forms are closely related to tribal life and culture. Gaddhika is a traditional ritual art form of Adiyas in Wayanad which performed by Adiya community when they are suffer from epidemics and diseases. This ritual art form originated from the assumption that diseases have supernatural causes. It also reflected in many aspects of family and social life of the Adiyas. It is a ritual dance to cure many diseases as well as the safe delivery of children. Adiyas believed that they can alienate worse conditions in their life, illness and diseases through the performance of Gaddhika. All the tribal arts forms are important and intrinsic parts of socio-cultural life of the all tribes. The most significant features of the Gaddhika are following. It express socio-cultural identity, excited mental state and refined feelings. It helped the Adiyas to join together and protect from the misfortunes, diseases, sickness and natural calamities. Its aim was the propitiation of God, natural powers and the spirits. It is performed in the house of disease affect person at night. Flowers, coconut, rice, betel leaves and nuts were offered to God in a copper plate in front of Nilavilaku and dance performed in order to invoke the God. The Adiyas believed that due to the wrath and curse of God and Goddess which created many problems and all diseases in their life. So when they performed Gaddhika the God become very happy and they can get cure and recover from all problems. The main characteristic of this dance is neither feminine nor masculine and the style is actually connected to third gender.¹²

The tribes have different type of food, life styles, traditions, rituals, ceremonies, customs, dress patterns and practices compared to other people and they had their own contribution in the field of art and handicraft. The ritual arts of tribes were divided in to three groups based on its aim and situation of the performance. The first one is hunt dance, which contained various types of dances like bow and arrow dance (rugala of garo), sword dance and war dance. The most important among them is the kolkali

of Urali. The second one is social dance which is performed at the time of marriage as a part of their pleasure and enjoyment. Mangalamkali of Mavilas tribe is the best example of this type of dance. The third one is religious dance which means to adopt appeasement policy and render favorable attitude towards God and ancestral spirits. It includes Ghost dance of Koragas, Attam of Paniyas and Kuliya and Gaddhika of Adiyas. There is a strong relation between the social life of Adiyas and Gaddhika.¹³

Tribal chief is also known as kaneladi who is also acted as the chief priest who becomes a noble person and taught about the customs and traditions of the society, then only he will be selected by the people. All old aged people cannot attain that position. A tribal chief could lead the society towards a specific goal and would become an efficient and strong person. When the 'Nattumooppan' of Kunt becomes older who find out his successor and would appoint the next chief. With the permission of 'Nattumooppan', Gaddhika would performed by 'Thamadi' who helped the 'Nattumooppan'. In many circumstances the priest that is 'Nattumooppan' also performed the dance named Gaddhika¹⁴ Gaddhika is performed in order to get protection and relief from the evil powers and the diseases. If any disease affected to any members of Adiyas society they would inform to the Nattumooppan who organized the Gaddhika. Usually, the ceremony begins in front of the Nilavilakku with Siva chants. It helps to solve the problems like epidemics, sickness and delivery matters. This ceremony will be decided at the request of the parents of the patient. Adiyas strongly believed that the reason of cold and fever was due to the wrath of the Goddess named 'Chammundi' and chicken pox and smallpox caused due to the wrath of Goddess known as 'Mari'. So Adiyas chant prayer by remembering their Goddesses. When 'Nattumooppan' finds the reasons of diseases and put forward the cure methods then patient gives the offerings as bronze bangles.

Gaddhika is the combination of different cultural features. It is a consolidated form of various languages like Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada. The most significant feature is that its relation with 'Yellamma' culture as regards to the dress style, faith and performance.¹⁵ The

Mari Goddess of the Adiya tribe may be 'Yellamma' Goddess in Karnataka which obvious that the Adiyas come from that place. Gaddhika song has mentioned about many Goddesses named 'Jogamma' and 'Yellammadevi' who were worshiped by the third gender of Karnataka. According to the legend 'Yellammadevi' was the wife of sage Jamadagni and mother of Parasurama.¹⁶ There is an old belief that Parasurama, the youngest son of Jamadagni, who killed his mother according to the will of his father. The other four children did not obey were subjected to curse of father and they became as third gender. Later the mother was known as Goddess Yellamma or Jogamma who was worshiped by these sons. The male devotees of 'Jogamma' came to be known as 'Jogappans' and female devotees called 'Jogathees'. The beliefs connected with the method of dress style expressed in Gaddhika. Male appeared in the form of female and they expressed their movements and actions like women in the performance of dance. It is regarded that Jogiyachan, who mentioned in Gaddhika songs was the son of sage Jamadagni. Adiyas considered that, the castle of Jogiyachan is situated near Vishnu temple at Thirunelli.¹⁷ The God in the Gaddhika dance are 'Suvani' and 'Sidhappan' worshiped by Adiyas and other Gods 'Malakkari', 'Karichathan' and 'Malappan' from Dravida culture also worshiped by Adiyas. During the Sangam Period the important Gods of Adiyas were 'Mayon' (Vishnu), 'Choyon' (Murugan) 'Karunan', and 'Indra' and it is believed the Siva cult also prevailed among them.¹⁸ Adiyas believed that Siva incarnated as kirath is also known as Malakari and the installation of karichathan like Sivalinga. The center of karichathan is situated in Allathur near Tholpetti in Wayanad and Chettis carried the poojamatters.¹⁹

There are three types of Gaddhika - Cheriya Gaddhika, Pooja Gaddhika, and Nattu Gaddhika. Cheriya Gaddhika is conducted to find out the diseases and the methods by which it can be cured. It is conducted by 'Thamady' who performed witchcraft and treatment with the permission of the 'Nattumooppan' and Adiyas considered that it will set free from the all illness. When any

member of the Adiya community affected by any diseases, the elder man informed tribal chief Kanaladi who was assisted by Thamady to perform Cheriya Gaddhika.²⁰

Pooja Gaddhika is also performed by Thamady who chanting the song and hymns being repeatedly one after another. It is organized when there is positive result got from the Cheriya Gaddhikka and the chief aim was removal of all diseases of Adiyas. During the time of Pooja Gaddhikka everybody can showing the gratefulness towards god for curing the diseases. It should be performed in the summer seasons and it is a prayer programme which performed to get cure from the all sickness through the prayer. Thamady, performed it by praising the Goddesses Shivani, Malakkari, Malapadevan, Pookari, Makadaivam, Siddappan, Valooramma, Chekkamma and Kariyathan. The necessary things for the prayer function are flower, milk, coconut, rice, silk cloth, candle and spear. Minimum twelve members are to be present during this art form. The tribal chief will reveal all secretes through the revelation while performing the programme. He would ordered that to perform it in order to please the God on that manner and accompanied by melodious drum beats. A box was drawn and the patient is asked to sit outside the box and the face of the patient was covered by a cloth. The priest sit on the one side of the box by singing songs by inviting the Goddess to their midst. Along with the song some of the dialogue was heard which will be questions and the priest will answered these questions. The chief priest increased the tone of the song and drum beat and also issued certain unnatural sounds.²¹ This programme will continue until noon as its aim was to delight the Goddesses and brought them to their midst. Finally he started the dance and takes the many steps and while dancing he roars laughs and throws flower over the body of the patient. While performing the programme he began to ask question towards the patient that is whether he can able to see any Goddess or has God appeared in front of him. Then the priest started to dance seriously by asking the same question. He takes a long stick and rotates in the air and also cover himself with red silk cloth. After some time the patient replied that the Goddess has appeared and the chief priest ensure the name of the Goddess. After that tribal headman and relatives

is join together in prayer and request for healing the illness. When the drum beat become very fast, the headman would start to dance and declared that he is very happy with in the programme and the patient will be cured immediately. After that the tribal headman asked the physician to provide medicine for the patient.²²

Nattu Gaddhikka is another function organized on more social importance which is performed that any epidemics took place in the Adiyas settlements and villages. Cheriya Gaddhika and Pooja Gaddhika held on the homes of common people and Nattu Gaddhika is conducted on the home of Jenmi or public place and there is a prayer for Jenmis also. It is conducted in order to check the epidemics which affected the tribal group in different times, prosperity and well being of the village and to eradicate evil spirits like Mali and this ceremony is known as Naduneekal. They sung the song loudly by praising Siva, Malakari, and Kariyathan and remembered the ancestors who were compared with God.²³

Nattu Gaddhika performed to solve the problems of the society and for the progress of the whole community. They actually have a good collection of song to serve this purpose. Their language is mixed and has the influence of all three languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada. Nattu Gaddhika is attended by others and conducted only once in a year. Aim of the Nattu Gaddhika is to protect the village from evil deities and to establish peace and prosperity in the community. It is performed by beating drum with music at the home of tribal chief on Friday or Tuesday and everybody visited Mariyamans temple. They go from one place to another by singing song and praising Bhagavathi with the use of instruments like pipe and hand dram. Each family was ready to contribute coconuts, rice and money. So Adiyas dedicated their life for saving the whole tribal group. All of them believed that all sickness could be removed through Gaddhika. The chief headman and local leaders actively participated in Nattu Gaddhika and in the last day they got to river and after bath started their journey and visited all houses for pray to out the evil powers. While performing Gaddhika, Adiyas praised and glorify each of the Gods by singing songs and used instruments like Thudi and Cheenum made of bamboo helped to set the tunes.²⁴

It is a fact that the temples had great influence in the social and cultural life of a region and the ritual systems and beliefs helped to reconstruct the history also. From this point of view, the temples have a major impact in the cultural life of Adiyas. The famous temples in Wayanad were Mahavishnu temple in Thirunelli and Valliyurkavu Bhagavathi temple. Gaddhika songs mention about the Gods related to these temples which were situated near the important settlements of Adiyas and these temples became a part of the life of Adiyas. There was a legend existed among the people regarding the origin of these temples. Yet there was no clear evidence about the period of construction and who was responsible it.²⁵ The pooja matters carried by Namboothiri Brahmins who dominated the temples and the Adiyas have no rights and privileges here. Jenmi system and peasant slavery existed in the society as a result Adiyas continued as agricultural slaves. So on the basis of the socio-economic background we can see the relationship of Adiyas with Valliyurkavu temple.²⁶

It is noted that the opinion of C.Gopalan Nair who explain about the Dravida tradition of this temple. The Jenmis give 'Thalapattam' and selected the slaves for agriculture land near by the area of Valliyurkavu temple. They encouraged the Adiyas to develop the feelings of bhakti towards Valliyuramma. The slaves take an oath in the name of Goddess that is they will work for one year under Jenmi. If they violated, Bhagavati would become angry and curse them. So they did not violate their oath who was honest people. Gaddhika song of Adiyas expressed their relation with Valliyuramma.

In Kerala PK Kalan the famous Adiya leader conducted and popularized Gaddhika. Adiya community stands in very backward among the tribal groups in Wayanad and they were the most exploited people. It was from

this tribal group PK Kalan emerged as a great and efficient leader. He devoted his life for the Adiyas and acted against the opinion that Adiyas considered as Slaves. PK Kalan played a role in order to brought all tribal arts from interior of thick forest and performed in front of the people of town. He was arranged many stages for the presentation of Gaddhika even outside Kerala. He worked for the improvement of Adiyas and transforms Gaddhika from the status of ceremonial rite. He acted against the meaningless customs of the society and worked hard to eradicate all unnecessary practice of the tribe. He brought this art form among the midst of the people and did not want to constrain it in the walls of tribal groups.²⁷

All ritual art forms are the backbone of the life style of all tribal people and inseparable part of their life. The introduction of divine ideas through the dazzling art form is the main feature of the traditional rituals of all tribes. Many changes were took place in the ritual art named Gaddhika which reflected the social and cultural life of Adiyas. It is a combination of vibrant rhythms of Thudi, vehement footsteps and ritualistic art form laden with esoteric meanings that symbolically manifests the intense moments of the unending sufferings and survival of the Adiyas in their material life.²⁸ In short, Gaddhika organized to get deliverance from the turmoils of illness and evil powers has a social use beyond its proposed mission, that is, the socio-cultural relations can be seen with in the ritualistic dance called Gaddhika which reflects the ordinary life of Adiyas.²⁹ At present, the government passed many laws and taken sincere efforts for the improvement of Adiyas and also to protect their ritual arts. The tribal socio-cultural life is intimately associated with forest ecology which is an inseparable part of the tribal life and they are regarded as the children of the forest.³⁰

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF MOTHER GODDESS YELLAMMA TRADITION AND THE EMERGENT IDENTITIES IN SOUTH INDIA

K.Shyamala

The study of the Indian Mother Goddess tradition is difficult to understand. In their earliest forms, they are aniconic and unco-ordinated, and literary evidence of the more primitive Dravidian cults is, of course, wanting. When they have been taken over by the Brahmans they have been so worked over and metamorphosed that many of their original features are now unintelligible. When these deities influence fertility the cultus is to a large extent magical, and as magic necessarily involves secrecy, enquirers of different faith are unable to investigate it. In the case of Saktism, the latest development, these difficulties are increased, because the worship of the female productive energies offends the nobler and more sober instincts of Hindus, and the rites are necessarily conducted with precautions against the intrusion of outsiders in the mysteries. When we compare the Aryan and Dravidian pantheons in India an important difference at once attracts attention.

In Vedic belief and ritual, goddesses occupy a very subordinate position, and they play hardly any part as rulers of the world, and only two-Ushas, the spirit of the dawn, and Sarasvati, originally the impersonation of a sacred river- acquired special importance. In the

same way, in Babylonia, except Ishtar, the goddesses are not very imposing figures, their characteristics are not sharply defined or differentiated, and their position conforms to the low conceptions of women in that civilization. The oriental tendency towards anthropomorphism rapidly begins to affect it, and the representation of the goddess develops into the iconic stage. The southern Mother, Yellamma, is depicted rising from the earth as in the Buddhist sculptures the Earth Goddess emerges from the earth to support the horse on which Gautama rides when he leaves his wife and home and makes the Great Renunciation, and in Greek art, the Anadosis or up-rising of the Earth Goddess, Pandora, is a favorite subject. In the Indian context, the mother goddesses are either accepted as a part of sakta tradition and tantric tradition in Hindu pantheon or as folk deities at village level.

This paper makes an insight into the transformation of *Yellamma*, a pre-Aryan Dravidian deity and the emergent identities in south india.

The social milieu of south indian village typifies complex relationship between the belief system and society. Each village has its own

tutelary deity i.e gramadevata usually venerated by a jatara or annual ceremony to mark its auspicious time. The mother goddess usually reigns the village. The village deities are quintessential to the village and are found common at regional level. While studying Indian Popular religion, it is difficult to ascertain the personality of these deities known. This is due to the fact that there is a lack of textual description of these deities and a standard iconography. So also these divinities have not occupied an exalted position in the Hindu pantheon and also they have not formed the subject of detailed studies. *Lajja Gauri* is one such divinity who is depicted nude with legs stretched apart in such a way to show the pudenda prominently. The head is never depicted and we see only the lotus in its place. The stone images and even terracotta figures of these goddesses are reported from different parts of the country. They begin to occur between 2nd century B.C and 6-5th century A.D. These representations are common in Karnataka, Maharashtra and in western parts of Andhra Pradesh. Many scholars have tried to explain the significance of these deities but they were not satisfactory.

Dr. R. C. Dhere has convincingly explained the true significance of the form of the goddess with a masterly analysis of literary evidences corroborated by archaeological evidences. evidence.¹ But far more interesting is his examination of traditions and folklore which alone can lead us to comprehend the proper significance of such folk divinities. Taking a cue from his studies I would like to present the fact that the folklore of a region has a considerable validity as the religion of the aboriginal races of both hunters and pastoralists is the basis for the study of the significance of these deities. Being written in Marathi, this work could not reach much of the academic circles. Dhere points out that the worship of the mother goddess was universal in the history of mankind and she was represented by both iconic and aniconic forms. Regarding the nude torso at Mahakuta near Badami, the *Sakhambhari Mahatmya*, a section of *Skanda Purana*, describes the sanctity of the place due to the presence of crores of Sivalingas at the place and among these one has been referred to as *Lajjagouriswara*. According to local folklore, this nude torso represented as *Lajja Gauri* is worshipped by barren women for procuring an offspring. This practice is followed

in the Jogulamba temple of Alampur. Stella Kramrisch has identified them as the representations of Vedic Aditi whereas Dr. H. D. Sankalia called her a 'shameless woman' and compared her with Baubo in Egypt.² He suggested that the worship of the goddess came to India during the early centuries of the Christian era through our contact with the Roman world.³

Dhere states that *Lanji* or *Lanjika* in old Kannada means an 'adulteress' or 'harlot'. According to a legend, once Parvati was once in an amorous position with Siva when a devotee came there. Parvati felt ashamed and ran away from that place. Hence she was called *Lajjagouri*. At Alampur, the goddess is represented as the nude torso and the head is represented with a wheel and not as a lotus. This image is worshipped by women for an offspring. A very interesting story regarding the goddess is narrated in the local *māhātmya* which is supposed to be a part of *Skanda Purāna*. It is the story of *Renukā*, the wife of sage *Jamadagni*. She would daily fetch water for her husband's morning rituals in an unbaked day jar which was prepared daily afresh by her. Though unbaked, it did not break because of her chastity. She once saw a king engaged in amorous pranks with his consorts in the river Tungabhadra and she became engrossed in the sport in her imagination. As a result of this lapse on her part the clay jar broke that day and her husband- the sage- could know this all because of his supreme powers. He then ordered that she should be beheaded at once, but the first three sons refused to do so and only *Parasurama* agreed. The sage was pleased with him and asked him for a boon, upon which the sage said that the head of Renuka will be worshipped as *Yellamma* and the torso as Bhudevi. This Renuka is identified as Jogulamba. The most important centers associated with Renuka are *Mahurjari* in Maharashtra, where the goddess is worshipped as *Mahuramma*.

Renukā is also known as Prithvi and therefore Prithvipura, the grant village in the Mahur jhari plates of Vakataka Prithuvisena II has to be identified with *Mahurjhari* only.⁴ In the late medieval literature, *Mahur* is also referred to as the sacred place of Mātangi, a goddess that is worshipped by the Gopals, a *Mahar* community of Maharashtra. Sometimes she is- also said to

have been the goddess of the Māngs, who along with Mahars, form the Harijans of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note in this connection that at *Mahur, Tuljapur, Saundatti*, etc., which are associated with the goddess, the pujaris in charge of worship are *Mahars* and *Māngs*. The *Madigas* of Andhra Pradesh, the folk singers referred to above, are also called the *Matangas* or *Māngs*. *Matangi* is also considered as Mother goddess. There is a tradition that Sage *Matanga* was practicing strict penance for a very long time. Due to his penance, a goddess appeared before him and later she became known as *Matangi*. Prayers to *Matangi* are popular in tantric works. According to R.C.Dhare, *Matangi* represents the mother earth signifying creative energy.⁵ The goddess *Māntangi* of the *Mantangas* is, according to a folk song, the same as *Renuka*. It is the same *Parasurama* story but slightly different, according to which the head of *Renuka*, when chopped off, was not found. *Parasurama*, therefore, met a *mangin*, a woman of Māng community, whose head he cut and brought back. His father, *Jamadagni*, could know this and did not allow *Parasurama* to join it to the body. The sage, by his supernatural powers, recovered the head and brought her to life. But then *Parashurama* was repenting for having killed a mang woman. He, therefore, established her worship at *Mahur* and ordained that she will be worshipped first by the devotees and then worship *Renuka*. In the folk songs, the torso is described as that of *Matangi* and the head as *Yellamma*. This therefore clearly establishes the identity of *Matangi*, a folk goddess of Maharashtra, with *Renuka*. *Matangiputta*, a sect of the devotees of *Matangi*, still survives in Maharashtra as is evident from the late medieval literature. It is to mention that the sixth avatara of Lord Vishnu is that of *Parasurama*, the hero whose characteristic feature was the axe (*parasu*) with which he is reported which he is reported to have slain innumerable Kshatriya warriors in 21 combats. In the *Markandeya Purana*, the goddess herself says: "I shall support the whole world with the life-sustaining vegetables that shall grow out of my own body. I shall gain fame on the earth as *Sakambhari*-herb bearing." The same Purana tells us that the goddess nourished the drought-affected people with vegetation produced from her body. This recalls to the mind the representation of the Harappan sealing from Mohenjodaro showing a female in an upside-

down posture with legs apart and a plant issuing from her womb. The excavator identified the goddess as Mother Earth but she can better be taken as the proto-type of *Sakambhari*. *The spread of the cult of Yellamma is linked with Aryan Colonisation of South India*. *Sukthankar's theory of the Bruguisation of the Original Bharata and the light it throws on the Dravidian Problem* is worth discussing in the present context. According to Sukthankar, Brugus or Bhargavas formed one of the mighty races in South India. They are represented as Bhargavas in the Mahabharata and they are irascible sages, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful, owing to their occult powers, they were described as Gods walking on the earth. Bhrugu Maharshi, the eponymous ancestor of the Bhargavas, was one of the Prajapathis, and is represented as having sprung from Brahma's heart. Unlike the Artris who were spreading the Aryan cult, the Bhrugus were considered as Reformist Aryans. The Activities of Atri towards spreading the Aryan cult is evident from vedic literature. The Asuras opposed the imperialistic tendency of conquest of the Aryans and found Bhrugus as their friends, who possessed Reformist tendencies and who were always ready to side with them. The Bhrugus also wanted to maintain their supremacy amongst the Aryans on the one hand and at the same time they wanted to mix with the indigenous races of India, either by means of fusion of races or by imbibing their customs and manners. In an attempt to over shadow the deeds of Bhrugu, his name was not included in the list of the seven sages and Manu's name was foisted in the place of Original Bhrugu in the case of Bhrugu samhita. Sukthankar tried to give a direct clue for the rejuvenation of Dravidian Civilisation in ancient India. He states that Parasurama is still worshipped in the Elnad or the province of the Saptadravida Konkans of the Puranas for example: the western parts of South India by the Heggades, Nambudris, Konkansasthas etc. *Renuka* or the Dravidian Deity *Yellamma* is still worshipped by thousands of people in the province. The important event of the legend as it occurs in the Mahabharata (111.116, XII.49.27 60, cf. also XIII.153) and in the Puranas: Harivamsa (1.33), Vayu (Adhy.94), Matsya (Adhya 43), Vishnu (IV.11.9 20), Bhagavata (IX.15, 16), Markandeya (Adhya.17), Brahmanda (111.26-47,) and Vishnudharmottara (I.Adhy.25-7 ff): is

about the Renuka and Jamadagni. The conflict of Parasurama with the Haihaya king Kartyavirarjuna is evident from the Puranic sources. The New Catalogus Catalogorum of Professor Raghavan enumerates almost 100 manuscripts on the worship of Kartavilya which are found mostly in the royal libraries of the Hindu Rajas. The states in which the manuscripts are still available are: Udaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Bikaner, Bharatpur, and Alwar of Rajasthan, and further in Mysore. Of the book *Kartavilyavidhiratna* we have the knowledge that it was written by one Sivananda Goswami, a Brahmin, for the use of Anup Singh (1674-1709), the then Raja of Bikaner.⁶

Sage Jamadagni's marriage with Renuka, the daughter of king Renu also give clue in regard to the origin of the Kshatriyas, who in the opinion of A.P. Karmarkar, were the direct recruits from the mighty Dravidian races. In the Maheswara Khanda of Skanda purana, Sukra and Parasurama were mentioned as the worshippers of Mahadeva, the original god of the Minas.

Enthoven states that *Yellamma* is the universal goddess and is a pre-Aryan Dravidian goddess. In Maharashtra, Goddess *Yellamma* and *Khandoba* are worshipped for begetting children. The child born is dedicated to the deity. When the boy comes of age, he will be allowed to get married. But a girl named as *Jogatin* is dedicated to the deity and is not allowed to get married. A male child offered to the goddess *Yellamma* or to *Mayaka* is called *Jogati*, and a female, *jogatin*.⁷

Yellamma temples in Kurnool district are endowed with inscriptions dating between the 12th and 15th centuries. *Yellamma* is also considered as the protector of places within boundaries. In Kurnool district, in the village of *Karimaddala*, an inscription is found on a stone near the *Yellamma* pagoda.⁸ It records that Nandyala Timmarajayya gave one turn and nine mutts of land to the Goddess in S. 1490 in the reign of Sadasivaraya. In the local *Yellamma* temple, a grant in S. 1485 (A.D. 1563) was given to the temple. At *Ganapuram*, lying 11 miles northeast of Nandikotkur, at the shrine of the village goddess *Yellamma* is an inscription dated 9.9. 1207 (A.D. 1285), of which only the date can be made out.⁹ There is a ruined temple here,

deserted. At Manchala, -20 miles north of Adoni, there is an old temple of Mantrala *Yellamma* having sthalapuranas both in Sanskrit and Kannada.¹⁰

In many places, the goddess is at once maid and mother, in the spring, she renews her virginity, only to lose it again when she performs a ritual marriage at the sowing or harvest festival. In India, the personification of mother and virgin is based on the periodical renewal and loss of virginity after a ritual marriage. At any rate, the cult of the Virgins side by side with that of the Mothers is not uncommon. In southern India, seven Virgins are worshipped. It is believed that the Mother gets exhausted by her labors and she needs periodical rest to renew her strengths. Hence two traditions have emerged to enhance her strengths viz. sacred marriage with a male deity and blood sacrifice.¹¹

In India, many of the mother goddesses have been absorbed into Hindu pantheon by considering them as the consorts of the prevailing male deity and this is done through a ritualistic marriage. The Brahmanical craze for uniformity usually leads them to class the divine pair as a wife and her consort. Among the Dravidians, are less exposed to Brahman influence, we have many cases of the sacred marriage. The Malayali tribe marry their god Sevarayan to the goddess who is the presiding deity of the Kaveri river during the annual festival. In many parts of south India, Poturazu is at once husband, brother. When these aboriginal cults are taken over by the Brahmans, the rite of the sacred marriage becomes rapidly developed. Mr. F. J. Richards, who has made a special study of Dravidian religious beliefs, states that most cases of the sacred marriage in Southern India are due to Brahman influence denoting the Aryan colonization of South India¹².

Goddess *Yellamma* is also known as *Maata Mahuramma*, *Akkili Devi*, *Renuka Devi*, *Eka Veera* etc. In the historical work of *Kreedabhiramam*, there are references to *Renuka*, *Mahuramma* and *Eka Veera*.¹³ The performing caste of Baidla, sing the stories of *Yellamma* and her son *Parasurama* by playing the musical instrument known as *Jamidika*. Another major cultural center of *Yellamma* is located at Mahur, a village in the border region of Maharashtra. Here *Yellamma* is a nude Goddess. This suggests that the regional version

of the myth carries the Jain ideological universe within it. Although a tale or plot might be almost identical from one version to the next, different texts emphasize different scenes and characters. It is perhaps due to the fact that Jaina ideology has used the epic tradition and the Sanskrit religion to promulgate its own views. Hence the popular characters such as *Renuka* were made to fit the Jaina religious fold.

In the Chandra gutti village of the district of Shimoga in Karnataka state, the ritual of *Yellamma* is performed. The women devotees take bath in the River Varada near the temple of *Yellamma* and reach the temple by walking a distance of 2 km from the river with bare bodies. This act of the devotees makes the goddess shower blessings on them. It is believed that those who condemn this barbarous tradition are punished by the deity. But this practice makes us understand that the women belonging to marginal communities are exploited for the sexual pleasures of other castes and it was made a tradition to worship the deity by the women devotees in nude.

Textual Tradition and Local Mythology in Constructing Folk Religion

Goddess *yellamma* shared the name or epithet with the Sanskrit deity *renuka*. There are various versions of the story of *yellamma* whose plot is identical with the story of *renuka*.

The myth of Renuka in Mahabharata

Renuka is famous as the wife of *Jamadagni* and the mother of *Parasurama*. The earliest references to *Renuka* occur in *Mahabharata* at two places. One is in *Anusasanaparva*, where the origin of sandals and umbrella and another is in *Vanaparva* where *Renuka's* death and her rejuvenation is explained. According to the second episode, *Jamadagni* had five sons named *Rumanvan*, *Susena*, *Vasu*, *Visvasu*, and *Parasurama*. When all these went outside, *Renuka* after getting the permission of *Jamadagni* went to bath in a river. While returning, she saw *Citraratha*, the king of *Martikavarta* sporting in the water along with his wife. This made her go into a mood for sport. She became pale and ashamed after seeing this. In this condition, she reached the hermitage. *Jamadagni* after noticing her and her situation knew what happened to her and came to the conclusion that she had done a sin. As the sons returned to the

hermitage, he ordered the sons one by one to kill *Renuka* by beheading her. The first four disobeyed. When *Parasurama* was ordered, he obeyed it and beheaded his mother. *Jamadagni* was satisfied. Pleased with *Parasurama*, *Jamadagni* asked him to demand boons he desired. *Parasurama* asked six boons. 1) Mother should come back to life, 2) his brothers should be again made into human beings, 3) all should forget this incident happened, 4) he should be free from the sin of matricide, 5) no one should defeat him and 6) a long life. All this was granted by *Jamadagni*.

The same incident is narrated in various *Puranas* too like in *Brahmandapurana*, *Visnupurana*, *Skandapurana*, etc but with some slight variations. *Mariamman* is a goddess worshipped primarily in northern Tamilnadu. She is popular in Tamilnadu and Karnataka. The best known story about *Mariamman* is the tale of '*Renuka*', in which *Parasurama* kills his mother *Renuka*. The exact story is linked to the goddess *Yellamma*, to whom a large temple was dedicated to *Saundatti* and *Chandragutti* in Karnataka.

In the corpus of Hindu myths, a man splits a high caste woman against her will, dividing her into a head and a body, each endowed with life, which may then join with the supplementary parts of her "shadow" "double" to form two other women (or goddesses), each consisting of two vividly contrasting halves. This story was retold in many versions in India, has a great deal to teach us about the dichotomising of women and of goddesses. It juggles the different aspects of a human woman in two levels: on the literal level, there is an interaction between a goddess and a woman, on the symbolic level, an implicit parallelism and contrast between the structure of a goddess and the structure of a woman. The myth tells us first about the split between aspects of a goddess and then about the correlated split between classes of human society and finally about the split between aspects of a human woman. The split or union of a woman, dark and light, low and high caste, are recruited in a totally integrated form each with half of the other. This recruiting motif appears to mean that there was an assimilation of non-Aryans by the various sections of the Aryan society. In a passage of *Rigveda*, *Vasistha* who replaced *Visvamitra*, as the chief priest of *Sudas* and later came to be

treated as the founder of a major *Brahmana gotra*, is said to have been born of the seed of two Vedic gods, *Mitra* and *Varuna*; and his mother is not mentioned. But in the one and the same account, he is said to have been "born of the mind of *Urvashi*", born also of a jar which received the combined semen of two gods and discovered 'clad in the lightning' in a *Pushkara*. Modern racists may painlessly swallow the garbled version of the birth of the sages, which was evidently invented to gloss over the non-Aryan origin.

Similarly, the process of assimilation of the pre-Aryan or Non-Aryan commoners into the Aryan fold was the basis for the myth of *Yellamma*. The Aryans laid stress on purity of blood and feared that their assimilation with dark-skinned local inhabitants would lead to the loss of their local identity, though the blood has already flowed in their veins. The myth of *Yellamma* in which a Brahmin woman and a sudra or dalit woman are rejuvenated with their heads exchanged, signifies the assimilation which was welcomed by the lower castes thus legitimising their social position in the hierarchical society.

From the story mentioned above and myth narrated in many Puranas, it is clear that *Renuka* was just considered as a woman who became entirely submissive to her husband and as the mother of *Parasurama*. But now *Renuka* is worshipped as goddesses in many places especially in and around the part of Maharashtra, Andhra, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu. The reason behind this is clearly mentioned in the myth. The epic of *Yellamma* is sung by *Asadi*, a subsect of *Madiga* caste in the *Rayalaseema* region and some parts of Northern and eastern Karnataka and by *Bavaneelu* in Telangana region. The story of *Yellamma* Thalli is sung in different contexts such as during agricultural operations and also during different social and religious ceremonies. In the agricultural fields, village women transcend the boundaries of caste, family, and social and mental restrictions. They narrate the pathetic situation in which *Yellamma* was suspected and slain by her son. This mental text is transmitted by adding color in the form of female aspirations. The female consciousness inherent in the genre and the participation of women in performance is very important in understanding the overall cultural setup. The

high caste head of *Renuka* is attached to the rim of a basket or a pot and worshipped in Rural Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The Pot and the Basket, like the low caste woman, accepts everything that is placed in it. It represents the Earth that accepts any seed. Such belief inspired the custom of making prostitutes out of the priestesses of *Renuka-Yellamma*. These priestesses belonging to low caste communities, are forbidden to marry or settle down, and are trained from childhood to accept the carnal attention of any man and survive on offerings given to the Goddess.

Mariamman is a Goddess worshipped in Tamilnadu and Karnataka. The best known story about '*Mariamman*' is the tale of *Renuka* in which *Parasurama* kills his mother *Renuka*. *Mariamman* is worshipped in Northern Tamilnadu whose story is identical to *Renuka*'s. *Mariamman* is worshipped in different parts of south India as *Yellamma*, *Ekaveera*, *Yamai*, etc. The manifestation of the mother goddess in various forms indicates that *Renuka* is more popular in ancient civilizations as the aboriginal races like Dalits still worship the goddess. *Yellamma* or *Renuka* is a pre-Aryan mother goddess. The story of *Renuka-Yellamma* can be found in Sanskrit texts, in the *Mahabharata*, the *Vishnudhramottara Purana*, the *Bhagavatpurana* and in *Renuka mahatmya*. In the first three texts, the tale of *Renuka* is a part of a larger story whose main character is *Parashurama* rather than *Renuka*. The *Parasurama* legends fall outside the scope of the study. In the *Renukamahatmya*, that constitutes a part of *Skanda Purana*, *Renuka* is the main character and she is identified with *Parvati*.

R.C.Dhare states that *Renuka* or *Yellamma* is one of the *Akkagarlu* popularly known as *Saptamatrikas*, worshipped as a village goddess in South India. She is the mother of Earth and symbolized as an ant-hill. A thorny shrub (*Naga phani*) and Sceptre(*Rajadanda*) are worshipped in the *Yellamma* cult as her guards.¹⁴ The ant-hill is composed of small and tiny particles of earth and so she is named as *Renuka*. In the process of Aryan colonization and Sanskritisation in South India, *Yellamma*, the goddess of Dravidian Pantheon is absorbed into Hindu Pantheon by linking her with the story of *Jamadagni*, and *Parasurama*. In the book "*Leela Charitra*" the biography of *Chakradhar Swami*, the guru of

the *Mahanubhava* sect, written in the late 13th century by his follower *Mhaimbhat*, it is mentioned that Dravidians worshipped *Renuka* with Meat and liquor.¹⁵ The form of worshipping *Yellamma*, the location of the temples, the Marginal castes association of *Yellamma*-Divine prostitution, etc. show that *Yellamma* must have been a pre-Aryan Goddess. She is worshipped in various forms such as *Yallamma*, *Ekaveera*, *Jogulamba*, *Yamai*, *Maremma*, *Guttamma* and *Vyaghreswari*. The main cult centers of *Yellamma* are *Saundatti* in Karnataka built in 13th century A.D, *Jogulamaba* temple of *Mahboob Nagar* district in Telangana, *Yamai* in *Satara* district of Maharashtra, *Vyaghreswari* otherwise known as *Parasurama maatha* near *Hospet*, in *Tungabhadra* region of Karnataka, and *Guttamma* i.e local form of *Yellamma* in *Chandra Gutti* in *Shimoga* district of Karnataka.¹⁶ This shows that this is a cultural zone where the cult is highly prevalent. Many nude female stone sculptures or images are found in different places in central and southern India. All these images are headless. Thus, the headlessness of these figurines at *Siddhanikote*, *Ter* and *Mahurjari* in Maharashtra, *Alampuram* and *Nagarjuna Konda* in Andhra Pradesh and *Bhita* in Uttar Pradesh are significant to contextualize the myth of *Renuka Yellamma* who was beheaded by her son *Parasurama* at the behest of his father *Jamadagni*.¹⁷ The antiquity of the headless goddess goes back to the pre-Aryan and pre-historic period. As *Whitehead* states, "the story describes the fusion of the Aryan and Dravidian cults in the days when Aryans first found their way into South India".¹⁸

Jogulamba is another name for Goddess *Renuka* worshipped by *Madiga* community in Andhra Pradesh. The system of *Devadasi* i.e Divine prostitution was institutionalized during Western Chalukyas in 10-11th centuries A.D. '*Shukasapthati*', the telugu work written during the Vijayanagara period describes the *Jogaralu*, the female worshipper of *Jogulamba*, belonging to *Madiga* caste used to beg alms in the name of Goddess *Jogulamba*.¹⁹

The origin and growth of the tantric cult are still obscure. However, this cult gained popularity during the 10th century A.D. *Matsyendranatha*, the author of *Kalagnananirnaya*, the earliest treatise of Tantric school, is said to be its founder.²⁰ Though he was placed in the 10th

century, scholars have opined that he lived a century earlier. This is due to the fact that the famous *Bherghat* temple of 64 *yoginis* with sculptures has been assigned to the early 10th century. One of the sculptures of a deity bears the name *Gahani* who according to the Marathi work *Jnaneswari*, is a grand disciple of *Matsyendranatha*. *Somadeva's Yasatilaka* composed in 959 A.D supports the fact that the tantric cult prior to the 10th century.²¹ This cult appears to have spread in many parts of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. This is largely attested by Epigraphical evidences and temple sculptures. The *Ankalgi* inscription dated 1179 A.D refers to the village *Ankulage* as the abode of *Mahayogeswari Ugrachamunde*, the presiding deity of the 64 *Yogapithas*. In the *Halagondi* inscription dated A.D 1093, *Mahasamanta Chamundarasa*, a subordinate of the Western Chalukyan King *VikramadityaVI*, is referred to as "one who had obtained the gracious boon of the 64 *Yoginis*". The expression "64 *yogapithas* " is frequently mentioned in the *prasasti* of the great mercantile corporation *Ayyavale 500* figuring in the inscriptions of Karnataka. Numerous inscriptions are found in the cultural zone of Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra referring to the tantric tradition and their growth and popularity of the Tantric cult and its worship. *Ambe Jogai* in the *Usmanabad* district of Telangana was a stronghold of the tantric school in the period 11th-13th century A.D. This is revealed from a scrutiny of the antiquities of the locality including inscriptions of which contains references to the shrine dedicated to the deity *Yogeswari*. *Ankalgi* and *Ambe Jogi* as important tantric cult centers are not shown in the list of *Sakthi pithas*. As mentioned in *Kalagnananirnaya*, *Karavira* or *Kolhapur*, reigned by *Kolhapuramma*, is another yoga pitha known as an ancient and important seat of Tantric devotion.

In the list of 18 *Sakthi pithas*, ascribed to the authorship of *Sankaracharya*, contains a reference to the deity *Yugala* of *Alampur*. *Yugala* is identified with *Jogulamba* of local fame, who is said to be the consort of the god *Bala Brahmeswara*. *Alampur* also does not occur in the enumeration of *Sakthi Pithas* by any other source. *Alampur* is known as one of the *Yogapithas* that has a long history impacting on the culture of the region. The *Nava brahma*

temple has been a riddle and the location of the temple itself has a mystique antiquity. The names of the *Nava Brahmas* are not mentioned in any of the puranas. As stated by Sanjeev Rao, the Nava Brahmas viz. *Bala Brahma*, *Kumara Brahma*, *Arka Brahma*, *Veera Brahma*, *Garuda Brahma*, *Viswa Brahma*, *Swarga Brahma*, *Taraka Brahma*, and *Padma Brahma* have no parallels any where in India. These *Nava Brahmas* are not found in the Puranas. The *Rasa Linga* at *Balabrahmeswara* temple, the *Sakti peetha* of *Jogulamba*, the presiding deity of the place. The earlier part of the history could be gathered from the *Sthala purana* as contained in *Skanda purana* and the references made to the place in the literary work-Panditharadhya Charitra of *Palkuriki Somanatha* and in *Rasatantra* works such as *Rasa Ratnakaram* and *Ananda Kandam*.

The *Rasatantra* texts state that *Rasa Vidya* has its origin in Saiva cult. Mercury is considered to be the very semen of Shiva. This thought is reiterated in *Rasa Shastra* literature as a part of tantrica Philosophy and in literary works like *Kumara Sambhava*. The worship of Phallu, Linga and Yoni are tantric in character. According to this literature, sulphur is considered to be the menstrual blood of Parvathi. Some of the sculptures such as Lingodhbhava Murthy and Nagnakabandha are meant for tantric cult practices. According to Tantric tradition, the Rasa undergoes 18 Samskaras and during this period, continuous chanting of *Aghoramantra* is considered to bestow the requisite power to mercury. From such mercury, Rasalinga is made and placed on a pedestal in a Rasa Mandapa facing east in the eastern part of *Rasashala*. *Rasasadhakas* conceive this *Rasalingam* as Shiva having 18 arms, white complexioned, five faced, three-eyed, mounted on ghost and blue-throated.²² For the establishment of a *rasa shala*, the place must be proper with a beautiful garden with medicinal plants where *Eswara* and *Gouri* are worshipped and with laboratories having a sufficient number of doors and windows. The metallurgical operations should be carried on in seclusion. The Temple complex of *Jogulamba* is to be visualized in such ambiance. In the place surrounded by the waters of river Tungabhadra and the fertile soils with rich vegetation, the *Rasa Linga* was established on the eastern part facing east and the deity was known as *Bala Brahmeswara*. The word '*Bala*' is synonymous with '*Kumari*'; the other name for *Parvathi*. The

remaining eight temples may be the places for eight other metallurgical operations in *rasa shala*. It is said that *Nagnakabandha* or Sakhambari was used for *yonipuja* and *Jogulamba* was *Yogeswari* mentioned in scriptures and was subsequently called *Jogeswari* and *Jogulamba*.

In Karnataka and the bordering states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, two models of femininity exist among the out caste women in the names of *Mathamma* and *Jogini*. *Mathamma* and *Jogini* are the ritual identities where women were deified and are dedicated to the presiding male deity. The *Mathamma* is the priestess and is worshipped as the clan goddess of the '*Madigas*' she is fused with the 'spouse goddess' *Renuka* leading to the corrosion of her terrifying nature in other traditions. Hence it is inferred that *Jogulamaba* or *Yogulamba* is the pre-Aryan deity who is venerated by the outcastes and who has been transformed into *Yakshini* in the subsequent period.

Ziegenbalg's '*Genealogy of the South Indian deities*' contains interesting information about six goddesses, of whom an embodiment of *Śakti* similar to *Yellamma* is significant. Here the goddess illustrates the religious assimilation and social relationships of the people, who enact her legend. The greater traditions with vegetarian deities could not fully assimilate the ancient goddess *Yellamma* but, at the same time, they could not completely ignore her also.²³ *Yellamma* is portrayed as being closer to the helpful Pariahs than to the ruthless ritualists of the great traditions. Even the accusation of losing conjugal fidelity does not hinder the Pariahs from giving her protection because she has come to them for refuge. They rather chose to die with her than to deliver her to the executioner.²⁴ The legend of *Yellamma* illustrates the relationship between conjugal fidelity, ritualism, hospitality, and worship. While the legend of *Renuka Yellamma* links her with Vaishnavism, Ziegenbalg's Genealogy associates her with Saivism, adorned with *Damarukam*, *Shula*, and *Paasa* and with sacrificial rituals. Whenever the inhabitants desired a special favor from her, they celebrate a special festival in her honor involving the votive rite of hook swinging. Thus, she combines various elements of Saivism, Vaishnavism and popular religions of the villagers.

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GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Dr. G. Somasekhara

The first statutory enactment relating to municipal administration in India was the Charter Act of 1793, which established Municipal Corporations in the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. This Act empowered the Governor-General to appoint Justices of peace in the Presidency towns. They were empowered to provide for scavenging, watching and repairing of the streets and to levy a rate on houses and land to defray these expenses in the Presidency towns.¹ For urban areas, outside the Presidency towns, no legislation was attempted till the forties of the last century. The year 1850 is a land mark in the evolution of municipalities in India. It was in that year that first attempts were made by the Central Government to grant municipal status to the towns. The Act of 1850, determined the composition, powers and functions of Municipal Councils. It was consisted of the Magistrate and such number of commissioners as was necessary. It would be autonomous and the

Government would exercise limited control over it. It permitted the levy of taxes, but it was left to the people themselves to decide.² In Madras Presidency, there existed at this time a number of voluntary associations in some of the more important towns such as Vizagapatam (Visakhapatnam), Bhimunipatnam and Guntur which raised subscriptions for improvements in conservancy and sanitation. The Government gave them a grant-in-aid equal to the sum raised by subscriptions. The Government was convinced that as long as the introduction of the Act of 1850 depended upon the general consent of the people, all attempts for its implementation would meet with failure.

The continued existence of official control at all stages and in all matters was a significant characteristic of this period. The Municipal Council consisted of the Magistrate and such number of Commissioners (now called Councilors) as was appointed by the Government. The commissioners, however, had

full power to make necessary contracts. Out of the amount realized from taxes necessary works could be undertaken and part of the amount be utilized to pay the officers and servants. The Governor or Governor-in-council was empowered to suspend the operation of the Act and the Government also had the power of enquiry into the behavior of the Commissioners.

The immediate stimulus to the development of local institutions in the 1860s arose out of the post-mutiny financial embarrassment of the Indian Government.³ By the direction issued by Lord Lawrance's Government in August 1864 all towns had to bear the new burden of raising the cost of town police reserves by themselves, and were permitted to run municipal institutions. This redirection was more effective in stimulating municipal activities than the earlier actions of the Government of India.

This stage of development reflected characteristics peculiar to the period. In the first place, statutory status was granted to the municipalities. Four years after passing the Resolution, legislation was enacted for almost every major province and in Madras, the Act of 1865 was the result of such legislation. Under the Act of 1865 the Municipal Council consisted of the Magistrate, the (public works department) officer and five other inhabitants of the town appointed by the Governor-in-council. Although the term of the council was one year, the Commissioners could be removed from office by the Governor-in-council.

The District Magistrate was the ex-officio President of the Council, and he was further empowered to nominate, from among the Commissioners, a vice-president. The power of appointing the staff needed for the execution of municipal functions was also vested in the President. The Act made a departure from the Act of 1850, in so far as an element of compulsion was introduced in the levy of taxes. The Commissioners were empowered to impose additional taxes with prior sanctions of the Government for other municipal purposes, such as lighting the town, preventing and extinctions of fire and supply of water, in addition to those required for police functions. The Act also provided for the payment of a grant of twenty five percent of municipal expenditure to the Municipal

Councils to provide help to them to maintain the police and carry on a conservancy functions.

The Act, implemented in 1866, was gradually extended to more important towns and in 1869-70 was successful in forty four cases.⁴ The general attitude on the part of the people had been one of indifference. Soon it was felt necessary to introduce certain changes into the Act of 1865. It was found that the optional provision for raising money for purposes like lighting, sanitary inspection, vaccination and medical relief, was practically inoperative and therefore such services were totally neglected. Moreover it seemed necessary to include education as an essential service to be undertaken by Municipalities. It was to meet these needs that an Act was passed in 1871, which, besides introducing other changes, relieved them of the charge of the Town Police so that funds might be available for municipal services.

Mayo's Resolution and the Act of 1871:

The idea of local taxation as a means of relief to the Central Government reached its culmination in the Government of India Resolution of 1870 (popularly known as Mayo's decentralization scheme). The scheme was basically regarded as being advantageous to the imperial Budget of British India. The proposed remedy was to endow the Provinces with share of revenues, and to make them responsible for education, roads and medical services. In pursuance of this policy, Municipal Acts were passed in many provinces which introduced election system in local bodies for the first time. It was however the scheme of financial decentralization introduced by Lord Mayo's resolution of 1870 that led to the first great step in local-self government not only in urban but also in rural areas.⁵ His resolution had no doubt given an impetus to local self-government but the extension of elective system and devolution was only an administration policy and lacked that ideology which is the life blood of Ripon's resolution of 1882. In Madras Presidency the new Towns improvement Act was passed in 1871. Under the Act of 1871 the composition of the Council was dominated by the official element. Under the Act there was no provision for the continuance of the twenty five per cent grant-in-aid which, under the Act of 1865, the Government made to municipalities. It meant

relief to imperial finances. In pursuance of this policy, the municipalities were empowered to impose the following taxes and fees; rate on houses, buildings, the tax on carts, professions, trades and callings, tax on carriages and animals and fees for the use of markets and slaughterhouses. This Act made an important departure from the Act of 1865, in stipulating that education, roads and medical services would be a charge on local and municipal funds.⁶

The principle of election was first contemplated in 1871. The Legislative Council of Madras, composed entirely of Government nominees at first, was reluctant to recommend the adoption of election. But by 1874, they changed their attitude and accepted the experimental adoption of election in suitable towns. Before 1864 the office of the Vice-President was of considerable importance because many duties of Collector, President were performed by him. Only a few councils availed themselves of the right of electing Vice-President though it was permitted by the Act 1871. However, up to 1884 the Collector – President played a dominant role in conducting the entire activity of the municipality. Practically the Collector or Revenue Divisional Officer, whoever presided, carried the Council with him. This arrangement where the District Collector continued as ex-officio President was far from satisfactory. In the first instance, with heavy work-load the Collector could not pay sufficient attention to municipal administration. Secondly, the Collectors were invariably Englishmen. Even when he was an Indian, there was little contact with the masses. They were hardly accessible. The so-called local self-government of the early period was a huge farce.

Ripon – Father of Local Self-Government in India:

An important step in the progress of the local self-government was taken by Lord Ripon, the then Governor-General of India. On account of his reforms in this field he has been rightly called “the Father of Local Self Government”. Such was his enthusiasm that he even threatened the Secretary of state with resignation if his proposals were not treated sympathetically. With him it was not the administrative convenience, but the desire to make these local institutions “an instrument of political and

popular education” that led to the extension of local self-government in India.⁷

Ripon’s Resolution and the Act of 1884:

Ripon’s Resolution of 1882 resulted in the enactment of Municipal Acts by the various Provincial Legislatures all over the country. In 1882, the Government of Madras appointed a Local Self-Government Committee of the officials and non-officials to examine the condition of local self-government in provinces and to suggest methods for effecting reforms. The committee suggested that without disassociating the Collector altogether from the municipality, the executive powers of the Vice-President be increased and an extension of elective system in the choice of commissioners and Vice-Presidents be made.⁸ The recommendations of the committee were given effect to in the subsequent enactments. The Government of Madras enacted the District Municipalities Act of 1884, keeping in view the above recommendations in the broad context of Lord Ripon’s Resolution. An advance was made over the existing position because the Act of 1884 permitted the election of three fourths of Municipal Councilors by the rate-payer, and minimum number of members of each Municipal Council was fixed at twelve. The number of ex-officio members was reduced to one and that was the revenue Divisional officer. However the Governor-in-Council could permit the election of chairman. The office of the President of the Council, which under the previous Act, was always held by the District Collector, ceased to exist and the executive authority now vested with a single person styled the Chairman.⁹

The Chairman did enjoy some authority under the Act because he was conferred with necessary powers, such as presiding over the meetings, ordering all payments to be made, the powers of appointment, the power of punishing and dismissing employees and preparing a list of persons liable to pay several taxes. Moreover, it was very clearly stated that the Chairman was responsible for carrying out the resolutions of the Council. The Municipal Council enjoyed the power of fixing the scales of pay of municipal employees. The Council was authorized to levy taxes permitted under the Act. Further, the Council was also empowered to exempt any person, wholly or partly, from any tax liability.

The funds raised by the Municipality could be legally utilized for such purposes, as the construction of hospitals and dispensaries, markets, drains, water works, diffusion and other works of public utility. During the major part of the period under review, the proportion of the elected members was always less than fifty percent but in 1918-19 it reached nearly fifty six percent and in 1919-20, it was nearly sixty two percent.

Although election was introduced, towns were not divided into wards and the entire town was treated as one electoral unit until 1884. This election at large ended with the Act of 1884 which authorized the municipalities to organize elections on the basis of wards. Previously, there was no hard and fast rule regarding number of meetings to be held each year. The Act of 1884 for the first time, laid down that each Municipal Council should meet at least twelve times a year.¹⁰ The Madras Government was not very much influenced by Ripon's resolution. This is evident from a number of factors. Prominent among these are: First, the system of electing the Chairman was not in force in all the municipalities. Secondly the elected members did not evince much interest in municipal affairs as evident from the number of adjourned meetings. The commencement of the year 1919 marked the beginning of new development in Municipal administration in Madras State. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on decentralisation were incorporated in the Municipalities Bill 1919 prepared by the Government of Madras which became the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920.

Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920:

The Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920 brought about remarkable changes in the pattern of municipal administration and it provided not only for a larger portion of elected members but also for an increase in powers and resources of the municipalities. Under this Act, the strength of the municipality was to be fixed, on the basis of the population of a municipality, subject to a minimum of 16 and a maximum of 36, and not less than three-fourths of the members of the municipal Council were to be elected. It also provided for adequate representation of minority communities on the Council by means of nomination. Every rate-payer was given a vote and he was made eligible

for election to the Council. Women could also vote at Municipal elections but were not eligible to contest election as candidates. They could, however, serve on special committees of the Council. The rest of the members were appointed by the Government. The Revenue Divisional Officer was no longer an ex-officio member of the Council. The Councils were empowered to elect their own Chairman and frame their own budgets and the external control by the Government was reduced to the minimum.

The property tax livable on buildings and land was to comprise a tax for general purpose, and it could include water and drainage tax, lighting tax and railway tax. The rate of the tax was to be fixed by each Council independently. Other sources of municipal income were to be profession tax, and in some cases pilgrim tax. In hill stations in addition to the above mentioned taxes, tax on private menials and domestic servants could be levied. Unless a Municipal Council was indebted, it was to have a free hand to levy taxes and collect them.

Though the Act contained several democratically progressive provisions, its operation in practice, did not yield the desired results. This may primarily be attributed to the improper role of the Council or the misuse of power by the Chairman, in whom all the executive authority was concentrated. When the situation went out of control the Government had to resort to either the supersession of the Councils or the removal of Chairmen from their offices.

Finally the working of the Act exposed the evil effects of the excesses of democracy at work. As the Law Commission noted "Party politics became rampant efficiency was sacrificed for personal or for communal interest, parties were not based on political leanings but founded on individual and caste feelings. The persons who had the seal to promote public good were ousted by personal interest. Arrears of tax began to accumulate, revisions of taxes became frequent, assessments were unsatisfactory, collections were poor and supervision became lax".¹² The Simon Commission which was appointed in 1927, by the British Parliament to review the working of Dyarchy in the Provinces examined thoroughly the progress made by local self-government in the provinces. It pointed out

several obstacles to the progress of local government, rural and urban in India.

Amendment Act of 1930:

The constitution of the urban local bodies has been made completely democratic in the Madras Presidency by the Amending Act of 1930. It provided for the election of all municipal councilors dispensing with nomination. It granted for the reservation of seats for women and minority communities such as Muslims, Indian Christians, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It made the offices of the Chairmen and the Vice-Chairmen elective and brought about the provincialisation of municipal administration.

Amendment Act of 1933:

In 1933, by amending the Act of 1920, the office of the commissioner was introduced for the first time. From 1933 the centre of gravity of municipal administration shifted from the political chief executive to the government appointed commissioner. The Government and the people looked to the office of commissioner for sound administration which the Chairman failed to maintain consequent on the amendment of the Act of 1920, a few changes of far-reaching significance resulted. In the first instance, instead of the executive authority being vested in a single person, i.e., the Chairman, it was shared by two other authorities, namely the Council and the Commissioner.

The Commissioner held office for a period of three years and was removable from Government if a resolution was passed to that effect by two thirds strength of the Council.¹⁵ He was empowered to attend the meetings of the Municipal Council or any committee of the Council and was permitted to take part in the discussions but was not entitled to vote. He was under an obligation to attend any meeting of the Council or of any committee, if required to do so by the Chairman. The Commissioner emerged as the head of municipal administration. He was made responsible for implementing the resolution of the Council, for submitting

periodical reports to the Council regarding the progress made in implementing the resolution and for the due fulfillment of the provisions of the Act.

Finally, in the case of municipalities mentioned under schedule IX, the Chairman was given full access to all the records of the Municipal Council, and all official correspondence between the Council and government conducted only through the Chairman but the Chairman was bound to transmit communications addressed through him by the Commissioner to the Government and vice versa. The Government of India Act of 1935 introduced provincial autonomy. Naturally local self-government received further encouragement and a number of changes were affected in the organization of local bodies in India.

Conclusion

Municipal government is a territorially restricted political institution having a population for whose exclusive welfare it is intended and instituted. It exclusively concerns itself with the services and amenities which are enjoyed by the inhabitants of its own area. Municipal Government is non-sovereign because it is a creature of the state or central legislature as the case may be. As such, it has no inherent powers of its own except those granted by a superior government. Thus, its powers are derivative not original. Municipal Government is self-government because it is the government of the people of the locality represented by the locality for their own common welfare. It is a democratic government on the spot. Municipal Government is an autonomous body enjoying freedom of action in matters of internal administration though subject to the overall control of the state or central government. Municipal Government is based on the philosophy that it is a government of the locality and as such it shall be supported financially by the people of the locality. Municipal Government is said to be the foundation stone over which can be built a strong and stable edifice of national democracy.

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REVISITING THE STORY OF SACRED GROVES AND FORESTS BY TRACING THE VEDIC LOVE FOR NATURE

Sonal V Manoj

INTRODUCTION

Taking a step back and looking at the thoughts and belief systems of humans one would find its earliest base in an element of fear and fertility, where it was both a factor of amusement and wonder. As Comte put in his Positivism¹, the first stage of knowledge-theological or fictitious, consists of human beings relying on supernatural agencies to explain what they can't explain otherwise. In that sense the two main things that were beyond their capabilities to understand were those that caused them fright and the aspect of fertility which soon became objects of worship. While the worship of fire, sky, sun and so on demonstrates the origin of faith from fear, instances of mother goddesses and Venus figurines provides evidence of worshipping fertility and both remained fictitious to the early man. It is to be noted at this juncture that there is a further base for this element of fear and fertility and that was the idea of 'me and mine'. Take for instance, it is true that they worshipped fire out of fear, but we must also look at the reason behind that fright. That was simply because fire can cause destruction harming his or her life. So the origin of worship can be traced in this idea of 'me and mine' or to protect my wants. Monier Williams writes 'every worshipper praised the gods because he liked to be praised himself. He honoured them with offerings because he liked to receive presents himself. He pretended to feed them because he required food himself. This appears to have been the simple origin of the sacrificial system'.

This belief system developed out of fear and fertility traversing slowly came out of these constitutional factors and found its existence on

their own, meaning to say worship moved out of necessity finding its existence in divinity and this sort of transformation in the manners of worship was a Vedic gift during the period after the Harappan's (as with Vedas it emerged sacred) where all of nature attained varying degrees of veneration.

VEDIC NATURE CULTURE

Vedic nature culture was first exposed through the earliest literary work, Rig Veda and they can be treated as being historically fairly authentic since their composition was contemporary with the period described². However it was when Veda that for long transmitted as 'shruthi' evolved as 'smriti', that it got glossed with a veneer of sanctity, becoming 'apaurasheya' and so did everything inside as a corollary. So when the Veda was put in writing, they emerged simply divine in their origin³ thereby attaching authenticity to everything mentioned in it and eternity to those practices which were to be carried on for posterity to cherish.

Vedic nature culture is the inextricable intimacy held by the Vedic people with the nature evident from the Rig Vedic hymns. Nature (Prakriti) means 'making or placing before or at first, the original or natural form or condition of anything original or primary substance'⁴ and the Samkhya school of thought mentions the three innate qualities of nature- Rajas (creative activity), Sattva (calmness of preservation) and Tamas (destruction). Vedic people found this three qualities in all elements of nature and began worshipping them, expounded in the anthropomorphic representation of various

forces of nature in Rig Veda. For instance, the asura, Vridra or Ahi is considered the personification of drought, who restrain the clouds from showering rain and block rivers. With the assistance of Vishnu the sun god, Indra the god of rain and thunder succeeds in killing Vridra and liberates all imprisoned rivers. In a similar way there are legends about other nature gods as well. Agni the god of fire is called 'son of waters' and water is personified, deified and honoured as goddesses celebrating their purifying and healing power. They cleanse their worshippers from sin and untruthfulness and they gave birth to fire (the idea arose from the apparent production of lightening from rain clouds). The rivers Sarasvati, Sindhu and the latter's tributaries (Shutudri, Parushni, Ashkini, Vitasta, Vipasa) were all thus regarded sacred. Vedic nature culture can be identified at its fullest by looking at Soma, a creeper dark in colour, sour, leafless, milky and fleshy⁵ on the surface from which was made the intoxicating juice that was considered most reverend.

A second phase of the Nature culture begins with the later Vedic period. If it was the nature in its purest form that had been worshipped in the early period, later period witnessed the emergence of new deities who retained their connection to nature in implied manners. When Indra, Agni, Ushas and so on gave way to Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra the innate qualities in nature were shared among them, being the creator, preserver and destroyer respectively. The analogy of Brahman as a tree with its roots above and its branches below (branches being earth, water, air, fire, space) in Maitrayani Upanishad is again an indication of the Vedic love to associate everything divine to nature. As Nanditha Krishna⁶ relates these five branches to the human body, this is likened to be the five senses: space is sound, air is touch, fire is colour, water is taste and earth is smell. She thus concludes nature as an indivisible part of the existence of all beings, exposing a triangular relationship between god, humans and nature.

Culture involves ideas, customs and social behaviour of a society. The nature centric belief system and the customs in association with it was pivotal in shaping the social behaviour of the Vedic society and there lies the prodigy of Vedic nature culture.

ROLE OF SACRED GROVES AND FORESTS IN NATURE CULTURE

Keeping aside all the implied meanings through which one could relate the present day practices to nature, sacred groves and forests might appear to be the most naked instances of tradition inherited from the Vedic nature culture. While it is an attempt to establish a relationship with nature that we see in all the other aspects of nature culture, it is a well established relationship that one would find in case of sacred groves and forests.

The term 'Aranya' is used in Vedas to denote forest and the Rig Vedic hymn dedicated to Aranyani, the goddess of forest extrapolate the relevance and eternity attributed to it. The poet looks upon the wander of Aranyani from civilization to civilization without fear with wonder. To quote Rigveda to show the magnificent representation of Aranyani, it says 'when the chichchika (bird) replies to the crying grasshopper, Aranyani is exalted, resonant, as with cymbals' (Rig Veda, X.146.2). Further the tree was considered the lord of forest, Vanaspati who is evoked to taste the ritual offering and take it to the gods. The hymn says, 'may vanaspati never desert us nor do us harm' (Rig Veda, 111 53.20). There are three categories of forests found in Vedas- Tapovana, Mahavana and Shreevana. Tapovana was related with Tapas or meditation where the sages lived and the kings and people came there seeking their assistance. Mahavana or the great forest was open to the entire flora and fauna. Shreevana or the forest of prosperity was from where the people collected the forest products for their needs.

Though one could differentiate between sacred groves and forests, the terms are often used interchangeably by scholars.⁷ This is more or less correct because when reading it with the Vedic nature culture, they revered the sanctity of entire forest and the concept of groves emerging sacred within forests was in a sense the result of impediment caused to the concept of sacred forests as they began to serve humans in their various needs vividly in the later periods. In simple words, Tapovanas in forests retained their spiritual character and evolved as sacred groves while Mahavanas and Shreevana were made open to worldly needs.

So it is true to some extent that sacred forests gave way to sacred groves in course of time, with a strong base inherited from the Vedas and as per their belief all trees and plants are conscious and sentient beings who are able to hear, move, see and feel with distinct personalities. These trees become holy from their association with gods and Asvattha or Pipal is considered the most noteworthy. It is occupied by the essence of the god Brahma and is sometimes invested with the sacred thread with all the ceremonies of investiture (upanayana) being performed over it. Other trees of importance in later periods were Bilva (Bael) whose leaf is of a triple form, Vata (Banyan) with powers of immortality and so on. While the above mentioned trees were considered holy with their medicinal values obtained in their relation to god, there were some plants which was not merely abode of divinity, but itself a god like the Soma plant and Tulasi (identified as a metamorphosis of Sita, wife of Vishnu's incarnation).⁸

Although trees are said to have the spirit of gods, they were also liable to be occupied by demons as per their belief. A mound or sacred edifice makes holy the tree upon it and in every village one auspicious tree began to be revered that way. An unholy tree for instance was Vibhitaka as Kali (demon) leaving Nala entered it.⁹ This way the early humans found the existence of a god supreme in trees and plants and worshipped them as a mark of gratitude for abundance that nature provided them.

NATURE CULTURE TODAY

As already mentioned though the elements of nature culture are visible in present day world through the implied meanings of concepts and practices, there won't be anything like sacred groves and forests which are simply the blind perpetuation of nature culture cherished to date.

An estimate between 1,00,000 and 1,50,000 is made regarding the number of sacred groves existing in India.¹⁰ There are differences in what they are called, the deities worshipped and the culture practiced from region to region across India, but it all owes their veracity to the Vedic nature culture. Sacred groves in Kashmir is called 'Dev Bani' where some of the deities are Baba Roachi Ram, Mata Vaishno Devi, Peer Baba and so on. You would

find Dev Van or devta ka jungle in Himachal Pradesh where Bhaku Nag Devta, Ringarishi Devta are the main deities. Deo Bhoomi and Bugyal is how you would call a sacred grove in Uttarakhand dedicated to Chandrabadni Devi, Hariyali Devi and so on. It is just called Dev Van in Uttar Pradesh where the main deities are Samaythan, Vansatti Devi, Vrinda Devi and others. The most famous among all the Vana's here are Vraj (associated with Krishna) and Vrindavana. The local name for groves in Bihar and Jharkhand is Sarnas dedicated to Darha, Marang, Dharti, Jahera and so on. However the vitality of Sal trees with groves and the Sarhul festival associated with it makes Jharkhand different. Gram than, Hari than, Sabitri than, Shitala than are the various names in which the sacred groves are known in Bengal where Sitala, Manasa, Kali ma are the main deities. In Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh the sacred groves are associated with Buddhist monasteries and are maintained either by the monasteries or by various tribes. Tribes in Assam use terms like Than, Madaico to denote sacred forests. Umanglai is the term used by Manipuris to denote worship of forests albeit there exists other local names as well. When it is called Ngawpui in Mizoram, it is known by different names like law lyngdoh, law niam and law kyntang in Meghalaya. Khasi hills in Meghalaya is home to a number of sacred groves, the most famous being the Mawphlang.

Vani, Oran, Kenkri are the names used for sacred groves in various regions of Rajasthan. A similar usage exist in Gujarat as well where the main deities are Khodiyar mata, Oran mata, Jhalai mata and others. Matagudi, Devgudi and Gaondevi are the various names in which the sacred groves are known in Chattisgarh. Jahera and Thakurnam is how it is called in Odisha. In Maharashtra, Devrai, Devgudi are some of the names used where the deities include Maruti, Vaghoba, Khandoba and others. Devrai, Devran and Pann are the names in which the groves are known in Goa.

Pavitra Vana is how people in Andhra and Telangana call the sacred groves. Dedicated to deities like Hulideva, Naga, Jatakappa and so on, the groves in Karnataka include smaller ones called Kans and larger ones named Devarakadu. While it is generally called Kaavu in Kerala, there exists variants like Sarpa kaavu, Ayyappan

kaavu, Amman kaavu and so on. Known by various names such as Kovil kaadu, Swami thopu, Vanakovil and so on, every village in Tamil Nadu has got a sacred grove.¹¹

Despite the several ways in which each of these stands different the one unifying factor that holds all these together is its affinity towards the nature culture and it is something to be celebrated not only acknowledging this cultural transmission, but also taking into account the ways in which they contribute to the maintenance of ecological balance.

CONCLUSION

Vedic nature culture is a term derived from Vedic love for nature guided by their tendency to

relate everything to aspects of nature. Focussing on sacred groves and forests as the most direct tradition inherited from nature culture doesn't owe its origin to it. Worship of trees and plants existed even before the Vedic period. But it was only in the Vedic period that this sort of a devotion to nature was put into writing in Vedas and with the Vedas attaining sanctity the same was meant for everything written in it. Vedas thus made the nature worship authentic and many institutions of Indian life- especially the Hindu- trace their origin to an Aryan beginning¹². So if the worship of sacred groves is being continued today in various forms in almost all parts of the country with in an institution of Hinduism, the Vedic nature culture takes credit for it.

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KODUNGALLUR GURUKULAM

T.D. Soumya

Kodungallur is situated on the south west coast of modern Thrissur, a district of Kerala, India. It is a place of great and varied historical interest. Kodungallur has occupied a unique place in the social, religious, cultural and economic history of Kerala from ancient period onwards. In the ancient period it was an important port town. The Jews, Phoenicians, Romans and the Arabs came successively with their merchant fleets to the port of kodungallur. Italian traveller Nicolo conti called it as 'Colunguria' and then Barbosa changed it as 'Cranganore'¹. The place had extensive trade relations with the outside world. The Kulasekhara empire otherwise called the second Chera empire ruled over kerala from 800 to 1102 AD with their capital at

Thiruvanchikkulam or Mahodayapuram² was Kodungallur. M.G.S Narayanan identifies these rulers as Perumals, since *Perumal* was the honorific title inherited by them³. The Perumals lived in royal houses known as *Kovilakams*. And later these kovilakams acted as the centres of traditional education.

Apart from its political and commercial importance Kodungallur had been famous as a centre of cultural and educational activities. The great literary works like *Silappatikaram* of Ilangoadikal, *Manimekhalai* of Chittalai Chattanar, *Mukundamala* of Kulasekhara Alwar etc were born here⁴. Cheraman Perumal was a king of Makotai (mahodayapuram) is clear from Cekkilar's *Periyapuramam* which gives an

elaborate account of his capital city at kodungallur⁵. In modern times Kodungallur was an important centre of learning and maintains an unbroken chain of tradition in the field of culture and education.

Kodungallur *Gurukulam* otherwise known as Kodungallur *Kalari* was a nerve centre of cultural activities in south India from 1790 to 1920. It was Godavarma Thampuran, popularly known as Ilaya Thampuran founded kodungallur gurukulam. He was well versed in various fields of knowledge such as grammar, smriti, music, astronomy, acting, sculpture etc. He was a poet also. His works like *Ramachritam mahakavyam*, *Rasasadanam bhashanam* were very popular works of those days. He had several disciples from different parts of India, who came to Kodungallur to learn arts, literature, and smritis from him. Younger generations admired him and considered him as the first guru of Kodungallur Kovilakam⁶. The gurukkals of kovilakams provided traditional education for everyone without any distinction on the basis of caste or religion.

The four kovilakams in kodungallur during this period were Valiya Thampuran kovilakam, Ilaya Thampuran kovilakam, Chirakkal kovilakam and Puthan kovilakam. Among these Puthan kovilakam played an important role as an educational institution with its great Gurukulam. The Kovilakam provided free and Gurukula style of education. The subjects were taught in the Gurukulam were Law (nyaya), philosophy, (Vedanta), science of rhetoric (alankara), ayurveda, astrology, sculpture, music and acting. Several important scholars (gurukkals) and poets were took active part in the educational and literary activities in these kovilakams. Where a curriculum enabling the students to study the temple art forms like koodiyattom, kathakali, koothu etc. Astrology and Medicine were treated as an essential part of knowledge. Kodungallur gurukulam gave a lot of contribution to the development of art and culture and for the growth of malayalm language. The importance of Gurukulam lies in the fact that the Thampurakkals (rulers) had no hesitation to accept and teach the so-called avarna (untouchables) students as their disciples and taught them all branches of knowledge. In spite of the staunch feeling of castism, the order of the day, the Gurukkals of Kovilakam

were not refused to taught the avarnas. Kundani Govindanasan, Panikkasseril Kannappan, Easwaramangalath Shankaran Krishnan etc were some examples of 'avarna' students⁷

Kodungallur gurukulam had produced a number of scholars after Ilaya thampuran. His renowned disciple, Kumbakonam Krishna sastrikal became the prominent guru of the Gurukulam. The members of kovilakam learned literature especially under sastrikal and this period is considered as the golden age of kodungallur gurukulam. Arts and literature developed through these scholars for a long period. The members of the kovilakam such as Kunjiramavarmathampuran Chakram thampuran, Kochunni thampuran, Valiya kunjunni thampuran, and Kunjan thampuran were the disciples of Sastrikal. Poet Cheriya kochunni thampuran, Godavarma thampuran, Kathulli Achutha menon, kunjikuttan thampuran, cheriya kunjunni thampuran, Marumakan thampuran etc were responsible for raising Kodungallur Gurukulam as an important cultural and educational centre. Their contribution also helped to enrich the cultural heritage of Kerala⁸. Mahamahopadhyaya Rama Pisharadi has told that even the pillars of kodungallur kovilakam possesses the fragrance of literature. This royal family was following such a great tradition in literature.

The greatest fame in kodungallur kovilakam goes to 'Mahakavi' Kunjikuttan thampuran. He was renowned as '*Kerala Vyasani*' (Vyasani of Kerala) because of his Malayalam translation of Mahabharatha. He was also known as '*Sarasadrutha Kavikireetamani*' (one who has been known as composing beautiful poems very fastly) was regarded and respected as the incarnation of poetry by his contemporary scholars. His skill in versifications was so astonishing. He lived only up to the age of 48. Within this short span of life, he composed 60 many works representing various movements and promoted many poets enabling them to be experts in the field⁹.

The translation of Mahabharatha (*Bhashabharataham*) also proves that Kunjikuttan Thampuran was a wonderful phenomenon in Malayalam literature and this translation considered to be a miracle especially in the circumstances that no other person in any of the Indian languages could do so single

handedly. Prof. Joseph Mundassery has remarked much about the miraculous success of this translation and called him 'Gandharvan'¹⁰ (celestial musician). Kunjikuttan Thampuran did the translation word by word within a period of 874 days. For this herculean task of hand written translation he depended only copy writers. Such an attempt is certainly considered to be a miracle. The greatness of Thampuran lies in the fact that the entire work was done without any expectation of money or fame. He gave valuable contributions for the development of Malayalam language. He maintained good reading habit and mastered the content of topic.

After learning poetry, drama, rhetorics and grammar from his scholarly ancestors, he has turned to astrology and logic. From his childhood days, Thampuran was mainly interested in versification. It is stated that he started composing poems at the age of 7. His initial works were in Sanskrit. It was his father Venmani Achan, co-brothers Kochunni Thampuran, Venmani Mahan Orvankara Rajan were persuaded him for wrote in Malayalam. His most notable ability was swift versification¹¹ (*DrudhakaVanam*) his co-brother Kochunni Thampuran also possessed the above talent.

Thampuran also took an active interest in the study of the history of Kerala. His work '*Keralam*' occupies an important place among the historical writings of Kerala. He was in search of the history of ancient Kerala and had wrote informative articles like '*Thrikkanamathilakam*', '*Thirunavayogam*' etc. He even translated Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'. His object was to compensate the shortage of books in Malayalam. He had no delicacy to take up difficult task. The most remarkable achievement of Kunjikuttan Thampuran was that he could make the translation as an artistic practice.

Kunjikuttan Thampuran had done independent poems and works. But some critics argued that they are not up to the standard. However Sri Balakrishna Varier observed that the above arguments were incorrect. Because, unlike his contemporaries he had given a new dimension to subjects without repeating the old. His works like '*Kamsan*' stands as a proof and example for that. He dealt poetry with great ease. He wrote letters in the form of poems which latter became a movment in Malayalam literature. It is evident, that he desired to make a

difference in his style of versification perhaps he might have hoped to provide a romantic touch for his style. Apart from poems, he had written books on '*Sabdalankaram*' (rhetorics), '*Karappan*' (Atreatment of infants) and numerous works on prose.

Another devoted literary acts of the poets of Kodungallur Gurukulam was *Bhashanadaka Nirmanam* (Making plays in Malayalam). The translation of *Sakunthala* by Kalidasa in Manipravalam done by Valiyakoyithampuran tempted the poets of Kodungallur Gurukulam for the above attempt. The first independent play was *Kalyaninadakam* written by Kochunni Thampuran. His skill in translation can be ascertained from the play. He has translated the *Vikramorvaseevya* by Kalidasa and few other plays. It was during the period of Kunjikuttan Thampuran and his contemporaries that the fame of Kodungallur royal family reached to its pinnacle. The *Kavisadsu* (assembly of poets) held here proved to be a chance for various literary activities¹². *Aksharaslokapareeksha*, conducted under the supervision of *Kavisadasu* was another literary entertainment during those days.

Beginning of the writing of travelogue also arose from the Kodungallur *Kavisadasu*. The first among them was *Rameswarayatra* by Venmani Achan¹³. Movement of Sandeshakavya also had received contribution from the *Kavisadasu*. The works like *Sukasandesham*, and *Kokilasandesham* had been translated by Kunjikuttan Thampuran into Malayalam. For this he also started a system of versification in pure Malayalam words and his *Nalla basha* (good language) is an example for it. Another important system that developed in Kodungallur Kalari was Pachamalayalam or pure Malayalam. This was a system of composition emerged in Kodungallur Kalari aimed for the versification of Malayalam words without using Sanskrit diction. Kunjikuttan Thampuran proved this style in his work *Nallabhasha* and all the 52 verses in the work are done in pure Malayalam words. It is regarded as the first piece of Malayalam literature.

Another notable system that evolved in Kodungallur kovilakam was Venmani movement¹⁴. The Venmani school of poets were involved in amovement of Malayalam literature also known as the Venmani movement. The style of poetry was pioneered by members of the Venmani kovilakam of kodungallur in the 19th

century. Mahakavi Ulloor has recorded that Poonthothathu Achan Namboothirippad, a disciple of Vidwan Ilayaraja was the first teacher connected with the Venmani movement. Venmani Achan Naboothirippad, who was another disciple of Vidwan Ilaya raja later became the pioneer of the Venmani movement. The style of these poets became quite popular for a while and influenced even others. The venmani style of poetry associated with common day themes, and the use of pure Malayalam rather than Sanskrit. The poetry was therefore easily understood by the common man. The works were known for its humour, wit, and lyrical meter. Venmani style which evoked humour and lust was acceptable to all. Members of Kodungallur kovilakam labelled as Venmanikkavikal¹⁵ made their own contribution to our language and literature.

The Thampurakkals of kodungallur kovilakam and Kalari were noted for their generous behaviour. They imparted education to the students without any fee. Those students who were economically low and backward were given free food, dress and accommodation. According to Attur Krishnapisharadi, one of the students of Kodungallur Gurukulam and a writer, there are three hundred students in Gurukulam during his time¹⁶. Gurukulam provided equal opportunities for developing the inherent abilities of the students. The students had the freedom to

choose their Gurus (teachers), which in turn offered academic freedom. The Guru permitted rational thinking and gave full freedom to students to communicate with their fellows. The duration of class about one and half hours¹⁷.

From the above facts it is clear that Kodungallur Kalari and the members of Kovilakam gave meritorious contribution to our language and literature. The efforts of those Gurukkals of Kovilakam contributed for the growth of traditional as well as literary education. Thus, Kodungallur Gurukulam enriched the horizon of our Malayalam literature. Since 1915 Kodungallur Gurukulam began to decline because of the people's interest and craze for western education. So there was a tremendous decline in the number of students in Gurukulam. However, Manthitta Kunjunamboothiri, Kochikkavu Thampuratti, Kunjuni Thampuram, Koonezhathu Parameswara menon etc. were taught students till 1939. They were considered as the last gurukkals of Kodungallur Gurukulam. This cultural legacy is still maintained by the members of Kovilakam. The educational institutions like Kunjikuttan Thampuram Memorial Govt. College, Sanskrit Vidyulpeedam etc. uphold this cultural legacy. The academic perspective of Kovilakam is echoed in its motto '*vidyasmath paradaivatham*'.

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NEOLITHIC CULTURE IN KRISHNAGIRI DISTRICT – A STUDY

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Introduction

Neolithic cultural evidence is limited in Krishnagiri region, although this culture is better represented in Vellore, Salem and Dharmapuri districts of Tamil Nadu. However, numerous polished stone axes often called “Neolithic celts” have been reported from Krishnagiri region extensively. These sites have been conventionally described as “Neolithic” sites. However, no clear evidence for Neolithic association has been found at these sites, and hence they cannot be categorized under the Neolithic Culture, without detailed investigations. Hence, these sites are described separately in this chapter, which also provides a brief account of the Neolithic culture of South India and Tamil Nadu.

Previous Work

Bruce Foote also discovered a factory site of the Neolithic culture near Bargur in Krishnagiri taluk. Among the weapons and tools discovered, there are twelve types of celts, six types of chisels, three types of hammers, two adzes, anvils, corn crushers, cylinders, discs and hammer stones. In his book, he has carefully noted the changing scenes of human activity from open air stations to rock shelters and then to thatched houses and solid structures. In the long march of human development, he recognized that it was the Neolithic period that great advances in civilization, not only in the improved arms and tools but also in the discovery of the art of firing vessels and domestication of animals took place (Foote 1916:14).

S.R.Rao of the Archaeological Survey of India discovered a Neolithic habitation site at Paiyampalli in Vellore district and he excavated it during the years 1964–65 and 1967-68 (*JAR*, 1964-65: 22-23; 1967-68: 26-30). But the full results of the excavations are yet to be published. However, this excavation gave fresh impetus to further research in Tamil Nadu. The districts of Chengalpattu (Krishnasamy 1947), Pudukottai (Srinivasan 1944 and 1944-45), Madurai (Raman 1969), Coimbatore (Desikan 1962-63), Dharmapuri (Narasimhaiah 1972), North Arcot (Present Vellore and Tiruvannamalai), Coimbatore, Erode, Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri (Rajan 1996–1997) and Kanchipuram

(Thirumoorthy 2009 and Kumar 2011) have been systematically explored to trace out the Neolithic habitation sites.

B. Narasimhaiah has undertaken systematic explorations for the Neolithic remains in the Dharmapuri district, Shervaroy and Kalvarayan hill ranges, western and northern taluks of Vellore district and the area south of Shervaroy hills in Salem district. As a result of the intensive field work and sporadic explorations in Tamil Nadu, it was found out that the remains of the Neolithic culture are concentrated in the taluks of Krishnagiri in Krishnagiri district, Harur in Dharmapuri district and in the taluk of Tirupattur in Vellore district. He has discovered five Neolithic habitation sites and one factory site of the pecked and ground stone industry (Narasimhaiah 1980:28-31)

‘Neolithic’ implements are found in and around the Kalvarayan hills. Finely worked polished tools, hammer stones, stone discs, slick stones and ring stones were discovered by Robert Bruce Foote on the Shervaroy hills (Foote 1916: 57-58). Polished stone tools were collected on the mountains of Bodhai Malai, Kalvarayan Malai, Kollimalai, Javadumalai and Vattalmalai (Rajannan 1992:204). Much of these tools were found in association with present day ritual practices. Irrespective of collection of several Neolithic implements, the present exploration could not yield any appreciable other Neolithic artifacts like handmade pottery or Neolithic habitation. The contexts of these polished stone axes are uncertain. However, the succeeding Iron Age culture is clearer in context.

Though the tradition is of recent years, the locational aspects of these tools and the landscape suggest that these tools could belong to Neolithic Age but this aspect is yet to be confirmed with concrete Neolithic habitation sites.

In this connection, the work done by the great scholar B.Narasimhaiah deserves special mention here. He explored the north western part of Tamil Nadu and discovered many Neolithic habitation sites. Many Scholars like S.R. Rao 1963-64:19-20, 1964-65:22-23 and 1967-68:26-30) V.D.Krishnawamy (Krishnaswamy 1947:38-40 and 1962:25-64) K.R. Srinivasan

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Neolithic Sites in Krishnagiri District

The locations occupied by the Neolithic cultures of Krishnagiri Region are distributed across varied geo-eco settings. Proximity to water sources and the availability of favourable ecological niches prompted the Neolithic cultures to anchor their settlements at some of these localities as shown below.

The identification of Neolithic cultural sites is relatively easy than those of the preceding cultures on the account of the permanent settlements which are popularly known as mounds. The permanent settlements became a trait feature in the former. Generally in Tamil Nadu some of these mounds are identified by the means of village names which often bring out their ancient nature. The Neolithic sites appear amidst heaps of ashy grey surface soil and sometimes rise to a few meters high above the surrounding areas.

These ashy grey soils of the ancient mounds stand out distinct from the surrounding natural soil stretches. The local people are well conversant with such mounds because they scoop them either to spread across their fields as manure or use it as building material. This scooping by the local peoples many a time exposes the cultural materials. Not only this, the nature itself has got a deep incisor to cut across the mounds, gully out the areas and dislocate the artefacts through the fluvial agencies.

In Krishnagiri region, there are, in all, 22 sites yielding the remains of this culture. Of these, 6 are habitation or settlement sites, 13 are findspots and 3 re factory sites of the Neolithic tools and stone objects.

Factory Sites

Bargur (12°32'9.39"N 78°21'21.94"E)

The factory site of Bargur is situated about 4 km north-west of Bargur in Krishnagiri district. Robert Bruce Foote (1916) had noticed this

factory site earlier. As in the case of the above site, this tool has not yielded any tools showing the final stage of manufacturing (Narasimhaiah 1980:30).

It is noteworthy that all the sites mentioned above are situated either at the foot of the hills or on their terraces. No habitation site has so far been discovered either on the bank of a river or in the plains. As the hillocks around the site as most suitable for terrace cultivation, the Neolithic folk of Tamil Nadu would have preferred the hill ranges rather than river banks. The explorations on the top of the hill ranges; the Shervroy, the Javadi, the Elagiris, the Vattalamalai, that there were no traces of habitation of the Neolithic people. In spite of that a large number of polished stone axes were collected. Further, it is said that even now, while ploughing the lands these implements turn up occasionally.

Kappalavadi (78°22'01"E; 12°29'22"N)

Kappalavadi is situated about 8 km south-east of Bargur, which is on the Bangalore – Chennai National Highway and 12 km east of Krishnagiri. The hillocks located on the western side of the Kappalavadi have yielded polished stone axes in different stages of manufacture and also by product flakes in plenty (Narasimhaiah 1980:30). However, no specimen showing final stage of manufacture i.e. grinding has been encountered.

Kundalakunda

The small village Kundalakunda is located 6km south of Bargur and 14km north of Jagadevi on the Jagadevi main road. The hillock located on the south west of the Kundalakunda village. The village yielded stone axe in different stages of manufacture and also by product flaks in plenty.

Neolithic Traits of Krishnagiri Region

The present and previous excavation and explorations conducted at archaeological sites of Krishnagiri region has brought to light several artefacts such as pottery, ground stone tools, mullers, querns, pounders of early farming cultures. Notwithstanding to the geographical locations of the area, these materials have shown distinct variations in shape size dimensions and technique of preparation etc. On the basis of the differences in the makeup of these artefacts, the identification of the cultural affects can be attempted. The handmade pottery with slip and

burnishing techniques can be assumed to have belonged to Neolithic period. One significant feature in the cultural material recovered from a couple sites is the presence of handmade burnished black and red ware shreds with thick sections, which might provide evidence for the transition phase between neolithic and megalithic periods. The Neolithic and megalithic periods show marked variation in the technique of pot preparation the former with handmade, burnished grey, brown and buff ware, in the latter inverted firing technique/double firing technique.

The other artifactual materials such as ground stone tools, mullers, querns, pounders are usually associated with Neolithic period as it is held that the metallic tools are absent during this period under consideration. Hence, it is assumed that the Neolithic man was totally dependent on ground and polished stone tools use for the preparation of carpentry and agricultural implements. Hence, it is assumed that the disuse of stone implements during megalithic and early historic periods is an important feature. Hence, a clear-cut distinction is identified in the economy of early farming cultural make up of Krishnagiri region i.e., the preparation of handmade pottery and stone implements such as hand axes, adzes, chisels and non-edge tools such as querns, mullers and pounders during the Neolithic period. Thus, the explorations conducted at the Krishnagiri region from the 22 sites brought to light.

Food and Economy

The Neolithic people's economy was a mixed one ranging from collecting, gathering, hunting, fishing to animal husbandry and primitive agriculture. Several terrace like structures presents on hill summits and slopes were used for habitation but also for farming, which is still a surviving practice among the rural as well as tribal folk in certain interior parts of the southern states. Direct evidence for the practice of agriculture is provided by the discovery of charred grains of horse-gram (*Dolichos biflorus*) along with green-gram (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and ragi (*Eleusine coracana*) from Paiyampalli (Rao 1967-68:27). The horse-gram also discovered at Tekkalakota and ragi from Hallur both in Karnataka (Rami Reddy and Iswar 2001: 175-180). Similar cereals and pulses were grown by the Neolithic people elsewhere in the Southern India. Querns and rubbing stones, a common

scene at all sites, must have served the purpose of pounding and grinding grains.

Pottery

The Neolithic ceramic industry of Tamil Nadu is represented by five major wares: Red ware, Tan ware, Grey ware, brown ware and black ware with their variants. On the whole, the plain pottery dominates the ceramic industry. However, the pottery with incised and combed decorations is not wanting and is represented in small quantity. Only one sherd painted in violet on pale red surface was collected from Mullikkadu (Narasimhaiah 1980:32).

The bulk of the pottery is handmade. Use of turn-table technique and slow-wheel employed in manufacturing the pottery are evident on some of the pottery. However, the latter method of manufacturing seems to have been employed more frequently at Mullikkadu. In manufacturing huge and thick jars, it seems that the beater and anvil technique is employed. Luting is a common technique employed in manufacturing spouted vessels, channel spouted vessels, etc. It is noteworthy that the Neolithic ceramic industry in Tamil Nadu has yielded about eighteen major types and about sixty seven variants including process incised and painted pottery.

Pecked and Ground Stone Industry

The explorations conducted by Narasimhaiah, at the factory sites near Kappalavadi and Bargur prove that the Neolithic people had a pecked and ground stone industry of their own. Large amount of artifacts were collected at the Neolithic factory sites and all of them were made on dolerite. So far 9 axes, 2 adzes, 2 hammer stones, 7 pointed tools, 8 chopping tools, 2 blade flakes, 2 fabricators and 48 waste flakes were collected at the above sites. It has also been observed that they generally used the tabular or cylindrical pieces of natural stones for manufacturing the implements in the case of blade, flakes and chopping tools. All the specimens are either unfinished or more or less finished and broken. No specimen shows pecking or grinding. Hence, it seems that only the first two phases of manufacturing i.e. rough flaking and finer flaking are employed (Narasimhaiah 1980:60-61).

It seems that the microlithic industry played a major part along with the pecked and ground

stone industry in the life of the Neolithic people in Tamil Nadu. Several microlithic tools like arrow heads, points, borers, burins, lunates, side scrapers, end scrapers, hallow scrapers, blades, blade flakes, asymmetrical cores and fluted cores were collected at Mullikkadu, Togarapalli, Dailamalai, Vattamalai and Mayiladumparai sites (Narasimhaiah 1980:69-75; Rajan 2004:74-88). A major portion of the tools mentioned above were made of silicious material such as quartz chalcedony and crystal.

Technique

Flaking, pecking and grinding are the three basic techniques employed in the making of Neolithic tools. To these, it may also be added the technique of polishing. It differs from grinding. Allchin suggests that the manufacture of edge-tools involved five process, viz rough flaking, finer flaking, pecking, edge grinding and overall grinding. Flaking is the only technique employed in the chopping tools and wedges (Allchin 1957:323).

Settlement Pattern

The Neolithic people generally lived on the tops and occasionally on the slopes and foot of castellated granite hills with natural rock shelters

or caves, plateaus, open spaces, perennial water cisterns, availability of land for agriculture, wild fauna for hunting and other life activities, and above all the rocks in the form of natural trap dykes occurring as crests and ridges for the manufacture of the ground stone tools, the main technological complex-all of which provided a suitable background for living. The hill-tops or sides are leveled by removing stone boulders and filling their hollows with rubble and silt. Occasionally river banks away from hills were also frequented.

The Neolithic people of this region preferred granitoid hills like Togarapalli, Gollapalli and Kappalavadi hills for their settlement. This is very significant. These granitoid hills provide ample scope for terrace cultivation. They preferred to settle at the foot or on the terrace of the hills with natural caverns. But that they did not live in the rock shelters or caverns is evident because there is no cultural debris in them. This is evident from the excavations at Paiyampalli. However, one can infer from the evidence of the pottery and some tools collected from caverns that they used them as temporary resorts. Even today terrace cultivation is practiced in this region.

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THERUKOOTHU AND CHHAU: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOLK PERFORMING ARTS THROUGH THE EYE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Sourav Sen

In Tamil Nadu, folk performances such as *Kummi*, *Therukoothu*, *Karagāṭṭam*, *Kōlāṭṭam*, *Mayilāṭṭam*, *Oyilāṭṭam*, *D^ovarāṭṭam*, etc. are used to see everywhere throughout the state. Likewise, in West Bengal, *Gambhirā*, *Ālkāp*, *Chhau*, *Nāṭuyā*, *Kīrtan*, *Putul nāch*, Santhali dance, *Bāul* are famous as folk performing arts. Even though there are various folk performing arts in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, this paper specifically intended to focus on a comparative study between *Therukoothu* of Tamil Nadu and *Chhau* dance of Purulia (West Bengal).

II

The different forms of folk or regional performing arts in India mainly performed for entertaining people with traditional mythological stories. The artists those who perform the art used those mediums to communicate and spread various social messages with the intention of knowledge and providing information, especially to the rural people. In this way the *Koothu* is an important folk tradition of Tamil Nadu. We find references to in Tamil literatures of different types of *Koothu*. In *Saṅgam* texts and other Tamil literatures there are a lot of references to Tamil dance and drama performed at open spaces. In *Tholkāppiyam*, the most ancient grammar book of Tamil language, the *Koothu* performance has been mentioned in five places. In *Eṭṭutogai*, eight anthologies of *Saṅgam* literatures have references of *koothu* in 106 places. According to the literary evidences the *Koothu* had different names such as *kuravai*, *thunangai*, *veriyattu*. Adiyarkunallar, the commentator of *Śilappatikāram* has given the names and details of different types of *koothu* based on their nature and also identified them in different literary works in Tamil, such as *Varichandhikoothu* (avoiding the bad and praising the good), *Sandhikoothu* (classical), *Vinodakoothu* (entertainment), *Tamilkoothu* (dance of the south), *Kaniyankoothu* (dance of Kaniyan tribe), *Therukoothu* (street dance), etc. Among them *Theru koothu* is an interesting form of performing arts in Tamil culture.

The *Therukoothu* means street dance/performance (*Theru* = Street, *Koothu* = Dance/Performance). Yet, according to Ramasamy, all the dramas which are performed in theatres are called *Nāṭaka* and when they are acted in the open air is known as *Koothu*. In *Saṅgam* anthologies this term is most widely used to refer the dramatic performance.³ It is a native traditional folk dance and drama usually conducted during temple festivals in months of *Paṅguni* (March 15 – April 16) and *Aadi* (July 17 – August 16).⁴ *Theru koothu* is performed during the agriculture season. It is a blend of music, movements and dialogue embellished with glittering costumes. It is being performed mainly by the *Thuluva Vallala* community of Tamil Nadu, for the last three centuries. These performers are generally from poor families of lower strata of the society. The troupe of artists carried out the actors, dancers, musicians, make-up artists, decorators, cooks and sometimes their family members. They are always travelling from one village to another. In *Therukoothu* performance the artists used to narrate basically indigenous mythological stories, epics, etc. during the day time as well as night also. During the performance time, the artists gestured with colorful costumes and heavy ornaments because maximum stories adorned from the *Purāṇa* and the epics. The headgear and the wing ornaments known as *bujakīrti* along with the chest shield which is made from wood and its weight around 40 kilograms. This performing arts has some principles, these are, it exists within a ritual milieu, it is not only an entertainment but also it has religious connotations, it follows philosophical literatures, it conforms to general Western theatre conventions, such as the use of suspense, conflicts, climax and so on. In this performing arts men played the role of women, it is operated in first and third person narrative, it is maintained to the principles of *Nāṭya Śāstra* and lastly it is a folk art form of Tamil Nadu, the land of Tamils.⁵

III

The culture of any society reveals through the social behavior of a community. From the literary point of view, culture can be understood

through literatures, songs, dances, dramas, paintings, etc. West Bengal has a wide range of different subjects of diverse nature to identify its folk cultural tradition in India, i.e., *Gambhīrā*, *Chhau*, *Rāibenśe*, *Raṅpā*, *Bāul*, *Fakiri*, *Jhumur*, *Bhādu*, *Ṭusu*, *Nāṭuā*, *Ālkāp*, *Ālponā*, *Paṭachitra*, etc. A number of folk dances exist in India and particularly in West Bengal. These vary from each other in terms of styles, moods, themes and in many other aspects.⁶ Among the folk performing arts in Bengal, *Chhau* considered to be a folk dance and drama of Purulia district of West Bengal. In eastern India there are three forms of *Chhau* performance, which known by the generic term Purulia *Chhau* in West Bengal, Mayurbhanj *Chhau* in Orissa, Seraikāl *Chhau* in Jharkhand.⁷

This folk performing art mainly performed in the time of fertility, harvest and animistic worship with Hindu gods and mythology.⁸ Mask and music are integral part of this dance form.⁹ The name '*Chhau*' of Purulia was originated from the Sanskrit word '*Chhayi*'. In Bengali '*Chhāyā*' means shadow, image or illusion, because of the use of masks in some forms of *Chhau*, performed at Seraikala and Purulia regions.¹⁰ According to Swapan Kumar Mahato¹¹, the name '*Chhau*' derives from the combined choreography of six local dance forms namely, i) *Gājan nāch*, ii) *Nāṭuā*, iii) *Kīrtan nāch*, iv) *Nāchnī nāch*, v) *Kāṭhī nāch*, vi) *Karam* or *Karma nāch*, combination of six rhythm and music namely, i) *Gājan jhumur*, ii) *Kīrtan*, iii) *Ṭusu/Karam*, iv) *Jhumur vadoria*, v) *Nāchnī salia*, vi) *Pāntā salia jhumur*, and finally the combination of six 'gymnastics' (stances) namely, i) *Deg*, ii) *Chālī*, iii) *Ḍigbāji*, iv) *Urā*, v) *Ghurā*, vi) *Raṅgbāji*.¹²

Many *Chhau* artists are dependent for their lives through this folk performing art. The Purulia *Chhau* is purely instrumental¹³ and vocal. This performing art form has been performed in village streets, fields especially in open air spaces and the whole night this program is usually performed in night and sometimes in daytime also. The region is known for a vast variety of ethnic groups normally identified as the Mahatos, Kurmis, Mundas, Oraons, Santhals, etc. Mainly ethnic social groups are engaged with the *Chhau* dance of Purulia. Apart from that some other social groups like, food-gatherers, wanderers, fishermen, bucket makers. These communities also joined in this folk performing art of Purulia

region. The *Chhau* dance is practiced in every village of Purulia but maximum numbers of this dance troupes (25-30) belong to Baghmundi and Jhalda- ICD Blocks which are situated at the forested uplands. Preliminary form of *Chhau* dance i.e., *Kāpjhānp* had originated in the Baghmundi area and then diffused to Seraikala and Mayurbhanj districts of Jharkhand and Orissa.¹⁴

Like the *Therukoothu* of Tamil Nadu, Purulia *Chhau* has also its own principles, these are, from the beginning this is related with the *Purāṇa*, epics (*Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*), indigenous mythologies, philosophy, etc. In the dance form the role of female characters are actually performed by the male artists; dance, music, gymnastics or martial arts or stances are the key features of the *Chhau* performance. Mostly the village people are associated with this performance. The economically deprived classes and socially backward groups of villages are the main creators and makers of a form of theatre which contains within itself all the elements of evolved, structured Indian theatre. In artistic terminology it would be called as the *deśī* theatre.¹⁵ Because of deteriorative geographical location of Purulia, it has to face with low rainfall, hilly region, barren land are not support of enough production of crops for sustaining livelihood. It is important to note that, this dance is performed at the time of *Chaitra parva* or during the Sun festival for the purpose of marriage ceremony of lord Siva with the pray for a good agricultural production in the next Bengali calendar year.¹⁶

IV

Between these two folk performing arts there are some similarities not only in cultural perspective but also in socio-economic aspects too and some features are opposites of each other. In both the performing arts of Tamil Nadu and West Bengal the artists of these performances are from the economically deprived and socially backward groups. On the other hand these are performed in the rural side and local people are the main audience of these performing arts. In general, the artists did not receive any royal patronage or some gifts from the privileged section, but sometimes they received gifts from the local landlords of the villages, for instances Mayurbhanj *Chhau* of Orissa it was patronized by the regional prince of

Orissa. These are not the 'court' dance and drama performances, though these are purely folk performances. Like *Therukoothu* of Tamil Nadu, Purulia's *Chhau* also expressed about the situation of real society and economic status of the people. They are delivering their voice through the satires on political incidents but Swapan Kumar Mahato said that, they are very aware and sincere when narrating the political scenario. In *Therukoothu* there is a story-teller, whose main activity is try to involve audiences with the effective performance, same as in *Chhau*, there is a narrator who is narrate the story or myth or epic at the same time he try to preach to the audiences through their performance, it is like audio-visual learning process.¹⁷ In both these folk performances the body language of artists and their heavy dresses are almost same. The artists of both the performances are not getting enough financial support but now they use to go foreign trip for their performance and earn money.

The important dissimilations between these folk performances are; in *Chhau* performance the artists mostly use mask while they perform, but in *Therukoothu* the artists apply colour/paint on their faces. From their facial make up we can see their facial expressions like the performers of *Yakshagāna* of Karnataka and *Kathākali* of Kerala.¹⁸ Another one difference between these two folk performing arts is the language. In *Therukoothu* artists used to speak and sing in Tamil, perhaps some regional influence will be in the Tamil language of Tamil Nadu while they performed in the street. Same in *Chhau* artists used *Rārī* Bengali dialect, which is used by the large number of people from *Rārī* Bengal.¹⁹

EPILOGUE

The *Therukoothu* is a folk street dance/performance of Tamil Nadu which is a popular performance in deep southern India and *Chhau* of Purulia is a folk dance from West Bengal which is in eastern side of India. All states of India have its own climate, culture and

customs and these cultural traditions have been preserved by the local villagers. From the outside every states gestured with some different ideas and rituals but from the inner side of every culture in every states of India is preaching about the same responsibilities and duties with the help of indigenous sources through the songs, dances, dramas, paintings overall through the performing arts. *Gurudev* Rabindranath Tagore wrote,

"*Tapashyābale eker anale*

Bahure āhuti diyā

Bibhed bhulila, jāgāy tulila

Ekṭi birāṭ hiyā."

(*Gītāñjalī*)²⁰

So, the present paper tried to highlight the impact of *Therukoothu* of Tamil Nadu and *Chhau* of Purulia from West Bengal in the society and culture. The assimilation of people who belongs from different tribes in the society and performed together for social harmony is the most important aspect in both of these folk performing arts. But in recent times both in *Therukoothu* and *Chhau* the artists added recent issues in the society for involving more number of people with these performances. Moreover, *Chhau* dance of Purulia is facing various problems like, lack of interest in new generation; increase the price of expenditure than earning, exploitation by the middlemen from different mass-media agencies, etc. Almost *Therukoothu* has also been faced the same obstacles. Therefore, it is important to note that the society has to encourage these two performances by creating awareness about our traditional cultures through the new education system and through the promotion of folk tourism. The government also has to take initiative to create the awareness about these rural folk performances on the contemporary issues for maintaining the cultural heritage of Tamil Nadu and West Bengal as well as cultural tradition of India.

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 11. Interview with Mr. Swapan Kumar Mahato (aged 62), musician (narrator, singer, keyboard player) from Purulia, Venue of interview Santiniketan, West Bengal, Date 24th December, 2019. He works at 'Hara Gouri Chhau Nritya Party' in Purulia.
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CONSUMING MYTHS : STUDY ON THE MYTH OF *DĀRIKAVADHAM* IN KERALA TRADITION

Sreelakshmi Radhakrishnan

Myth making has never been an easy task and what is even more difficult is to understand them. Myths are formed mostly from the threads given in the Purāṇas but most of the time it would be completely different. Sometimes combinations of stories from the purāṇas are used to create a myth that forms the basis of specific ritualistic performances at a later point of time. The fascinating aspect of these myths is that though the general story outline might be the same, the versions are altogether different. Different characters or incidents are included in them to make a platform for a particular ritual. One such merging, additions and subtractions can be seen to have shaped the myth of *Dārikavadham*, a popular myth in Kerala forming the base of many ritualistic performance traditions. It is near to impossible to identify the actual story as most of them have been transmitted orally over the decades.

Kerala is a land of classical, folk, and ritualistic performances. It is defined by its

antiquity and the organic continuity by the *Malayali* people. The oldest level of culture for which one can find literary records is that of the *Cankam* period, which is identified by scholars as the period extending from 1st until the 4th century CE. This amusing literary tradition in ancient Tamil language gives a picture of what we now as a Dravidian culture, a linguistically and culturally different tradition from the Sanskrit North Indian tradition.

Most of the folk traditions of Kerala revolve around *Kāli*, a Dravidian goddess, who draws identity from *Koṭṭavai*, a warrior goddess who delights in the blood of battle.¹ Her cult appeases to syncretize autochthonous tribal² and Dravidian, as well as later Sanskrit beliefs and practices. *Dārikavadham*, a story that forms the base for all the rituals related to the *Kāli* cult in Kerala, has an entirely different narration. It is interesting to note that though the story of *Dārikavadham* is present in Purāṇic tradition, it has a Kerala version which includes many

additional characters and plots according to the need of the society. This paper hence tries to find out the significance of the indigenous narration of the myth which is different from the purāṇas in all its interpolations. It is essential to understand the tales as it unfolds the uniqueness of the tradition. There is no better way to understand a culture deeply that to know and appreciate its myths, and its stories. A culture's myths are the storied foundation of the beliefs.

Purāṇic version of *Dārikavadham*

There are numerous myths and ritualistic traditions that draw from the myth of *Dārikavadham* (The Killing of *Dārika*), an oral tale that is well known in Kerala and other places. The significance of this myth is that many of the folk performances in Kerala draw its origin from this myth. In the Puranic sources, one finds the reference of *Dārikavadham* in chapter 106 of *Liṅga Mahāpurāṇa*³, which describes *Tāṇḍava* dance of *Śiva*. The story as given in the *Liṅga Mahāpurāṇa* is as follow:

Dārika was born in the *asura* family and achieved great prowess by performing his *tapas* and secures a boon from *Brahmā* that he would be invincible and could not be killed by any man. On attaining this boon, he began to harass both Devas and Brāhmaṇas to the extent that they went to *trimurti* to take refugees. Knowing that a male cannot defeat *Dārika*, *Brahmā*, *Īśāna*, *Kumāra*, *Viṣṇu*, *Yama* and *Indra* created their female counterparts. In the subsequent battle, they were defeated by *Dārika*. Finally, all the gods along with *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmā*, went to *Śiva*. They prayed to *Śiva* for protecting them against the wrath of *Dārika*. *Śiva* then created *Kālī* from his third eye. *Śiva* informed *Kālī* that the purpose of her birth was to save the world from the demon *Dārika*.

Along with the Goddess were born lords of *Siddhas* as well *Pīśācas* who also wore divine garments and adorned in ornaments. The great goddess at the decree of *Pārvaṭī* slew demon *Dārika* who used to attack and kill the chiefs among Devas. To pacify goddess, *Śiva* and other Devas along with the ghosts and goblins performed *tāṇḍava* dance. Apart from this myth, another myth which forms an integral part in the making of the legend of *Dārikavadham* is that of the story of *Raktābija* which is described in Chapter 85 of *Devi mahātmyam*.

Story of the slaying of *Raktābija*

This story marks its presence in the *Devī-mahātmya* section of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇam*. The stage that is set for the story is that describing the fight between *Devī* and *Mahīśasura*. Before having a combat with him, goddess fights with his army consisting of many *asuras* like *Śumbha*, *Niśumbha*, *Dhūmrālocana*, *Caṇḍa*, *Muṇḍa*, and *Raktavija*. Here the encounter between goddess and *Raktavija* is vital as this myth draws a considerable similarity with the legend of *Dārikavadham* in the Kerala context. According to chapter 85 of *Devī-mahātmya*, the story of the slaying of *Raktābija* is as follows :

Raktābija was a great *Asura* who has received a boon that from each drop of his blood that falls on the ground, hundreds of men like him in courage and bravery will rise. The *devas* try to defeat him but were not successful. The *asuras* who sprang from the drop of blood pervaded the whole world creating a threat to gods. Seeing this situation, goddess *Caṇḍikā* asked *Kālī* to stretch out her mouth wide and take in the blood of *Asura* before falling on to the ground to prevent the rise of new *asuras*. Goddess *Caṇḍikā* also asked *Kālī* to roam in the battlefield and to devour the great *asuras* who sprang from *Raktābija*. It would prevent any further production of *asuras* in the course of the battle. With this instruction, the goddess goes to fight *Raktābija*. This time *Kālī* swallowed *Raktābija's* blood with her mouth whatever direction the blood came. The excessive *asuras*, who sprang up from the flow of blood in her mouth, *Kālī* both devoured them and guzzled his blood. After a fierce battle *Raktābija*, became bloodless and was slain by the goddess. After drinking a great deal of blood, *Kālī* became intoxicated and broke into dance⁴.

Kerala Versions Of *Dārikavadham*

One can find numerous oral versions of the story of *Dārikavadham* as it is considered the basis of many folk performances like *teyyam*, *thirā*, *tūkkam*, *paḍayāṇi*, *muṭiyōṭṭu*, *kaliyōṭ*, and so on. It is fascinating to know that the general outline of the story revolves around the mythic battle between the demonic king *Dārūka* and the warrior goddess *Kālī*. The Kerala version of the myth is a blend of the story of *Tāṇḍava* dance of *Śiva* from the *Liṅga Mahāpurāṇa* and the account of the slaying of *Raktābija* from *Devī Mahātmya*.

The characters and plots of the story are modified according to the culture. For example, in the story of *Liṅga Mahāpurāṇa*, we find that it is at the decree of *Pārvalī* that *Kālī* slays *Dārika* thus subordinating the fierce form of the goddess.

Similarly in the *Devī Māhātmya* also we find that it is the goddess who is fighting the demon and *Kālī* portrayed in subordination to the goddess. The plot is entirely different in the Kerala version as *Kālī* herself takes the lead, assisted by the army of ghost and bloodthirsty spirits like *vethali*⁵ from *Māhakāla* forest. *Vethali* agrees to drink every drop of bloodshed from *Dārika*'s body before it touches the ground⁶. It is interesting to note that *Raktabīja* does not come up anywhere in the myth; instead, the characteristic of *Raktabīja* is assumed by *Dārika*, making both the *asuras* the same.

The Kerala version of the *Dārikavadham* finds reference in the text called as *Bhādroḷpatti*, written by Kāvisārvabhauman Kodungallor Cheriya Kochunni Thampuram in 1961. This text gives a detail description of the story of *Dārikavadham*, which is different from the Purāṇic sources but is very much similar to the myth prevalent in Kerala. The beginning portion of the legend is identical to the purāṇic sources; the point of deviation is that this book mentions about the boon of *Dārika* that with each drop of blood from *Dārika* thousand more *Dārika* will be born⁷. From this point, the story of *Devī Māhātmyam* (slaying of *Raktavīja*) becomes the story of *Dārika*, with the goddess *Kālī* as the center of the story. To kill *Dārika*, like in the Purāṇic sources all the Devas including *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu* approaches *Śiva*. Then as the myth goes *Śiva* from his third eye creates *Kālī*, who then fights with *Dārika*. *Śiva* also tells her about the need to get an army ready for which she goes to the jungle where she finds her army of spirits and ghosts. In some native narrations and also in the performance of *Muṭiyāṭṭu*⁸ it is *Vethali* and *Kooli*⁹ who assist goddess. Despite the presence of similar motifs in these sources, the full Kerala form of *Dārikavadham* does not seem to have been present in any of the Sanskrit purāṇas and appears to have its origin in oral transmission along with some lesser-known native literature¹⁰.

Significance of the Kerala myth.

The mythic battle between the demonic king *Dārika* and *Kālī* can be interpreted in many

ways. Some consider this struggle as the rivalry between the Aryans and Dravidians some as the fight between good and evil, yet others as the conquest of Kerala by the Assyrians invaders¹¹. Through these entire arguments, one can find a larger image of inevitable social tensions. It could be the reason for different versions. The idea of conquest is evident from all these narrations. In the Kerala context, this could possibly have the one between the tribal¹² cult and non-tribal cult. *Kālī* is the fierce, bloodthirsty goddess attest to this fact. In the purāṇic sources, what one can find is the reverence of a less aggressive form of the goddess. It can be seen from the myths that *Kālī* finds reference in purāṇic sources only in subordination whereas in Kerala context it is *Kālī* who takes the lead along with her army. The *vethali* does the role assigned to *Kālī* in the *Devī māhātmya* in the Kerala version. It might be because blood sacrifice is common to goddess worship in South India. It is remarkable to note that unlike in the purāṇic sources, the characters involved in the story mostly belong to the primitive religion like *Śiva*, *Garuḍa*, *Indra* so on unlike in the Purāṇic sources where it is *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma* and devas. *Śiva* takes centre stage as he is the one from whom the goddess is born and also as the one who tries to calm the wrath of goddess by dancing naked in front of her. It reflects the idea of *tanḍavā* dance of *Śiva* as mentioned in *Liṅga Purāṇa*.

As an addition to the myth, *Garuḍa* also plays a vital role. In the Purāṇas also one finds reference to *Garuḍa*, but merely as a *vāhana* of *Viṣṇu*.¹³ In the Kerala version, *Garuḍa* plays an essential role in reducing the wrath of *Kālī*. There are two versions of the story in this regard: one is that misunderstanding *Garuḍa* as an ally of *Dārika*, the goddess attacks him and he gets wounded. Later on, it is after seeing the injured *Garuḍa*, the wrath of *Kālī* reduces. In another version, *vethali* after drinking blood gets intoxicated and asks for more blood from the *Kālī*. She then sends *vethali* to *Garuḍa*, by drinking drops of blood from *Garuḍa* the thirst of *vethali* is quenched¹⁴. The ritual of *Garuḍa tūkkam*¹⁵ is conducted in the *Kālī* temple as a signifier of this event. *Garuḍa* and *Nāgas* being the part of primitive religion in South India, it projects the indigenous version elements in the myth.

Unlike in the purāṇic myth, it is *Nārada* who goes and informs *Śiva* about the misdeeds of *Dārika*, who then out of anger produces *Kālī* and assigns her the duty of killing *Dārika*. The inclusion of *Nārada* instead of *Viṣṇu* is also significant as it gives a much innate nature to the myth. *Śivabuthas* also tries to calm the wrath of *Kālī*; by dancing and singing, this took the form of *Padayaṇi*¹⁶ in some parts of Kerala. It is the spirits and ghosts who form the army of *Kālī* unlike the goddesses in case of purāṇic tradition. It is also a signifier of a tribal element in the myth.

The legend of *Dārikavadham* appears to have a pan Indian origin, but on closer analysis, it becomes quite visible that it is altogether different. The general idea was that the Kerala version of the myth is mostly similar to the texts

given in *Devī Māhātmya* and *Linga purāṇa* and that the *Linga purāṇa* version is the closest one.¹⁷ From the above analysis, it is quite clear it is entirely different. The Kerala version of the myth is instead an amalgamation of the legends from both the texts along with native interpolations. It is available in the native book rather than in any purāṇas. Through this analysis, it is understood that myths reflect a broader socio-cultural arena. The outline of the legend may be the same, but the context and its representations would be different. The changes in the myth might seem to be little, but the idea conveyed through that minor change has a more significant implication. Hence understanding myths and its closer analysis become essential to understand the tradition in its entirety.

End Notes

1. Choondal and Mathew as quoted in Sarah Caldwell, "Whose Goddess? *Kālī* as a Cultural Champion in Kerala", in *Aryan and Non-Aryan in South Asia* edited by Johannes Bronkhorst and Madhav M. Deshpande, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 2012,p95.
2. The term "tribal" is used to designate a small scale social group with a unique culture and tradition, lacking a centralized political organization.
3. J.L.Shastrī, "Tāṇḍava Dance of *Śiva*" *Linga Purāṇa Part II* (translation), Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi,1951 ,pp579-581.
4. J.L.Shastrī, "Chapter 85 *Devī- mähātmya* (verses 40-61)", *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇam,Sanskrit text with English Translation*,Parimal Publications, New Delhi,2004,pp.391-392..
5. *Vethali* is a spirit who had an insatiable thirst for blood of the *Māhakāla* forest.
6. G.Venu "*Muṭiyāṭṭu* Ritual Dance –Drama of Kerala" *Sahapedia* <https://www.sahapedia.org> accessed on 10/12/2020 at 2:00 p.m.
7. Kodungallor Cheriya Kochunni thampuran, *Bhādroḷpaṭṭi*, Kerala Book House, Cranganore,1961,p12.
8. *Muṭiyāṭṭu* is a traditional ritual theatre and folk dance drama from Kerala that enacts the mythological tale of a battle between the goddess *Kālī* and the demon *Dārika*.
9. One of *Śiva's būtas* (attendant spirit); also portrayed as a comic tribal women character in *Muṭiyāṭṭu* performance.
10. Sarah Caldwell, "Whose Goddess? *Kālī* as a Cultural Champion in Kerala", in *Aryan and Non-Aryan in South Asia* edited by Johannes Bronkhorst and Madhav M. Deshpande, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 2012,p92.
11. The idea of Assyrian invasion is put forth by V.George Mathew. See Sarah Caldwell, "Whose Goddess? *Kālī* as a Cultural Champion in Kerala", in *Aryan and Non-Aryan in South Asia* edited by Johannes Bronkhorst and Madhav M. Deshpande, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 2012,p94.
12. The term is used to denote the cult which includes blood sacrifices and other indigenous practices.
13. J.L.Shastrī, "Chapter 85 *Devī- mähātmya* (verses 17-20)", *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇam,Sanskrit text with English Translation*,Parimal Publications, New Delhi,2004,pp.390
14. From personal interview with Thankappan asan,Kothamangalam,Kerala,a performer of *Garuḍa tūkkam* for over 35 years.
15. *Garuḍa tūkkam* (Eagle Hanging) is a ritual art form performed in certain *Kālī* temples in some Central Kerala districts. people dress up as *Garuḍav* and perform the dance.
16. *Padayaṇi* is a ritual art form performed at Bhadrakali temples located on the banks of river Pampa. According to mythology, this ritualistic dance commemorates the dance performed by *Śiva* and the other Gods to appease Goddess *Kālī*, whose anger could not be quenched even after annihilating the demon, *Dārika*.
17. Sarah Caldwell, "Whose Goddess? *Kālī* as a Cultural Champion in Kerala", in *Aryan and Non-Aryan in South Asia* edited by Johannes Bronkhorst and Madhav M. Deshpande, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 2012,p92

THE MODERNIZATION OF COMMUNICATIONS IN HYDERABAD STATE – POSTS, TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES

Dr. Srinivas Rao Vaddanam

Introduction

The erstwhile Hyderabad State owned his postal system which symbolizes the insignia of sovereignty. Till mid nineteenth century, different modes of postal communication were prevalent. The Mughal postal system which was in vogue in the Deccan during the times of Nizam-ul-Mulk was continued by his successors. But, as time passed, an improvement was introduced in the system and modifications were made from time to time. Both official and private posts of the public were conveyed during the early period by licensed carriers or postal contractors. A foreign mail service also existed. Further the Nizam co-operated with the Europeans in the Deccan in postal communication. The present paper intends to explore the modernization of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones in Hyderabad State.

Posts

A new era in the history of Hyderabad State's postal system dawned in the eventful year 1857, with the birth of Hyderabad State's Postal Department on a regular footing. Salar Jung, the first Diwan created a new postal organization under the direct control of Government and abolished the postal contract system. At this time, ordinary and express letter (Ghungru or Bell post) and parcels of both the Government and public were conveyed by collecting a nominal fee¹.

Under reformation scheme of Salar Jung, the postal department received significant attention. Post offices were opened in important towns and cities of the State. Ghongro or express post service was abolished in 1802². Since 1869 onwards different types of stamps of different denominations were introduced which were continued till 1909. Book post, parcel and money order system in 1873, half Anna envelope in 1877, and signing of an agreement³ for mutual exchange of correspondence between the British and the Nizam's Government in 1882 were the main features during Salar Jung's Premiership.

In A.D.1869, the State Government took over the control of the postal department and reorganized it on proper lines by establishing

post-offices at the district and taluk headquarters as well as at some other important centers. With a view to affording the utmost convenience to the public and also to facilitate the smooth flow of trade and commerce, the Nizam's Postal Department not only carried but also transferred to the nearest British Indian post-office or railway mail service station all articles emanating from the State intended for delivery in British India. Similarly, it also delivered within the State postal or any other extra charges.

A postal Agreement was entered between the Government of India and Nizam Government in the year 1882. As per this agreement both Governments were given equal rights. In the year 1903, Director General of Postal India proposed to amalgamate with Imperial Postal Departments in the pretext of deficit in postal revenue. To consider this, a committee was appointed and submitted its report. However, indicating amalgamation, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad state gave a reply to Resident that the Amalgamation proposal of Government of India would not only mean a loss to the state financially and politically but it would also effect the prestige, sovereign rights and cause public discontent and hence not agreeable. Later British Indian Government dropped this idea of united postal services. In order to popularize the postal services in the State, the Nizam's Postal Department introduced many improvements. Money Orders were introduced in 1910, the Value Payable Post (V.P.P) in 1914, unregistered parcels in 1921, savings bank facilities in 1923 and the system of express delivery of letters in 1943⁴.

During second half of 19th century, the Postal system extended to every nook and corner of the State with Head Post Office in districts and Sub Post Offices in Taluq headquarters besides all the important towns and business centers. The office of Railway Mail was established and the Inspector Railway Mail was appointed. In 1888, the proposal by the Nizam's Government for the closure of certain Imperial Post Offices was rejected by the British who asserted it as their Paramount right. Nizam to uphold his dignity and sovereignty by having an

independent postal system refused to accede to the proposal of accepting British currency⁵ from the public at the Imperial Post Offices and the amalgamation of Postal System⁶.

However, Hyderabad state strongly pleaded for retaining the Native postal services, Akbar Hydari, the then Prime Minister in the memorandum submitted to Round Table Conferences made it quite clear that in no circumstances would Hyderabad ever agree to give up its separate Postal Department or its Currency. This was a matter of sentiment rather than of finance. In the matter of Post-offices, Hyderabad wanted a fuller measure of reciprocity with regard to further exchange of facilities between the British and Hyderabad postal services. In his opinion, letters bearing Hyderabad stamps should circulate and be delivered free of charge in British India by the British Postal Department⁷.

Akbar Hydari said it was probable that Hyderabad would agree to an arrangement under which its Postal Department would act as sole agents for the carrying of letters in the state and under which letters bearing Hyderabad stamps would be delivered in other parts of India by British Post-offices without extra charge, the resulting postal revenue from the purchase of Hyderabad stamps being divided on some equitable basis between the British and Hyderabad Governments.

During 1911, summary of discussions between the Sub-Committee on "Privileges and Immunities" and the representatives of the Nizam's Government held at 11-30 a.m. on Monday, 1st February, 1932⁸. Important improvement and changes were brought in the then existing postal system when Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam VII assumed the reign of the Asafia Dynasty. Experienced officers from British India were appointed on deputation for fixed tenure in the past. Following the practice of his predecessors' Osman Ali Khan, availed the services of three British Post Master Generals on deputation during 1896-1921. Official registered articles and parcels bearing the service stamps of the British Government when made over to the State Post Office for delivery, parcel post, registration, postal order, post cards and reply post card, money order, value payable, post office saving and cash certificates were introduced. The practice of obtaining the services of the

British India Postal Officers on deputation was discontinued in 1921. Hence, under their supervision, the Postal Department progressed well.

There were 417 post offices and the number of letter boxes were 396 with an annual postal revenue of Rs.3,78,777. During 1911-1912, the number of postal articles carried totalled 13,333,618, the mileage over which mails were carried by rail was during that time 1,195 and the mileage by road was 4,976. The number of post offices in the State during 1921 was 667 which rose to 711 during the closing decade 1929-30. The number of letter boxes increased from 564 to 721 which worked out one post office for every 108 square mile or 16,345 persons in the State. The State authorized all the post offices to transact money order work. During the same period, 4,000 money orders worth Rs. 86,64,662 were issued⁹. The Saving Bank balance during 1931-1932 was Rs.1,05,85,903. But the rate of interest payable on such accounts was reduced from 3 to 2 ½ percent per annum¹⁰. The number of saving banks was 83,000 during 1940's. The year 1939-1940, the number of insured letters and parcels issued rose to 14,452. The insurance fees increased to Rs.6,57,812/-. Similarly, the number of money orders increased and the value amounted to Rs.1,18,34,179 in 1939-1940¹¹.

The period of expansion also witnessed the compilation and enforcement of the post office manual. Mail motors were arranged to expedite the conveyance of mails. The system of express delivery and window delivery was introduced. The postal charges were raised in 1930.

The Post Office Guaranteed Fund was created for the welfare of the postal staff. The city Head Post Office at Hyderabad was the only firstclass head post office in the Nizam's Dominions which was placed under the control and supervision of the Post Master General who enjoyed Superintendents Powers over the staff and offices under his jurisdiction. Under him there were Deputy Post Master. There were Inspectors of city postmen because the city peons and packers. Similarly, there were sub-post masters in town and their number was 31 throughout the city. Postman was provided with an umbrella and yellow cloth bag for carrying Letters, Parcels and Registered letters etc. The

Nizam's Government had great impact of British India. The Nizam's Government adopted some of their postal system but the services offered and the systems introduced in the Nizam's dominions were on par and were much better than those of the British India since they were all received by the people. The State adopted local languages like Urdu, Marathi and Telugu besides English on all the stamps and postal stationery.

The postal services of the Nizam's Dominions continued even after independence and the takeover of the State in 1948 by the Indian Union. The Hyderabad State stamps and postal stationery became invalid when the state was merged with Indian Union in 1950. However, the stamps and stationery were allowed to be exchanged for Indian items till July 31, 1950.

Telegraphs

The installation of electric Telegraph system in Indian dates back to the time of Lord Dalhousie. It was in 1857 when Hyderabad was connected with Bombay and later with Kurnool. Salar-Jung I took the initiative for availing the services of the Telegraphs for official purposes. Expansion of Telegraph lines in Hyderabad was made under the Act XIII of 1885, and thereafter all the Telegraph lines were opened by the Government of India were according to an Agreement in 1870.

In 1900, a line was established at Imperial Post Office, Chaderghat for the business facilities. Beside Railway stations the Telegraph lines were established in Residency, Secunderabad, Bolaram, Aurangabad, Aurangabad cantonment and Hingli. Beside these, telegraphs lines were installed in other places to facilitate trade and military needs. A petition was made for the opening of a Telegraph office at Yadagiri. On the request of the Resident permission was granted by the Nizam¹². Similarly, a Farman was issued by the Nizam in 1932 for the establishment of British post office and a Telegraph office at Warangal on the move of the Resident¹³.

During 1939-1940 the Indian Post and Telegraph Department finally agreed with the Nizam's Government for the linking up of the Local Central Exchange with that of the Imperial Trimulgherry Exchange for access to the All India Trunk Line¹⁴. On February 20, 1944 the Trade Association of Hyderabad passed a

resolution in their Fifth annual General Meeting for the introduction of phonogram facility to the merchants and trades to conduct business without side Hyderabad without loss of time and efforts¹⁵. Thereafter, the Telegraph lines were extended in many places throughout the Dominions.

A British Post Office in Hyderabad city (Chadarghat), and small British Government Post Offices are scattered throughout the State, and letters bearing English postage stamps are conveyed free from the State Post Offices to the nearest British Post Office or railway mail service section.

Postal Stamps

State Postage Stamps of different denominations are at present in circulation and can stand comparison with those of their kind in any other country both in excellence and artistic design. The post adhesive postal stamp of Hyderabad was issued on September 8, 1869 during the reign of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Asaf Jah VI. It had the inscription in Persian Sarkar-i-Asafia (Government of Asaf Jah) and the year 1866, and denomination one Anna. In the year 1866 the stamp was first designed during the reign of Afzaluddaula, Asaf Jah V. But due to delay in getting the die and plates manufactured in London and subsequently printing. It could not be issued in that year. The design of the inscription is a masterpiece of calligraphy in architectural pattern and is unique in history¹⁶.

Several types of postal stamps, postal stationary, cards, covers etc., in various denominations were issued in numerous designs and values. The central theme of all the stamps and covers was Sarkar-i-Asafia either in the form of a monogram or inscription. The state's name Hyderabad was not incorporated in the stamps, except in one case. The first stamp to have 'Hyderabad' inscribed was Second World War victory communication stamp, Hyderabad was the first in the world to issue a victory stamp, while the inscription 'H.E.H. the Nizam's Government', appeared twice, first on the one rupee stamp of 1927 and on the set of three pictorial stamps of 1947. The unissued stamps of selfindependence Hyderabad of 1947 had 'Hyderabad'¹⁷.

On the occasion of the 47th birthday of Mir Osman Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII, a set of eight

pictorial stamps were issued on 12th November 1931 through the designing was actually initiated much earlier during 1929-30. Subsequently they were modified and issued six of the set carry historical monuments of Hyderabad State. The lower values of four and eight pies has Tughra (Monogram) of Sarkar-i-Asafia. The one Anna value has Charminar, two Annas has High court, four Annas has Osman Sagar dam, the eight Annas has the ancient pre-Islamic period facade of the Chaitya Cave (No.XIX) of Ellora at Aurangabad, which is dated to 200 B.C. - 650 A.D. The twelve Anna value has the Madrassa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar, dated to the fifteenth century, and the rupee one has Chand Minar of Daulatabad in Aurangabad. The colour scheme of these stamps was adopted from the stamps of Morocco which were pasted against each artist drawing for colour matching¹⁸.

Postal history was created on 13th February 1937, when Hyderabad for the first time issued commemorative as well as bi-colour stamps. The occasion was to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Nizam VII, who ascended the throne on 1st September 1911. But due to Ramazan the later King George V's death it was postponed twice. It was celebrated during 13 to 26 February 1937 and stamps were issued¹⁹.

When the British rule was withdrawn from India in 1947, British unilaterally denounced their treaties with Hyderabad and her obligation under them. Thus, Nizam chose independence of Hyderabad state. However, due to critical political conditions, the commemorative issues were not issued²⁰.

For public convenience Hyderabad issued postal covers, postcards, regulation covers from 1878 onwards in various sizes bearing variety of embossed or printed stamps in monogram or in one case Charminar monument, special money order forms too were issued. For official use the ordinary postal stamps were over printed 'Sarkari' (Official). For use of the Nizam's private estate Sarf-i-Khas, the stamps were also over printed 'Sarf-i-Khas' Sir Salar Jung I, Prime Minister of Hyderabad had stamps punctured 'S.J.E' for his estate' use²¹.

The Telephone Communications

The Telephone system was first introduced into Hyderabad in 1885 AD with a view to

facilitate communication between the Officials of the various important departments and the staff of the Nizam's personal Secretariat²².

The Department was first worked for seven months by the Bombay Telephone Company and was then taken over by the Military Secretary then the late Major Percy Cough to the Nizam's Government. Subsequently it came under the control of the Public Works Department, when it was worked by Messrs. the Callender Cable Company, Limited. Mr. Bala Pershad, Ph. B., M. A. I E. E. has been the Superintendent of the Telephone Department²³.

In 1938, that is the year of the introduction of the Magnets single line earthreturn Telephone system, only one telephone exchange was there at the Baradari, with sixteen subscribers but in order to connect up all the important offices, another exchange at Narayanguda was opened and later, in order to cope with the public demand, a third exchange was opened at Secunderabad²⁴.

As the magnet system was not satisfactory owing to the increased number of subscribers, it was decided by the Government in that the existing system and most of the overhead lines be replaced by means of a Central Battery system and underground cables. The change in the system resulted in the removal of about 650 magneto telephone instruments, magneto switch boards and other apparatus. In order to make use of these discarded apparatus, the Nizam issued orders in that Telephones should be installed in Aurangabad, Jalna, Nanded, Gulburga, Raichur, Warangal, Latur, Parbhani and Nizamabad²⁵.

Accordingly, Telephones were installed in Raichur and Aurangabad, Jalna and Warangal; and in trunk lines were installed connecting Aurangabad with Jalna and Hyderabad with Warangal. Proposals to connect up Bidar with Hyderabad by trunk lines and for the installation of Telephones at Nanded and Umri with trunk lines between them were submitted to Government. Connection of Raichur with Narayanpett via Saidapur is also made.

The Telephone Department made effort to popularize the system which meet with increasing success and not only added to the income but also tend to lessen the rate of subscription is prohibitive to persons of moderate means²⁷.

In the beginning, the Bombay Telephones managed the system which later came under public works department of Nizam's household. The subscribers were mainly the nobles, wealthy private individuals and important officials who paid Rs.15,000 towards annual maintenance. The cost for non-officials Rs.10,000. With the increasing demand a second exchange was opened at Narayanaguda. There were 202 lines in 1911²⁸.

A letter from the Secretary to Government Public Works Department in connection with providing a Telephone facility to the outlying police Secunderabad highlights that the charges of the Hyderabad Telephones were less compared to those of Imperial Telegraph Department. The total rental charges in Osmania Sicca were Rs.1270 in 1913²⁹.

In 1917, the Calendar Cable Company strongly recommended the Nizam's Government for automatic system instead of magnet system. Therefore, officials were deputed to Simla to study the advantages of the automatic system before the installation of these lines in the city and suburbs³⁰. Later, Calendar Cable Company was granted permission for the installation of automatic system and its maintenance and supervision till 1918. In 1919, the Department of telephones came under the supervision of a Superintendent. In 1924, the Department set up a central exchange of 1200 lines which had the capacity of an additional 2000 lines.

The reign of Nazim VII witnessed the extension and expansion of Telephone facilities. The total number of exchange and extension at the end of 1928 was 651 and 173 respectively. Certain offices like Finance had the facility of Automatic telephones and special arrangements were also made in the Automatic Switch Board which facilitated conferences among the officers³¹. In 1929, the Central Battery System was established. Later, Trunk lines connected Warangal to Hyderabad and Jalna to Aurangabad. In 1931-32, the damaged underground cables were replaced with new cables which improved the services and there was general satisfaction among the subscribers whose instruments were looked after with great care and rigid watch³². These improved services resulted in an increase in the number of subscribers from 848 in 1935 to 964 in 1937³³. In 1935, the Hyderabad City Telephones

completely shifted over to Automatic System at a cost of about five lakhs of rupees³⁴.

Telephones exchanges were also established at Bhongir and Jangaon. Later, Aurangabad was connected with the all India Trunk System. With this the important commercial centers of the Nizam's Government were brought together Telephone connections. The year 1941-42 marked the connection of All the Trunk Line with Hyderabad State. Telephone which provided easy access to the subscribers to have contacts over Telephone with any part of India³⁵.

In order to extend the telephone facility to other Government offices in Hyderabad, exchange at Naryanaguda was started in A.D. 1899. Three years later in 1902-03 the Telephones were extended to the general public. Another exchange at Secunderabad started functioning from 1912. However, in 1923-24, when the central battery switchboard system was introduced all the public subscribers lines were connected to the central exchange at Gowliguda. Consequently, the exchanges located at Baradari and Secunderabad were closed. In 1927 Hyderabad city was connected with Warangal by trunk-lines. During the year 1934-35, the exchange at Narayanaguda was discontinued. The next important stage in the development of telephone system in the city was in 1938 when the automatic switchboard system with a capacity of about 2,5000 lines was introduced. Under this system three sub-exchanges, one at Secunderabad, another at Golconda and the third at the Osmania University were started. The State telephone system was connected to the all India trunk-lines in 1941. Since then, the progress made in this direction is impressive as it can be seen from the fact that the number of telephone connections in the city rose from 1,680 in 1940-41 to 1,908 in 1950-51.

Conclusion

The Hyderabad postal Division was one of the oldest divisions in the State with jurisdiction over the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and the rural parts of the district. Several types of postal stamps, postal stationary, cards, covers etc., in various denominations were issued in numerous designs and values during the entire period of its history. The central theme

of all the stamps and covers was Sarkar-i-Asafia either in the form of a monogram or inscription. And Salar-Jung I took the initiative for availing the services of the Telegraphs for official purposes. Telephones were first introduced in Hyderabad city in A.D. 1884-85 when the Bombay Telephone Company started an exchange at Baradari with 16 connections

intended only for the ruling family and high officials of the State. With effect from the 1st of April 1950, the administration of posts and telephones in the erstwhile Hyderabad State was taken over by the Government of India as a sequel to the integration of Hyderabad State with the Indian Union.

End Notes

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FIGHT FOR HIGHER SOCIO-RITUAL STATUS IN COLONIAL ANDHRA : THE CASE OF VISWABRAHMINS

G. Srinivasa Reddy & Dr. M. Ramesh

Much of the social history of India has been characterized by struggles against inequalities perpetuated by the *Varna* system. The pre-modern society in India was marked by an unequal hierarchical distribution of power and responsibility among different social groups and this system was legitimized and sanctified by brahmanical social, religious and cultural

symbols, beliefs and traditions. The best example is the theory of *karma*. The pre-modern forms of resistance to this unequal power system took several forms: the heterodox religious movements of sixth century B.C, *bhakti* movements of medieval period and so on. These movements were expressions of anti-hierarchical values.

The pre-modern efforts of resistance failed to bring any change in the existing system of socio-religious inequalities. Because the aristocratic sections who wielded political power supported and sustained this unequal system-*varnashramadharma*. The means of organized resistance were almost absent in pre-modern India. The arrival of the British colonialists to India led to revolutionary changes in the brahmanical socio-religious system, though the pace of change is slow and not uniform in different parts of the country. The unification of the country through structural and institutional changes had great implications on pre-modern systems of power and social relations.

Introduction of western education and values brought socio-political awareness among the non-brahmin groups. Some of these groups invoked myths and developed own caste literature to claim equality with the Brahmins in social and cultural issues and the Brahmins resisted these efforts through sabotage and filing cases in the courts against such claims. The Viswabrahmins in colonial Andhra fought several battles with the Brahmins in the courts and other means to claim socio-ritual equality with the Brahmins. This paper shows how the artisanal community of Viswabrahmins fought for social and ritual equality with the Brahmins in Colonial Andhra.

Unlike other Non-Brahmin communities, Viswabrahmins fought for equal status with the Brahmins in the Varna system and all the associated rights and privileges in the religion and society. The development of temple building activity started in South India in 6th century A.D and reached its zenith in 12th century A.D. This period saw the rise of *panchanam varu* or *panchals* (Viswakarmas) community in South India. "The Viswakarmas, originally called as Kamsali community in Andhra Desa, migrated from rural to urban areas with the acceleration of temple building activity. Temples were nucleus of urban centers and the Viswakarmas were an integral part of development of temple urbanism and economy in South India".¹

The Viswakarma or Viswabrahmin community consisted of five occupational groups: gold smiths, bronze smiths, black smiths, carpenters and masons. "The craft persons collectively called as Viswakarmas today constituted a unique craft/artisanal collective

that cut through caste and class lines having as its constituents the humble black smith and carpenter as well as the affluent *sthapati* who was the mason-cum-architect rather than their caste identity. They were collectively called as *Panchanamvaru* in Andhra Desa.² Their aspiration for a higher status in social hierarchy could be seen from their adoption of Brahmanical *gotras*, while these five artisanal communities designated themselves as the Viswabrahmins, and added the suffix of *acharya* to their names.

The Viswabrahmins were referred to as *Panchanamvaru* in medieval inscriptions. The Telugu inscriptions more often used the term Viswakarma kula or Viswakarma kulaja. "The *Chebrol* inscription of 1118 A.D, the *Nathendla* inscription of 1141 A.D and the *Tellapur* inscription of 1417 A.D stated that the smiths and sculptors belonged to the Viswakarmakula".³ The Viswakarma community played a dominant role in temple building and maintenance activity. Especially the mason-cum-architect group along with the gold smiths were involved not only in temple construction, sculpting activity, making of idols and different kinds of jewellery to the gods but also in some ritual activity connected with inaugural ceremony of the temples, on the eve of construction and after the construction. Thus, the Viswakarmas secured recognition at the royal courts and the aristocratic groups. Their social, economic and ritual position was raised. "There were several instances of Viswakarmas making endowments to the temples and the Brahmins. The temple for Vishnu in Nellore namely "Chitrameli Vinnagar" was constructed by them".⁴

In fact most of the privileges given to them during medieval period were those relating to temple rituals. Besides ritual privileges, at times other privileges seem to have been conferred, such as the appointment of the members of the artisan castes as accountants, temple managers, treasurers and trustees.⁵ They were not satisfied with the Sudras status accorded to them by the Brahmins in the *Varna* system. They felt it as insult to their community in view of their changing socio-economic position in medieval times. "From the late 18th century the Viswakarmas started calling themselves as Viswabrahmins and claimed equal status with

the Brahmins. In their community literature, especially the *viswakarma puranam*, this community established its brahmanical origin. They claimed that they were the descendents of the Viswakarma, the creator of the universe. They hold that they belonged to the fifth *Veda* which was superior to the existing four *Vedas*.⁶

The opposition of Viswabrahmin community against brahmanical socio-religious hegemony can be traced back to the Vijayanagara period. They claimed equal status with the Brahmins by performing rituals like *Upanayana*.⁷ The Kamslis aspired to call themselves as Viswabrahmins as they were the descendents of the Viswakarma. They not only denied that the Brahmins can claim priestly authority over them, but went further and stated that they were superior to Brahmins in origin, since whereas Brahmins claim to have descended from the *Rishis*, who were mere mortals, they themselves have sprung from the five faces of Viswakarma, a god and the architect of the universe, and so have divine parentage. They usually call themselves as Viswabrahmins to emphasize this exalted pedigree. Their concept of this god forms the basis of their claim to the Brahmins or even superior to the Brahmins.⁸

The Viswabrahmins fought many legal battles to acquire Brahmin status from the early 19th century. The Viswabrahmins of Machilipatnam sent a petition to the government in 1863, in which they pleaded her Majesty to issue an order to the collector to allow the gold smiths and the carpenter groups to go through all the public streets in procession mounting a palanquin on condition of their paying rupees 8.00 per each marriage ceremony and Rs 4.00 per each *upanayana* ceremony.⁹ The Viswabrahmins of Chittoor district engaged in a prolonged legal battle with the Brahmins claiming equal status with them. They quoted several instances from the Vedic literature to prove that they are the Brahmins. They argued that they can arrange priests from their own community and celebrate marriages of their community people. Though they were not *dvijas* they opposed Brahmanical classification of the *Varna* system and claimed equal status with the Brahmins. This led to attacks on Viswabrahmins by the Brahmins.

A prolonged legal battle between the Brahmins and Viswabrahmins in Sudurperi village in Chittoor district, following attack on the Viswabrahmin marriage function by the Brahmins, is very interesting aspect in this regard. A group of Viswabrahmins, with Margasahayachary as the priest, was performing a marriage. A few Brahmins, led by Panchangam Gundayya, objected to it and agreed to accept the Viswabrahmins right to perform marriages and other ceremonies if they could convince the people present there by answering questions posed by him. There was a lengthy discussion on the *Vedas*, *Puranas*, *Upanishads*, *Itihasas* and so on and the claim of the Viswabrahmins to be the descendants of the mythical lord Viswakarma. Replying to Gundayya, Margasahayachari quoted extensively from various ancient and medieval sources and reiterated their right to perform *Vedic* rites. This did not convince Gundayya and other Brahmins, but others present were convinced by the explanations of Margasahayachari and supported him.¹⁰

The Viswabrahmins filed a petition in Chittoor district civil court praying for Rs.550 as compensation and also a decree in their favor ordering Brahmins not to behave in an arrogant manner in the future. Having heard the arguments from both the sides, magistrate Daker ordered the Brahmins to pay Rs.550 as compensation for causing loss to Viswabrahmins and also confirmed their right to perform ceremonies and marriages as officiating priests. The judgment was delivered in favor of the Viswabrahmins on 15 December, 1818.¹¹ The Brahmins filed review petition against this judgment.

"There were nearly 70 legal disputes in 19th century as to whether Viswabrahmins were *dwijas* and they can perform their ceremonies on their own as per the *Vedic* rituals and whether they have the right to learn *Vedas*. The Brahmins made an appeal against all the above claims of the Viswabrahmins in Chittoor district adalath court. The Brahmins complained that the Viswabrahmins belonged to the untouchable (*mala*) caste. The court delivered its judgment again in July 1821 saying that the Viswabrahmins can celebrate marriages in Vedic tradition. Regarding the caste status the Viswabrahmins and the Brahmins resorted to a

prolonged legal battle. The judgments of 1843 and 1844 rejected Viswabrahmins claim for Brahmin status. Finally the Viswabrahmins were successful in all their claims except the claim for Brahmin status".¹²

Another dispute arose between Brahmins and Viswabrahmins in 1894 in Machilipatnam town of Krishna district. A Viswabrahmin named Sivakotiveerabhadru performed *abhishekam* (pooja) by pouring coconut water over a lingam in a Shiva temple at Rustumbada in Machilipatnam on 5 March, 1896, which happened to be a Shivaratri day. The temple priest, Jandhyala Ramaiah, who noticed this and objected to performing *abhishekam* by Veerabhadru and told him that being a gold smith, he had no right to perform such a thing in the temple. Ramaiah filed a petition in the asst magistrate court in Machilipatnam, and prayed for the punishment of the accused for causing defilement to the idol.¹³ The magistrate heard the arguments of the both sides and dismissed the petition in May, 1894, having found no substance in the argument of Ramaiah and other Brahmins.¹⁴

An historical fight between the Brahmins and the Viswabrahmins can be seen in Palnadu taluq of Guntur district in colonial Andhra during the first quarter of the 20th century. There was considerable Viswabrahmin population in Palnadu taluq, especially in Gurajala and Narsarao peta region in Guntur district. From the late 19th century the Viswabrahmins were involving in the ceremonies related to the construction of new temples, enshrining the idols of gods and goddesses in the new and old temples in the surrounding villages of Gurajala area of Palnadu taluq. The Brahmins were opposing these activities, but not seriously.

"There was a village goddesses temple of Poleramma and Pathapatemma in a village called *Janapadu* in Palnadu taluq. A petition was filed in the Gurajala sub magistrate court in February 1905 by a Brahmin pandit of *Janapadu* village named Janapati Pattabhirama Sastri regarding *pratishtha* (enshrining of the gods in the temple) of the goddesses Poleramma and Pathapatemma in the local temple. Pattabhirama Sastri alleged that the Kamsalis in many villages of this area are claiming Brahmin status and are doing things which are to be done by the Brahmins only. He objected the enshrining of

goddesses Poleramma and Pathapatemma in the village temple by the Viswabrahmins. He further says that the Brahmins cannot worship the idols enshrined by the Sudras (Kamsalis) as it is against the rules of *dharmasastras*. He demanded that the Viswabrahmins should pay the cost of the enshrining ceremony as it should be again conducted by the Brahmins to depollute the goddesses".¹⁵

It seems that the Non-Brahmin movement in this area was strong in the first quarter of the 20th century. We can assume that there was opposition against the Brahmins in this area among the Sudra communities, especially the Viswabrahmins and the Kammas. The Sudra communities of Kamma, Telaga and Reddy were very strong in this area. There seems to be cooperation between the agricultural Sudra communities and other Sudra communities, (especially the service castes like Kamsalis, Chakalis and so on). "The court delivered its judgment in November, 1905. The contents of the judgment are as follows:

1. *Brahmanatvam* (being Brahmin) comes not by birth but by *guna* (character). Brahmins should see people of other castes in this way.
2. The ceremonies of village goddesses are not necessarily be conducted by the Brahmins.
3. Therefore the Viswabrahmins need not to pay any *samprokshana* (purifying ceremony) expenditure to the Brahmins".¹⁶

Pattabhirama sastri appealed against this judgment in Narsaraopeta sub-court in December 1905. The case finally reached the Guntur additional district court in July 1912. The judgment of the district additional court was delivered in September 1915. The court pointed out that the Viswabrahmins are not Brahmins and they should not claim Brahmin status.¹⁷ It seems that the judgment was a sort of compromise between the two contending parties: the Brahmins and the Viswabrahmins.

In the villages of Palnadu taluq there seems to be antagonism between the Brahmins and the Sudras. Brahmins often make complaints against the Non-Brahmins and used to approach courts and the officials on petty issues in the villages. For example, "one Brahmin named Ramayya Sastri of *Janapadu* village made a complaint to the Palnadu tahasildar in November 1906. He complained that because of differences in the

village, V.Rangayya, the *karanam*, and his brothers in the village are instigating the Kummari (potter community), Chakali (washer men community) and other service caste people not to work for Brahmins. This is a kind of social boycott of the Brahmins. The above mentioned service caste people were rendering services to the peasants. For these services they are enjoying special inam lands. But they are illegally collecting "mera" (a share in the crop) from the peasants. He made these allegations against six persons from the above two communities. Ramayya sastri urged the tahasildar to stop these illegal collections and take penal actions against above mentioned six persons".¹⁸

It seems from the available evidence that Brahmins had utmost contempt towards Sudra people, the educated and the elders being no exception. "When the head man and chairmen of Dachehalli union, Gunturu district, K.Picchi Reddy was given certificate by the Governor, in the name of Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India, in recognition of his services in local boards, Janapati Pattabhirama Sastri commented that Picchi Reddy was a person of low social status who is not eligible for such award".¹⁹ This kind of arrogant attitude of the Brahmin elders hurted the sentiments of the Sudra people, especially the educated.

The Brahmins and Viswabrahmins were involved in press war criticizing each other. Pattabhirama Sastri established a magazine

called Abhinavasaraswathi (1907), and Viswa Brahmins started a magazine called Prabodhini (1908). Basically these two magazines were founded by the Brahmin and the Viswabrahmin intellectuals to substantiate their claims and defeat the claims of the opposition group. The editorials in these magazines targeted one another: the Brahmins and the Viswabrahmins. Even scholars from these two castes from Madras used to write articles in these magazines. For example M.Appakanvachari, a Viswabrahmin intellectual from Madras, wrote an article in Prabodhini quoting many examples from the Sastras to prove that the Viswabrahmins were Brahmins. He criticized Brahmins as hypocrites, feeding on the innocent people, doing no work, and leading idle life in their houses.²⁰

The struggle of the Viswabrahmins did not stop here. Many cases were fought by them in different law courts at several places in Andhra. The above discussion outlines the social conflict in the struggle for higher social and ritual status. Despite the success of the Viswabrahmins in different judgments upholding their demand for higher ritual status in the *Varna* system based on their professional competence and its usefulness to the society, the demand was not conceded by the Brahmins which perceived them a threat to their higher ritual position in the social hierarchy. These sporadic events were never got consolidated into concrete action until 1916.

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LOCATING ABDUL KHADER MOULAVI AND THE MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN KERALA

D. Subidam

Vakkom Moulavi was a social reformer, teacher, profile writer, Muslim Scholar, journalist, freedom fighter and newspaper proprietor in Travancore, a Princely State of the present day Kerala. "It is from him that all the Muslim reform movements which have been subsequently working in Kerala derived inspiration and guidance."¹ Vakkom Moulavi was born on 28th December 1873 at Vakkom, in the Chirayan Taluk of Travancore State. His family had ancestral roots to Madurai and Hyderabad.

Many of his relatives had worked for the Military of State Government. Both the father and mother evinced keen interest in the intellectual development of Abdul Khader. Father Muhammad Sahed realizes the shrewd intelligence and penetrating wisdom of the boy. They paid personal attention in bringing up the boy systematically. His father took care to give Abdul Khader the best education available to them.

Vakkom Moulavi studied logic from Kunju Pokkammu Musaliar, a great scholar who hailed from Malabar, Kesava Pillai, a native of Ambalapuzha who was working as a teacher in the Vernacular middle School at Vakkom. He taught the boy Sanskrit lessons. 'The boy read profusely the Malayalam works of A.R. Rajavarma Thampuran and Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Thampuran'.² Abdul Khader studied Persian from Suleiman Moulavi of Allepy. The theological lesson basis on Islam and Tamil Literature were taught by Halim Sahib, a well-known Scholar from Tamil nadu. He studied Malayalam language, in which he became an elegant and powerful writer and eloquent speaker and acquired knowledge of Arabic.

After death of his father, he opted for journalism. It was al Mannar's influence which beguiled him to the field of journalism. "it was through Rashid Rida's al Mannar, that Kerala Muslims were awakened".³ Kerala society experienced a series of changes in the first half of 19th century. Portuguese, Dutch, and foreign traders introduced Kerala printing press, printed books etc. In 1905 a press entitled Swadesabhimani was erected at Anchutengu.

Chirayinkal Govinda Pillai was the first editor. The motto of Swadesabhimani was "Fear, crookedness and avarice never develop the country"⁴ In 1905 Swadesabhimani started first edition as a periodical journal under the editorship of Vakkaorn Moulavi. The editorials were emasculated the bureaucracy. In 1906 Vakkorn Moulavi appointed Ramakrishna Pillai as new editor. Swadesabhimani gave a new impetus to people. Through this, journal people understood the fundamental rights. He used columns of Swadesabhimani for the upliftment of Muslims. Swadesabhimani tediously stood for the Muslims and the need for the advancement of education among them. On 26th September 1910 Swadesabhirnani banned, press confiscated and Ramakrishna Pillai deported.

Advent of Science education came to Travancore by the Missionary Institutions of Westemers. But Muslims kept aloof from the Science education. He realized that the lack of religious and secular education was the main reason for the backwardness of Muslims. "Vakkom Moulavi was quite aware that "Enlightenment through education is essential for the progress of mankind."⁵ For this purpose he established several journals. The Muslim, The Deepika and al Islam in Arabi Malayalam. He emphasized that Muslims should forward to scientific, technical innovations of Aeroplane, Vaccine and Machine.

In 1906 Moulavi started Muslim. The Muslim was mainly aimed at the upliftment of oppressed sections of the Muslim community. Through the columns of Muslim he spread the need for modern education. Moulavi was aware that without educating women, the community will not progress. He wrote and encouraged others to write about women education. The Quran was translated and published in Muslim. Almost all the articles in the Muslim were written by him. He published the proceedings of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference. But in 1917 he was forced to cease its publication. In 1917 he published Al Islam, an Arabi Malayalam journal. The orthodox ulema oppressed the activities of Moulavi.

He took great effort for the propagation of Women's education. In 1931 the first edition of Deepika came out. It also published several articles in Urdu, English and Arabic. The most distinctive feature of Deepika was translation of Quran. It was through the columns of Deepika that the expression women empowerment found its way into the Malayalam lexicon. Deepika was primarily a cosmopolitan periodical covering social, political, literary and scientific topics. He always tried to restore women rights. He wanted to enjoy woman's right without forsaking the virtues of women. In his article "Nammude Strikal, he wrote that educated mothers could mould disciplined children, and instil in them noble ideals."⁶ Through his writings Moulavi established polygamy is neither mandatory nor encouraged by Islam; polygamy had been permitted with certain conditions under certain circumstances. It is the duty of man to treat wives with perfect equality in material things as well as in affection. Dr. Rekha one of the Vakkom Moulavi's grandniece was the first Muslim women Doctor. But he had to discontinue the publication due to ill health and heavy expenses.

All Travancore Muslim Mahajana Sabha was formed to promote educational efforts in different parts of the country. service rendered by Moulavi and the Muslim in the cause of Muslim education were greater than those of Government. Perhaps the Government as able to go forward and so much on account of the support given by their work In 1946-47 one third total enrolment of 46,261 students in elementary school was girls.

Moulavi in consultation with Muslim elite prepared a plan for the promotion of Muslim education. The plan recommended to appoint Arabic Munshis in schools, to appoint two inspectors for the inspection of Arabic, to grant scholarships to Muslims student from Matric classes. In 1914 Arabic began to be taught in schools first time.

Under his inspiration several organisations were established. Such one was Lajanatt ul Muhammadiya of Allepy. It established a higher elementary school Alappuzha. An Arabic teacher was appointed. 'For the first time in the history of Kerala Arabic teachers were paid by Sangham'⁷ The remarkable efforts of Vakkom Moulavi to popularize education among Muslims was appreciated by Government. In 1915

Maharaja Sri Mulam Thirunal visited Allepy, Sangham submitted a memorandum. In response to this, the Government assigned him the duty of responsibility of education of Muslims. Arabic teachers were appointed in schools by the Government. A Muhammadan School Inspector was appointed to encourage Muslim education. Vakkom Moulavi was appointed as the president of Arabic Examination Board. This Board prepared the Syllabi and the text books for the different classes". The textbook 'Ta' IlmulQirra prepared by him was approved as the textbook in the Schools for teaching Arabic in primary classes"⁸ These onerous task created wide interest in education among Muslims

In 1915 Moulavi's Muslim published a note on Muslim education entitled, 'Muslim and educational Progress". The Divan reported Sri Mulam Praja Sabha that in 1090 ME Muslims and Pulayas had progressed considerably...But the educational progress of Muslims is considered, It is not anything to be satisfied. The influence of journals was very effective. Within a short time several new schools started in Kollam and Karunagappily Taluk.

Special fee concessions were granted to Muslim Children. Arabic Munshis were appointed in the elementary School to teach Arabic as second language. In 1923 .. six vernacular schools for boys opened. In 1925 for the first time a Muslim girl passed the Vernacular School Leaving certificate and joined college. Four girls passed the Lower grade Arabic Munshis Examination. A Muslim lady graduate took admission in Lady Willington College.

Within a short period, 75 Schools were founded in different parts of Travancore including first Muslim School at Alappuzha. In 1919 Moulavi published an article in Muslim about the need of a Hostel in Trivandrum. A Hostel was established at Kunnukuzhi at Trivandrum. The inhabitants of Hostel were taught to practice Islamic principles. It has to be mentioned that many Muslim leaders of the later period were the products of this Hostel.

Vakkom Moulavi gave equal importance to both religious and secular education. The religious and secular educational condition of Muslims of Travancore were very sorrowful. Tamil nadu Scholars used to visit Travancore. But they only conducted religious classes and

followed Darses. So Moulavi introduced scientific practices in to Arabic teaching. One was modernize Madrasa adjacent to mosque and other was to introduce certain psychological principles and linking the same with the curricular subjects. It was Vakkom Moulavi who established modern Madrasas at various Muslim centres in Travancore where religious subjects as well as Arabic literature, History especially Islamic History and Modern science were taught.

"He directed through the Muslim that the instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, Arabic and lessons in fundamental of religion be given in the Madrasas"⁹ The intellectual pieces of advice given by the Quran is still lay on the surface. No special care had been given for a meaningful study Quran. This resulted in the innovations (Bid'a) among Muslims. Arabic knowledge is essential to know the meaning of verses in the Quran. The study of Quran made easy by the effort of Moulavi. Pupils from neighbouring places of Vakkom visited Moulavi to learn Arabic. "Students from Cochin and Malabar came for learning"¹⁰

Islahi workers encouraged the founding of several organisations for the propagation of Modern education. Social activities of Vakkom Moulavi were ranged from educational development to cultural renaissance. As a contemporary of Sreenarayana Guru, Vakkom Moulavi established a local association named, Islam Dharma Paripalana Sangham, Nilakkamuku. This looked forward the Universal Brotherhood of Muslims. Sangham published several booklets, organised a library and held seminar. There were similar organizations, Pallipuram Hadiyyul Islam Sangham, Chirayankizh Taluk Samajam, Muslim Aikya Sangham, Kodungalloor etc. The Chirayankizh Taluk Samajam conducted an educational and economic survey of Muslim population and

published the result of census with the help of pamphlets. The samajam took special attention for the development education among Muslims. "the association aroused the enthusiasm of the Muslims of Chirayinkil to promote education, Moulavi started adult education centres, libraries and night schools".¹¹ Aided and elementary schools had been established. A High school and a modernized Madrasa were established at Edava. All these efforts of Moulavi, a small elite class emerged from Muslim community.

The Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangham was formed in Kodungalloor for the revival of Muslim community and modern education. This was the Kerala Association of Muslims. It provides a public forum to discuss common issues of the community. It took immense efforts for the development of modern education. As a result of Aikyasangham Madrasa education, was modernized with the introduction of class system. Thus education gradually spread among the Muslims of Kerala. A number of students came forward to study in colleges.

Conclusion

Vakkom Abdul khader Moulavi motivated Muslims to embrace modernity especially Modern education. He championed the cause of Modern education for Muslims. Vakkom Moulavi often referred as Sir Sayyid Ahammad Khan of Kerala for his Modern outlook. Moulavi understood that education is the key stone to Progress and Modernity. His journal mainly targeted Modern education . He was not a theoretician but pragmatic. As a result of persistent effort of Moulavi, Muslim education improved considerably. Muslims began to acquire Modern education and readiness for social changes.

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THEATRE AND NATIONALISM IN COLONIAL ANDHRA

Prof. E. Sudha Rani

Introduction

Theatre is a literary composition to be enacted by players on a stage in front of audience. Its successful portrayal depends on the cooperation that among writers, actors, producers and audience in accepting the limitations and the conventions of the stage. It is not new to the Indian artists to educate the public of the contemporary events through their stage performances like dance dramas, padyanatakams, Harikathas, burrakathas etc.

By the end of the 19th century a noticeable change came about in the content of plays as they took up the cause of social reform. 'Prahasanas' of Veerasalingam and Chilakamarti and Gurajada Apparao's 'Kanyasulkam' are a few examples to be mentioned in this regard.¹ Once the national movement gained momentum, plays portraying patriotism on themes relating to Chandragupta, Shivaji, Jhansi Rani, Tilak, Punjab atrocities were produced.² Under the impact of Gandhian philosophy and struggles, plays were produced and played on themes such as untouchability and village reconstruction. As a part of national movement, adopting peasant problems as the subject matter, Rytubidda (peasant) was written by Sabnavis Rama Rao and staged during the 1920s.³ By the 1930s, another stream of writers, under the influence of the writings of Ibsen, Bernard Shaw, Chekov and also Freud brought out quite a number of plays advocating women's liberty and rights including, divorce, and property.⁴ Such play-writers included P.V. Rajamannar, Malladi Avadhani, Bellary Raghava, Chalam, Kallakuri Hanumantha Rao, and Gali Bala Sundara Rao who could be called the early feminist writer in Telugu.⁵ The final phase of theatre combined the nationalist as well as left led people's theatre

The Theatre in colonial Andhra can be divided broadly into two main stages.

- 1) 1880- 1920 Social Reform themes and early needs of Nationalism
- 2) 1920-1947 Nationalists Struggles, Gandhian Leadership and Emergence of people's theatre

The present paper attempts to analyze the role played by the theatre in the nationalist struggle in colonial Andhra from 1880 to 1947.

Early Phase of Theatre: 1860-1920

The Telugu theatre in the modern age was able to give entertainment as well as education to the public and began to introduce social themes as subjects. The writers through their works, tried to eradicate social evils, and were successful to some extent. The social awareness, social reforms, rationalism, patriotism etc, played an important role in moulding the plots in the hands of the play writers. Between 1860 to 1880, dramas were considered only as texts for reading. The first independent drama written in Telugu was *Manjari Madhukareeyam* by Korada Ramachandra Sastry in 1860 and due to some difficulty it was not played on the stage. *Sizaru charitramu* ('Caesar's Story') in 1875, by Vavilala Vasudeva Sastri, was a trendsetter.

Telugu drama did not emerge till the end of the 19th century when, translation of Shakespeare's plays began to appear. The *Comedy of Errors*, translated by Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu, *Chamatkara Ratnavali* in 1880 were earliest plays. Translations of Sanskrit plays Sudraks Kalidasa's Sakuntala, Bhatta Narayana's *Venisamharam* and Sudrak's *Mruchakatikam* were produced in the early years of the 20th century. The changing political and social environment had its impact on the writers. Only indirect and suggestive plays propagating National freedom struggle and patriotism came into existence.

The first Telugu play to be staged was *Vyavahara Dharma Bodhini*⁶ (a guide to law) by Kandukuri Veereshalingam. In 1880 Draupadi *Vastrapaharanamu* was written taking the theme from the Hindu mythology of Mahabharata, with a plot of Pandavas loosing their everything in *jjutham* (gambling). The dialogues indicates that it is addressing the British who by cheating have grabbed the property of the Indians and made them slaves.

The story of *Pandavodyogam*(1907) is taken from the Hindu mythology Mahabharatha. This was staged all over the country. The *Padyams* (poems) in the drama are bi-hearted

even by illiterates just by listening to them. The scene in Krishna was sent by Pandavas as *Rayabari* (ambassador) to make Kauravas agree for *Sandhi* (peaceful settlement) is called the central scene. This was written keeping Mahatma Gandhi in mind. Dharmavaram Ramakrishnamacharyulu in his 'Chandrasa' introduced the aspect of nationalism and salt tax, without disturbing the basic structure of the drama.

By this time, the plays in Telugu were staged with a view to keep alive the ideas of swadeshi and boycott. A play titled 'Lala Lajapati Rai' was staged at Masulipatnam in December 1907. The drama commenced with the exhortations of V. Parabrahmam, played the role of Lajapati Rai, to boycott foreign goods and to encourage indigenous industries. He was arrested and this led to a riot. Another drama called 'Vande-Mataram' composed by Veluru Vasudeva Sastri was enacted at Kottapalli Kakinada in April 1908.⁷ Another play in *Panchali Swayamvaramu* introduced social reforms and nationalistic ideas in the script. Child Marriages, destruction of artisan industry, and usage of foreign goods were severely criticized through this drama.

Padmavyuham was a mythological play written by Kallakuri Narayana Rao in 1919. The story of *Padmavyuham*⁸ was taken from Mahabharata.⁹ The central scene in which Arjuna was addressed by Sri Krishna as "Having given away your kingdom to the enemies you are working hard for your livelihood and living like slave; The line having given India to the British was the indication.

In another context, Abhimanyu said "the one who sheds his blood for the sake of freedom of his motherland though dead, is living in this world through his *Kirthikaya* (the body of fame) inspired audience. Many dramas like *Tilak Rayabaram*, *Congress Vijayamu*, *Ali Prabrutula Nirbandhamu* (the arrest of Ali Brothers) and others based on Khilafat movement had been written by the playwrights. Since the subjects taken were contemporary, they were written as socio-political and nationalist fervor.

Theatre during 1920-47

Political drama emerged as an important trend in the 1920s and 1930s. The writers often used historical or nationalist themes to represent

contemporary reality into an allegorical form. Somaraju Ramanuja Rao's *Tilak Rayabaram* (1921), Damaraju Pundareekakshudu's *Panchapa Parabhavam* (1922), and Budhdhavarapu Pattabhiramayya's *Matrudasya Vimochanam* (1924) exemplify this trend. Under the impact of the widespread anti-colonial movement and the upsurge of a nationalist spirit, the writers felt the need for re-creating a national history and sculpting a national identity. Sripada Kameswara Rao's *Kalapahad* (1913), Muttaraju Subba Rao's *Chandragupta* (1932), Viswanatha Satyanarayana's *Venaraju* (1934), and Gundimeda Venkata Subba Rads *Khilji Rajya Patanam* (1935) from a part of this development.

Gandhiji's Entry into active politics and his countrywide tours gave fresh inspiration to people. Inspired by the leadership qualities of Gandhiji, dramas were written taking him as the main character. *Gandhi Vijayamu*, *Gandhi Mahodayamu*, *Gandhi Vijayadhvajam* etc., were written in this sequence. Swaraja Rathamu is a drama written by Somaraju Ramanuja Rao with the cooperation of Tilak Nataka Samajamu of Guntur. The play advocated swadeshi and national and village *panchayats*. The author also describes the role played by Hindus and Muslims during the First World War. It also stressed upon the need for peace and non-violence to achieve the ultimate goal. The drama was banned by the British Government.¹⁰ Tilak Maharaju Natakamu : by Sripada Krishna Murthy Sastry in 1921 highlighted Bal Gangadhar Tilak. This play too was banned by the Government.¹¹ Many plays were enacted on the Quit India movement (1942), with which the Indian independence movement entered its final phase. The years 1943-46 witnessed the publication of a large number of plays revolving round the theme of political liberation. Vedanlakavi's *Telugu Talli* (1940), Utukuru Satyanarayana Rao's *Sapa Vimochanam* (1943), Jasti Venkata Narasayya's *Congress Vijayam* (1946), and Pattigodupu Raghava Raju's *Delhi Kota* (1946) dramatize the political struggle for freedom.

In 1929, the Andhra Nataka Kala Parishad was established at Tenali to infuse new talent both in dramatic dialogue and acting. A group of actors, playwrights formed this theatre forum, with people like Vanaraso Govinda Rao who later founded of Surabhi Theatre, Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao Editor of *Andhra Patrika*,

Achanta Venkata Sankhyayana Sarma, Kothapalli Lakshmaiah, Viswanatha Kaviraju etc. The Rajah of Pithapuram, Venkatagiri *samsthan*, the *Rajahs* of Vuyyuru, Challapallisamsthan, Bezawada Ramachandra Reddy, M.P., Rangayappa Rao, the then President of the *Parishad* were the patrons of the *Parishad*. The renowned artists of All-India level, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, V. Shantaram, the film Director, Prithviraj Kapur, famous actor and founder of Prithvi theatre, encouraged the activities of the *parishad*.¹² They insisted upon the participating teams to make women play female roles in their plays. They had also published the photos of women artists participating in the dramas, in the advertisement pamphlets. The *parishad* started a special magazine named *Natyakala* especially for theatre in 1937, under the leadership K. Lakshmaiah, and N. Venkata Seshaiiah, as its editor.¹³

Involvement of Women into Theatre

Bellary Ragava and Kandukuri Veereshalingam were those who introduced women from their own families on to the stage. Surabhi Company being a troupe where all members were of the same family or nearest relatives encouraged the women from their families to act in dramas. Andhra Nataka Kala Parishad, while conducting drama competitions insisted upon that female roles must be enacted by women only. Thus a number of women could come out boldly to act in dramas. Kannamba was a great artist was the founder of Rajarajeswari Natya Mandali. Kannamba toured in Andhra giving performances of plays and earned fame. She entered into films in 1935 and acted in as many as 150 films. Born in Surabhi family Kamala Bai acted as child artist in her father's own drama company. She acted in more than 130 films. She played not only female male roles. She was the founder of Kamala Natyamandali (1952) and trained many artists. Purnima was the daughter of founder of Surabhi Nataka Samajam acted as heroine in theatre. Dasari Kotirathanam played both the male and female roles. She received almost 200 medals for her performance. She also established her own drama company and gave performances all over Andhra.

Impact of Theatre on Public

Madala Veerabhadra Rao, an author of many books on freedom struggle in Andhra

narrated his experiences in his book: "Pedanandipadu is at a distance of 18 miles from Guntur. I was a drama actor in those days, also I used to give performances in *harikathas*. A freedom fighter by name Kommamuri Lakshmi Narayana worked along with us on behalf of the Congress Committee. We could gather nearly 6000 people as *Santi Sainyam*.¹⁴ The next day itself nearly 20000 village officers have resigned for their posts.¹⁵ Seven women took a procession holding National flags and singing patriotic songs.¹⁶ Bandar Indian Dramatic Company had arranged the staging of the play "*Pandava Vijayamu*" written by Tirupati Venkata Kavulu, in Gudiwada of Krishna District. The Magistrate of Gudiwada imposed Section 144 on them and stopped the play and prohibited the company from staging plays for 3 months. The drama *Swarajya Sopanam* written in 1921 could impress the Andhra audience. In the preface to the drama, Kodati Narayana Rao expressed his observations as follows "The poems in the drama echoed throughout Andhra. Apart from actors, *Haridasas*, Singers etc., sung the poems in different occasions. In *Santarpanams* (group lunch in temples) the songs and poems of the drama were Sung".

Kodati Narayana Rao also recorded his observations as: "this drama was written by Damaraju in 1921 as a part of propaganda to non-cooperation movement of the day. The Tilak Nataka Samajam of Guntur staged the play. The government banned the play. Every time the play was banned, the name was changed and staged again". The impact of the play "*Gandhi Vijayamu*" was recorded by the author Damaraju Pundarikashudu in the preface of the play. "When we wanted to stage the drama in Kakinada, the police locked the theatre and arrested all our actors. Bulusu Sambamurthy pleaded for us. At the same time about 25 students from Visakhapatnam staged the play and were arrested and brought to the jail. During the night time the drama was presented in the jail hall itself whereupon slogans "*Mahatma Gandhiki Jai*" reverberated all over the jail premises. Desha Bhakta Konda Venkatappaiah, Unnava Lakshmi Narayana, and Duggirala Gopala Krishnaiah acted as the Congress leaders. N. Subba Rao through his Gandhi character created a great impact over the audience. Section 3A of Dramatic performance act about Act was created for our sake only and

then onwards the prior permission of the Day before staging was insisted upon.”¹⁷

When the drama "*Chíchchula Pidugu*" (the thunderbolt) was banned by the Government, the title of the play was changed and staged, in which Amancharla Gopala Rao, Kunepalli Subrahmanyam, Rahim Khan, Achari etc., were the actors. The youth of Yuvajana Samithi arrested and were imprisoned. Some prisoners were shifted to Tanjavur jail. After release from the jails, the youth had intensified the movement, and made the public to participate in it.¹⁸ The drama "*Panchala Parabhavam*" after banned by the Government played several times.¹⁹ This drama was actually written by Ramachandrani Venkatappaiah but Madduri Annapurnaiah did not reveal the name of the author and as a publisher of the drama underwent a rigorous imprisonment of two and half years.²⁰ Thus not only the dramas of those days, but also the actors were so inspiring both patriotically and socially, that their impact was there in every section of people and situations.

The British government banned more than thirty telugu dramas which were thought to be of revolutionary nature. Some were banned at manuscript stage, whereas some were proscribed after printing and publishing. The dramas banned after printing and publishing were: *Tilak Rayabaramu* by Somaraju Ramanuja Rao –(1921) *Swarajya Rathamu* by Somaraju Ramanuja Rao –(1921) *Tilak Rayabaramu* by somaraju Ramanuja Rao and *Gandhi Vijaya Dhvajam* (1921), by Sripada Krishnamurthy Sastry was banned by the Government vide [G.O.No.](#), 839 dt. 30.10.1923. This book is also called the *Navayugam* (New Era) since it was based on the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of Nagpur congress. Another drama *Chirala Perala Gandhidasa Natakam* by Meduri Ramamurthi (1922) was also banned.

During the year 1930, on the day of *Pongal* P.V. Rajamannar's '*Tappevaridi*' (Whose fault is it) was presented at Madras Museum Theatre by Bellary Raghava and team. The female roles in the drama were enacted by Madabhushi Sarojini, Annapurna and Kommuri Padmavathi and gained the applause of the audience for their performance. Even before that Ramathilakam, Kannamba, Sarojini, purnima, Rajeswari Anjali etc., acted in dramas.²¹ The audiences were

ready to purchase a special ticket for 4 annas to see Kannamba particularly.²²

Praja Natya Mandali

By 1940s the political scenario, both in India and abroad, had changed. The world situation underwent a radical change. The spread of Marxist ideas and people's struggles resulted in the establishment of the hegemony of the Communist Party of India. The Progressive Writers Association (PWA) through its nationwide activities had spread the message of socialism and world peace in the wake of the outbreak of the Second World War. Left realized the help of the theatre, the powerful instrument of visual art. The Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA), founded in 1943 in Bombay was meant to fill this gap.²³ Approaching the masses through people's theatre was the main aim of this movement and as such it was to be an adjunct to the PWA which was already working on the literary front.²⁴ The All India People's Theatre Association Conference (1943) declared in its draft resolution that it "recognizes the urgency of organizing people's theatre movement throughout the whole of India as the means of revitalizing the stage and the traditional arts. An all India Committee was constituted, the composition of which shows that all leading mass organisations such as All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Kisan Sabha, and PWA were associated with it and representatives from different provinces were included. The provincial organising Committees were also formed.²⁵ From Andhra Garikapati Raja Rao attended the conference, but in the organising committee Krishnamurthy and Chandalavada Pitchaiah were included.²⁶ The IPTA in Andhra popularly known as 'Praja Natyamandali' revived the thirty four old folk arts forms. The artists were young and most of them came from rural working masses. They compiled songs and composed music and scripted plays, skits and presented them before large gatherings.

The Praja natyamandali succeeded in popularising the Communist Party programmes and politics through its performances.²⁷ Its success was as much due to its class composition as also due to the medium of popular performing arts. Of all the arts forms they adopted, 'Burra Katha' (Bardic recitals) was the most popular form as it includes, a story, music, rhythmic movements of body, make-up and also

the satirical remarks that players make on contemporary politics²⁸ It was enriched by Sunkara Satyanarayana, the poet who wrote most powerful and popular Burrakatha scripts such as *Kashtajivi* (the toiler) Alluri Seetharama Raju, Veeresalingam Bengal Famine, Tanya, (Russian heroine), Nasser was the famous performer. About half a dozen 'dalams' (squads) performed this form throughout Andhra.

Activities of 'Praja Natyamandali' reached a peak during the Telangana armed struggle (1946-51) when many more popular forms of culture were used.²⁹ Particular mention may be made of the play *Maabhoomi* (our land) authored by Sunkara and Vasireddy. It stirred the urbanites and the rural masses alike with its splendid performances, even winning laurels from Congress politicians and ministers too.³⁰ In one year, during 1947, the play *Maabhoomi*, was staged around thousand times by 125 troupes to an audience of two million people which, according to K.A. Abbas, was a world record.³¹ The Theatre movement increased its network at grassroots level. With more than two hundred village level branches. Each district had a coordinating committee. The body at the provincial level supervised the work of the lower bodies. District training centres were organized.³² Rigorous rehearsals, group discussions of the script and attention to minute details in production were the hallmarks of the 'Prajanatya Mandali'. After a prolonged discussion within the Communist Party, it was decided that roles of women should be played only by women. Women, in particular family women of younger age became active participants in the movement. They were also trained in the technique of 'Burrakatha' and exclusive female squads of this were organized.³³

IPTA (Indian People's Theatre Association) in its pamphlets published that the drama *Paschattapam* (the repentance) was presented in twenty centres and attracted nearly thirty five thousand audience. The play *Prathima* taking Bengal famine as subject when presented in 159

centres, attracted two and half lakhs of audience. The play *Mundadugu* (a step forward) was presented in Krishna and Guntur districts. In Guntur district Rythu Maha Sabha (the peasant's conference) the drama was presented and forty thousand people responded to it.³⁴ Famous journalist and editor of Indian Express, Kasa Subba Rao expressed his reaction to the drama that "the drama *Mundadugu* is simply marvellous. In certain places, tears rolled down from my eyes. I am a poor man, But still I pay Rs.116/- as a token of my appreciation to the Praja Natya Mandali.³⁵

Conclusion

Drama which was considered to be only for entertainment of people in earlier days was noticed at later years to be a medium for communicating social awareness and sow the seeds of nationalism among the people into the minds of the common; but due to fear of the Government, the writers indirectly inserted some dialogues or some scenes suggestively; this was the early phase of theatrical revolution against the British rule; mostly mythological plays were given a sort of contemporary touch with the message of nationalism through characters like Pandavas, Kauravas etc.

However, the drama written from 1921 to 1947 taking themes directly from the contemporary political scenario showed their direct impact on the people of Andhra and prepared them to participate in the freedom struggle in spirit and deed. Bellary Raghva's performances on the stage impressed not only the public but the great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranth Tagore and Benard shaw. Dramas criticizing British brutality directly began appearing on the stage. Events like *Salt satyagraha*, Non-cooperation, Civil Disobedience and *Khilafat* movements were given prominence in the dramatic elements. In the above manner the Andhra theatre has contributed a lot for the National movement.

End Notes

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2. Ibid., also M. Radhakrishna Murthy, op.cit., p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 33.
4. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
5. Ibid.

6. J. V. Subhalaxmi, *Theatre in Andhra ; Origin, Evaluation and Contributions to National Movement 1880-1947*, Unpublished PhD Thesis from Dr.B.R.Ambedkar Open University, Hyderabad, 2015, p.119.
7. B.Kesavanarayana, *Political and Social Factors in Andhra (1900-1956)*Vijayawada, 1916, p.37
8. Bipin Chandra '*History of Modern India*, Hyderabad, 2013, 286
9. *Padmavyuhams* one of the arrangements of grouping of the soldiers in a particular fashion to make the enemy unable to attack and even escape.
10. *Government of Madras Public* (Confidential) G.O.No.404 dt.5.6.1924
11. *Government of Madras Public* (General) Department MS Series Confidential G.O. No 221 dt. 27.6.1923
12. Ravi Sharma R. (Ed) *Andhra Nataka Kala Parishad Sangraha Charitra 1929 to 1960*, Hyderabad 1994- p .67
13. Ibid –p. 120
14. Veerabhadra Rao M. *Guntur Zilla Swarajya Udyamam*(1920-30) *Ujvala Ghattalu*, Bangalore 1974 - p.81
15. ibid p 82
16. ibid p 120
17. Preface to *Gandhi Vijayamu*. By Damaraju Pundarikashudu
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19. Ibid
20. Suryanarayana P. *Rajamahendravaram Natakaramam* Rajahmundry 2008 –p. 5
21. Ramana P.V. '*Telugu Sanghika Natakam Parinama Vikasam*' Venkata ramana Graphics, tenali 1995 p 87
22. ibid-p. 89
23. Sudhi Pradhan, op.cit., pp. 129-30
24. Interview with K.A. Abbas by Kausar Khan in IPTA IX National Conference and Festival Souvenir, Hyderabad, 1986, pp. 38-39
25. The General Secretary of the AITUC, N.M. Joshi was elected the president of the IPTA. Bankim Mukherjee, President All India Kisan Sabha, S.A. Dange, the President of the AITUC, Sajjad Zaheer, the General Secretary, All India PWA, Arun Bose, the General Secretary, AISF were taken as the members of the Executive Committee of the ITA. Ibid., pp. 132-34
26. Ibid., p. 134
27. All League for Revolutionary Culture, Inaugural Conference Souvenir, New Delhi, 1 Oct, 1983; Also, Krishna, *Prajanatyamandali Gnapakalu*, (Telugu) Hanumakonda, 1984, p. 12. The author an activist of IPTA recorded his reminiscences in this
28. Ibid., pp. 9 and 21-22. Sudhi Pradhan, op.cit., pp. 273-
29. *Prajakala-Roopalu Patalu* (Telugu), Hyderabad 1987, Telengana Rytanga Portam (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1988) Telengana Porata Patalu (Telugu), Hyderabad 1990. Also see D.V. Rao, *TElengana Prajala Sayudha Porata Charitra*, Hyderabad, 1988, pp. 519 and 576-793, KVR, Telengana Portam-Sahityam (Telugu), Guntur, 1984.
30. Vasireddy, Sunkara, *Maabhoomi* (play in Telugu), Vijayawada, 1984 (Frist edn. 1947); See Pratap Reddy's article 'People's Theatre Stars the People' in IPTA Souvenir, op.dt., p. 46
31. M. Radhakrishna Murthy's, op.cit., p. 34.
32. K.K. Ranganathacharyulu's, op.at. pp. 143-45.
33. Krishan op.cit., pp. 9 and 21-23; for further details see Kambhampati, *Communist Movement*, Vol. 2, pp. 301-303.
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HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TIRUVAMATTUR TEMPLE

V. Suganya & Dr. V. Raju

Introduction

Tiruvamattur is a prominent ancient Saivite centre adorned with the Abhiramesvarar temple. It is a place of attraction to various Saivite devotees from time immemorial. The famous Nayanmars like Thirunavukkarasar, Thirugnanasambandar and Sundarar visited this temple from yore. There are 274 Siva temples which have been immortalized in the verses of the famous hymns of *Devaram*.¹ Among them, 22 temples are situated in Nadunadu. Tiruvamattur is one among them.

The Greatness of Location:

Nadunadu is a jewel of Thondaimandalam. It attained greatness as a holy place in Tamil

Nadu. In mythology, once Brahma and Vishnu quarreled mutually for their superiority. It is believed that they came over to Nadunadu to prove their might, each trying to throw the column. Brahma wanted to find the top of Lord Siva. Sri Vishnu was to find out the bottom of Siva.² Brahma took the form of a swan and flew up while Sri Vishnu became a gigantic bore plunged down. Suddenly, the column opened and Lord Siva appeared in with all his glory. Both of them failed in their mission, recognized Siva's divinity and worshipped him. It is believed that it so happened in this Nadunadu and so it gained its prominence. Moreover, this place is also related to Vaishnavism. It is said that Lord Vishnu came to this region to measure 3 feet of land in

his *Vamana avadara*. This *Nadu* is also related to the life of Nayanmars, as the birth place of the Saivite saints Meiporul Nayanar, Thirunavukkarasar and Sundarar, one of the prominent Nayanmars, became a bonded slave of Lord Siva. It all happened in this Nadunadu.³ Thus, Tiruvamattur, a part of Nadunadu, has gained prominence as a part of glorious Tamil Nadu.

At present Tiruvamattur is a tiny village located at about 6km, north-west of villupuram, and the headquarters of the district of that name. The temple of Abhiramesvarar is situated in the heart of the village. A river by name Pamba flows along the northern side of the temple.⁴

Etymologically, the name Tiruvamattur is derived from the combination of words Tiru+aa+mattur. "Tiru" means to "holy" or "respectful." "Aa" means "cow" "Mattur" connotes a place. It is said that once the cows had no horns for their protection. Even small animals could attack and kill them. Fearing their total extinction, the cows, helped by the divine Kamadhenu, went into penance to Lord Siva. With his grace, they were blessed with horns, which enabled them to protect themselves. Thus, the earlier stage of the cows got changed, and hence, the name of the village came to be known as "aa+mattur" and with the prefix 'Tiru' (holy). Hence, the name Tiruvamattur.⁵ since the Almighty blessed the cows as mothers, this place is also known as "Gomathapuram.

The Sthalapuram of Tiruvamattur says that the worship of Abhiramesvarar in Tiruvamattur is equal to the worship of Lord Siva in *Panchabhatsthalas*. It also adds that Sage Behringi Muni stayed and worshipped the Lord of this temple. It further states that the Saints Thirugnanasambandar, Thirunavukkarasar and Sundarar have sung hymns in praise of the presiding deity of the temple. Apart from the Nayanmars, the famous twin poets have composed '*Kalambagam*' in praise of the Lord Abhiramesvarar. The name of the presiding deity of the temple is referred to in the inscriptions as Paramaswami, Mahadevar, Alagiya Nayanar,⁶ Aludiyar and Alvar.

A unique feature of this temple is that Muthambigai, the consort of the presiding deity, invariably found on the left side of Lord Siva in all other temples, in the same premises, is

situated as an independent temple in front of the Abhiramesvarar temple facing west. A Street separates these two temples.

The Abhiramesvarar temple at Tiruvamattur is one of the famous South Indian Temples. Nothing is known about the history of the temple prior to the Pallava period. The Bhakti movement gained importance with the advent of the *Devaram* saints.⁷

Thirunavukkarasar

The Saiva saint Thirunavukkarasar visited this temple at Tiruvamattur and sang two (*Thirupathigams*) hymns on the glory of the presiding deity as Esan and Iyyanar. His hymns contain information about the place and the temple. In one of the hymns, he says that Lord Rama had worshipped the lord of this temple. He also mentions the village as "Amattur." From this it is realised that this place was called only "Amattur" in the ancient period. His hymns speak about the greatness of Abhiramesvarar.⁸

Thirugnanasambandar

One of the prominent Saiva saints Thirugnanasambandar too visited this holy place and sang many religious songs. In his hymns, he describes not only the beauty of the village, but also narrates a tank with ambal flowers, the fertility of the soil and the presence of flower gardens. Mahendravarman I, a Pallava ruler of seventh century A.D, was a contemporary of Thirunavukkarasar and Thirugnanasambandar.⁹ This proved that this temple, an important religious centre, did exist even before the seventh century A.D.

Sundaramoorthy

Another glorious Saiva saint Sundaramoorthy, who lived in the first quarter of eighth century A.D., is one of the four great Nayanmars of *Devaram*. He also sang hymns in praise of the lord of this temple. His hymns are religion oriented. However, they do not offer any information on the importance of this temple but merely eulogise the lord.¹⁰

These saints visited this temple during the period between 600 A.D. and 710 A.D. and sang in praise of Lord Siva. The contributions of the Saiva saints to this temple are remarkable. Hence, it is believed that this temple should have been an important religious centre even before

the seventh century A.D.¹¹ But, later, the same temple was renovated by the Cholas with the addition of a sanctum made up of stone.

Tiruvamattur temple is a treasure house of inscriptions. The inscriptions of the Cholas, the Pándyas, the Vijayanagar rulers and their feudatories are found in the temple of Tiruvamattur. These are the primary sources of information to reconstruct the history of Tiruvamattur region and its temple. Most of the epigraphs mention the munificent endowments and lavish gifts made over to the temple in the form of lands, villages, gold, sheep, jewels, lamps¹² and various other articles for its upkeep and maintenance. The donors mentioned in the inscriptions are mainly the rulers, the officials, the merchants and the public.

The Later Cholas

Among the prominent dynasties of South India, the Cholas, especially the later Cholas, rendered meritorious service not only to maintain the divinity of the temple but also for its maintenance. During the middle of the 9th century A.D., Vijayalaya (A.D. 846-881) vanquished the chieftain Muttaraiyar and laid the foundation of the later Chola dynasty at Tanjore. Aditya I (A.D.881-907) the son and successor of Vijayalaya Chola, participated in Sripurambiam battle which took place between Pallava and Pandya near Kumbakonam, as an ally of the Pallava ruler. Eventhough Aparajita, the Pallava ruler, emerged victorious in the battle, he allowed Aditya to add some new territories. But Aditya wanted to extend his territories further. Therefore, he waged a war against Aparajita, defeated him and annexed Tondaimandalam¹³. This conquest enabled him to expand his territory from the river Cauvery in the south as the southern boundary and the Rashtrakuta kingdom in the north. Hence, Nadunadu including Tiruvamattur came under the rule of the Cholas right from the period of Vijayalaya. But we do not come across any of his records here. Vijayalaya was succeeded by Aditya I in A.D. 871. It was the custom of Chola kings to assume the title 'Rajakèsari' and Parakesari' alternatively in succession. Aditya I also took the title of Rajakesari' after enlarging his territories as an independent ruler¹⁴.

The Chola Empire, thus expanded, was later ruled by the celebrated Chola kings up to the end of the 13th century A.D. Among them,

Parantaka I (A.D. 907-953), Rajaraja I (A.D.985-1014), Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-1044), Virarajendra (A.D.1063-1070), Kulottunga I (A.D.1070-1130), Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1118-1136), Kulottunga II (A.D 1133-1150) and Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1218) deserve special mention. Tiruvamattur temple has inscriptions of these rulers.

After the decline of the cholas Kopperunjingan II became an independent ruler and ruled over Tondaimandalam¹⁵. His inscriptions are to be found in the temple at Tiruvamattur. During his tenure the village was known as "Rajaraja Valanattu Panaiyur nattu devadanam". He has also made endowments to the Mahadeva temple of this village. Mahadeva was the another name of the main deity of the Tiruvamattur Abhiramesvarar temple. We presume from these inscriptions at the temple that this village was under his control during his reign.

Sadayavarma Sundara Pandya I the Pandya king subdued Kopperunjingan II who ruled a part of the Chola country and annexed the chola country in A.D. 1279. Very soon he brought the entire Tamil Nadu under the Pandya rule. The inscriptions of Sadayavarama Virapandya (A.D.1270-1271) and Maravarman Vikrama Pandya (A.D. 1283-1296) at the temple of Tiruvamattur¹⁶. Proved that this village was a part of the second Pandya Empire. Due to the invasion of Malik Kafur the general of Alauddin Khilji the later Pandya rule came to an end and sounded the establishment of Muslim rule in Tamil Nadu.

After the second Pandyan Empire fell apart, Tamil Nadu underwent several changes of different rulers. Exploiting the confused circumstances prevailing then, the chieftains entitled Sambuvarayas chose to act as independent sovereigns. The inscriptions are to be found in the period of Rajanarayana I (A.D. 1337-1363) and Rajanarayana III (A.D. 1356-1397). In Abhiramesvarar temple at Tiruvamattur. They made several gifts of this temple. From these, we understand that this village was under the administration of Sambuvarayas¹⁷.

To recover South India from the Muslim rule, Vijayanagar Empire was established by Harihara I and Bukka I in A.D. 1336. By the expedition of Kumarakambana the second son of

Bukka I, Tamil country came under the control of Vijayanagar Empire in the course of the 14th century A.D.¹⁸

The inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers Bukka I (A.D. 1343-1379), Viravijayar (A.D.1412-1419), Virupaksha I (A.D.1470-1471), Krishnadevaraya (A.D.1509-1530), Achyutharaya (A.D.1530-1542), Sadhasiva Maharaya¹⁹ (A.D.1542-1586) and Venkata I (A.D. 1586-1614) are to be found in the Abhiramesvarar temple at Tiruvamattur. These inscriptions clearly show that the Kings of the Vijayanagar dynasty had liberally donated too. These inscriptions show that Tiruvamattur was a village under the sovereignty of the Vijayanagar Empire²⁰.

From the stock fact that the temple contains no other inscriptions after the Vijayanagar

Empire, we may conclude that Tiruvamattur had lost fame and importance.

In the post-independence India, Tiruvamattur region was first located in the district of South Arcot. When South Arcot district was bifurcated for administrative convenience as Cuddalore and Villupuram districts and at present it is a village panchayat in Villupuram Taluk.

Having analysed the evidences it is clear that name of the village Tiruvamattur is called in the same name from the very beginning to this date.

The above description leads one to the inevitable conclusion that the village Tiruvamattur is historically an important place from its inception to the present day.

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MAGICAL BELIEF AND THEORIES AND ITS IMPACT ON MODERN SOCIETY

Dr. Suresh Chellappan

Introduction

This paper tries to understand magical belief and theories and its belief and theories and its influence on magician and clients and their positive as well as negative attitudes and in different ways and how they effect in modern society. This study of the paper needs carefully understanding the construction of mind with un

conceptualised evidences, structure of social institution, influential elements, culture, religion, class and caste etc. Recently new studies intervention and invention about different magical practices are going on the world in social context. Here the magical beliefs carry the relation between the existing social norms and domination subordinating people and controlling the metaphysical thinking. The

concept of magic and related superstitious belief in its existence has existed throughout the recorded history. The nature of the practices has different forms in different ages. Many scholars gave different types of definition to magic. But it is difficult to apply an Anthropological definition to magic. Historically magical label has been applied to practices of people belief influence of mind, body, to property of others against their will. Magic is a broad term¹ referring to diverse beliefs that share both primitive and highly cultures.

The magic mainly include three categories. The main categories are magical men, the magical practices, and magical objects. The magical men shall be concerned with individuals to who super human or supernatural powers are ascribed. The magical practices are the attainment of supernatural powers and magical objects, the things which needed to magical practices. The belief in magic included three complementary aspects. First the sorceress belief in the effectiveness of his techniques second, the patients or victims belief in the sorceress power and finally, the faith and expectations of the group. Magic is constantly acted as a sort of "gravitational field"¹ within which the relationship between sorcerer and bewitched is located and defined. Much anthropological literature refers to the objects used in magic as medicines. Magic is a generic term that refers to different kinds of beliefs and practices related to supernatural forces. Among it encompasses such areas as witchcraft, sorcery, and shamanism. In such context magic is not simply a pre-scientific way of attaining practical ends. It may also involve at least a partial. symbolic recognition of the societies spiritual world view and of its gods and myths.

Primitive man never analyze the mental process of the client he knows only the practical side of the magic. Magic in the supernatural sense is different from stage magic in which apparent magical effects are produced for entertainment through such means a sleight of hand. Taylor says "magic is one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed in mankind:

it was also a fundamental characteristic of the lowest] plown stage of civilization',².

People have certain beliefs. Even the educated man is not free from the beliefs he has inherited from age past. An average person can move his brain waves easily in any direction he wants. If one starts thinking positively, it works positively and if he thinks otherwise, it causes negative effects and these reactions carry an influence called Magic. The success and existence of these practices are based on its belief. Belief is here used to denote the attitude of mind in perceptions are regarded as real, judgments as true of matters of fact, actions and events as about to have certain results.

Magic can be divided mainly in to two broad classes that are malicious and beneficent. The word magic comes from" the *magi* the name given to European priests of ancient Persia". Magic is the mystery of profound connection between mind and spiritual consciousness, insights and expansion of feelings. The magical practices connect through imagination. And these practices and its consciousness work a pattern of connection through myths symbols and rituals and word power. Its nature is always deals with natural forces. All types of magic draw these ultimate power over animated and in animated things. Magical practice use the power of imagination and intuition thought to manifest energy in to matter. The magical practices have two side, the strength of the imaginative power on one side and the other is the power of the stimulation of negativity and weakness. The scope of magic is to acquire knowledge, power, love and wealth or to heal disease or ward of danger.

Magic may be considered as two, black and white. Generally it believed that white magic is considered as beneficial and uses positive powers. Black magic is considered as doing unacceptable things and unholy. But the different between white and black magic is the intent of the.. user. Both these magical practices are based on natural forces. Exactly all forms of magic exactly the opposite attitude of nature. Doing of magic is an attempt to use supernatural power

and spiritual reality. Most of the practices are come out from mysticism. "Magic involves an instrumental orientation towards supernatural".

Magic might be called the science of exploring mans hidden powers and his abilities. It is based upon a strong intuition of human mind. "Magic might be called the science of exploring mans hidden powers and his abilities. It is based upon a strong intuition of human mind" Magic is the science of arts of causing changing to occurring in conformity with will". Magic was no more that a crude attempt at science, and it had now been superseded by science". "Magic was not completely the science of the past it was the science future".

HISTORY OF ANCIENT MAGICAL THEORIES AND FOUNDATIONS

In various countries black magical beliefs and worships are known in various forms like witchcraft, sorcery, shamanism, and so on. Ritualizes roughly equivalent to shamans have described their contacts with fairies, spirits often involving out-of-body experiences and travelling through the realms of a transcended world. Beliefs of this nature are implied in the practices of much of Europe, and are explicitly described by accused witches in central and southern Europe.

We live in a world of duality where light and darkness are the two sides of the same coin. Black magic is the negative use of energies and power by evil minded human. All humans have their two sides; divine as well as evil, all human have different ratios of evil and divine within them. It is believed that everyday many prosperous and happy, families are being ruined by black magic. Magic is a manipulation of energy for own benefit. The same energy can be used in a positive way to heal the people as well.

"Belief in witchcraft and sorcery are on way of explaining the inexplicable, controlling the uncontrollable, and accounting for the problem of evil"³. There are two types' beliefs- that are natural and supernatural that is the difference between perception belief and imagination belief. According to *Srinivas* the "general preferences

for the martial way of life express itself, in belief of ritual and myth".⁴ Belief and superstitions are interconnected. "In common usage the term belief signifies the acceptance as true of a proposition for which empirical evidence is lacking. Belief entails an emotion of conviction that cannot be reduced to something more fundamental than itself "⁵.

According to *E M Butler* "The fundamental aim of magic is to impose the human will on nature on man and super sensual world and on order to master them"⁶ Magical force is a notion derived from experiences of natural force and employed to account for events that are usual, wonderful, mysterious not it be interpreted by the common sense which in the cumulative result of usual experiences. Magic begins with ignorance of some of a desired event, and the adoption of anything that fixes ones attention as contributing to the total antecedent. Magic may arise out of mystery, the sense of mystery arises when something excites wonder gives place to curiosity, and curiosity is baffled, and wonder returns with fear. Magic being mysterious the more mysterious the more powerful it must be.

E M Butler writes "the fundamental aim of magic is to impose the human will on nature, on man and the super sensual world in order to master them"⁷. But *Aleister Crowley* who said that it was no more than a first crude attempt at science and it had now been superseded by science because it is far beyond than science. Its secrecy is now beyond than science.

But *William D Husley* says "the practice of magic is based on magical, which are not supported by logic, science or religion and its performance involves words, actions, and objects"⁸. Magic is an impersonal connection of events, depending on some impersonal force that has real existence. What causes make men believe in such force. In the first place, everything is necessarily conceived of by everybody as a centre of forces

Magic is divided in to three broad classes, which is black, grey and white. It is believed that "white is helpful to the people and black is

harmful"⁹ "Black magic is called the left-handed path because right-handedness is normal and left-handed is reversal of the normal"¹⁰. Grey magic comes in the mix of good and evil. It is seen as falling in a continuum between white and black magic. It is also called neutral magic. *RW Firth* has divided magic in to "productive, protective, and destructive"¹¹

But Evan Prichard defines magic in three categories and points out that there exists "productive, protective, and punitive · magic"¹² Anthropologists had distinguished three types' magical practices.

That is "homeopathic, means the small portion of a thing to affect the whole. The other is sympathetic magic means a symbolic action effect the object and the last is contagious that is influencing one thing through contact with other"¹³

Another type of magic is green magic, and grey magic Green magic involves the practitioners attaining himself or herself to nature and the world around him or her. White magic is where the practitioners' attunes him or herself to the needs of human society and attempts to meet those needs. This type of magic does not entail harming other beings. Grey magic is a magic that is neither green, not black, nor white, and which usually replaces the absolute stand of these realm with an ethical code that is particular to the practitioner. Folk magic is an eidetic collection of herbalist, faith healing cures and hexes, candle magic, and other workings that has thrived in rural areas for centuries. According to James Frazer, Magic is a mistaken application to the material world of the laws of thought so as to constitute "a spurious system of natural law"¹⁴

The role of magic varies from generation to generation. "Both public and private magic can and do exist within single societies"¹⁵ Magic when good helps society cohere when bad it is used as a means to personal gains and inflicts evil on its practitioners enemies, "magic is nevertheless mans attempt to manipulate, propitiate or commune with supernatural forces

with specific end in view these end may be personal, or collective, Except when it is bad"¹⁶.

In spite of the social disapproval of magic in the society even educated people practicing the same. It is not surprise that education and science, the most potent symbols and purveyors of progress and modernity, should not eradicate belief in the unseen, in the magical, in powers that transcend ordinary human control and comprehension. It appears that the extension of social scale, rapid economic advance, political change and the spread of modern thinking, the influence of science and technology and modern education is not effected the considerable increase of magical beliefs. So it is believed that such type of beliefs and practices are the part of our society.

In this post-modern period people in all over the world is growing with rational thinking and scientific ideas. World is going faster and faster with new findings. But certain people did not change their attitudes and feelings. A large number of crimes, treachery, and robbery exist now in Kerala in the names of various kinds of sorcery. When a man attempts to harm others by magical practices, it is practically applied to the doer himself.

People know this practice has bad effect but their morality do not accept the truth. Accidentally some practices are seemed to have been success. There are lots of reasons behind the growth of magic. Its existence rests in the hands of clients. The narration about the results of magic IS the main reason for its existence.

Magic is related to human mind. The activities are the by product of mind. In the stages of development one has to satisfy their needs and wishes at their possible way. Magic satisfy the needs of the people derive from the desire to possession and selfishness. Possession syndrome one branch in hysteria is related to these beliefs. The people who are in the group of psychological problems may incline to these activities. Symptoms derive from beliefs: but are based upon social norms. Faith and belief of the magic is another reason for its existence. Human mind has enormous weakness, the aim whatever it may be, to achieve the impossible things; in

any possible way is the weakness of magic and its existence. Black magic is always related to hazardous ends. From this point of view the attitude towards black magic is being changed. Failures and success of the practices is justified by the clients. He never regrets his continuous failures but he is satisfying his rare favourable success.

Conclusion

Day by day we are hearing about a lot of cheating stories of magic through social Medias. The believers of magic are never aware of these cheating stories. The believers are ready to give their all belongings to the magicians without any guilty feeling. The gift such as the costly things like Car, TV, Fridge, *lakh* of money and so on, are giving as the gift to the present day believers in Kerala. The believers ready to give thousands of money to every *poojas*. The magicians earn *lakhs* of money by frequent *poojas*. Most of the magicians in world are now rich people. Here there is no capital invest anywhere without exploit the beliefs of ordinary people. Now magical practices are common in the name of herbal treatment. Even now the higher sections of the society in world are feared about the magical practices of lower section of the society.

Sometimes magical practices may cause to sex abuse. Most of the clients never reveal their regretful sex experience to the world. For the

sake of the death fear of family members, certain house members mainly wife is suffering such sex abuse for avoiding the calamities. Rumours about the haunted houses are wilfully creating for the sake of sex activities. The members of the black mass in Kerala entered sexual activities at the end of their programme. Wealth The, women, and wine became the gifts of the black magical practices.

Another thing is that according to some believers of magic in the world, they never change their attitude towards magic, how it is frightful, or how many failures they faced. "Magic was not the science of the past. It is the science of the future"¹⁷. Human mind has reached at the point of evolution where it is about to develop new powers-powers that would once have been considered magical. As a broader institution a microscopic attention should be given to magic.

If anyone inclined to magic it is difficult to turn him to the previous position. So it is better to organize classes against these stupid practices. In short the practice of magic is the manifestation of human being. Here people make waste their energy, time and money in worthless rituals and ceremonies. These things lead to decline and decay of civilization. So, we have to be vigilant and guard ourselves against the superstitions.

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TEMPLES AS AN EMPLOYER DURING SECOND PANDIYAN EMPIRE

Dr. K. Thangapandian

In the medieval period, temples performed multifarious activities in and around their precincts. The temple was an active centre of religious life in the local area besides being an important social institution that filled a large place in the multi-purpose activities, political, social, economic and cultural of the villae or township; rather it may be said, it filled a large place in the cultural and economic life of the people of Tamil Nadu. It was an employer as it employed a large bureaucracy of servants, highly officialised. It served as a bank since it received deposits in its treasury and lent money to the people.

In early times, only priests and their families, who were supported by the village community on a collective basis, managed the temples. Even as late as the Pallava period, the temples had a small staff. The early Pallava temples generally employed one or two Brahmana priests, a manager and one or two readers of religious texts. The number of employees in the service of the temple, the variety of interests represented therein made the temple an employer of considerable importance.

The employees of the temples can be divided into two main categories:

(a) Those who were mainly concerned with the religious functions of the temple and

(b) Those who worked in the educational and charitable institutions attached to the temples. The first category included priests, dancing girls, musicians and supervisory and menial staff. The second category included the teachers, professors, doctors, nurses and others.

In addition to permanent employees, many persons were appointed by the temple temporarily or on part-time basis. They formed a group of their own. It is possible to say something about the functions and conditions of these various groups of employees¹. The temples provided accommodation to the houseless servants. The houses constructed in the temple premises were distributed among them for a minimum rate of rent.

A. Appadorai writes that "the position of the temple as an employer providing work and means of livelihood for a large number of people

is the most striking thing in this connection"². According to D. Dayalan, the temple played an important role in the socio-economic life as an institution providing ample employment opportunity to a large number of people³. Thus the temple became a major source of employment for the people, next only to the state. The employment capacities of temples were all not of the same. The strength of the temple establishment varied according to the size and resources.⁴ Being a great landlord and possessed enormous wealth due to large endowments in land and cash bestowed on temples, the medieval temples could afford a large number of employees and pay them wages by way of lands directly and indirectly.⁵

Brahmins

Qualifications and *gotras* were also taken into consideration at the time of appointment. Siva Brahmanas of certain qualifications and specific *gotras* alone were employed as priests. But when qualified persons were not found among the descendants, competent persons could be selected from among their relatives⁶.

For certain appointments, local people were preferred to others. A *bhattar* should be a native of the village. This is one of the qualifications prescribed for the appointments in temple. Moreover, an inscription⁷ of Jatavarman Sundarapandya I records an order of the king to appoint *ariyalarong* with *ullurar* (local people) to protect the temple treasury. Even for the cultivation of temple lands and breeding of livestock, local people were chosen. This method was adopted perhaps for the employed to be near the temple executives. Besides, many people from distant areas might not come forward to accept such works owing to their limited returns or share. However, by employing the local people, the temples exercised control over the local population.⁸

On certain occasions, people from distant areas were also posted to some categories. For instance, a group of Brahmins of North India was appointed to guard the treasury of the Srirangam Temple &. A record⁹ of Sundarapandya from the Nelliappar Temple also refers to the appointment of eleven reciters in the

same temple from various parts of the country. The non-availability of qualified persons in the local area was probably the reason for such a step. Further, the creation of *agraharas* by inducing Brahmins to settle near the temple is also in support of the above fact.

The temple functionaries were paid some remuneration for their service. But the present day system of paying monthly salary in cash was not in vogue then. Instead, they were paid in kind by assigning land as *jivita*¹⁰ or grain or cooked rice. The nature and quantum of remuneration given to the temple staff differed from temple to temple probably according to the position and rank they held.

In this temple, certain servants were paid in grain or in cooked rice. A record¹¹ of Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya, issued in his 141 regnal year, records that the Parasivar who engaged himself in repairing the temple was paid *tuni* (measurement) of paddy instead of food from this temple. A record¹² of A.D. 1228 of the time of Maravarman Simdarapandya I refers to the supply of *nali* of food daily to the servant who tended a flower garden. This instance shows the nature of remuneration according to their position in the temple hierarchy. In addition to remuneration, some of the employees were provided with accommodation in the *tirumadaivilagam*. Thus, as the religious institution, this temple provided large scale employment opportunities, a striking feature in the socio-economic life of the people.

The later Palyas reign also noticed similar appointments of servants for their various services rendered in the temple. An inscription from Jambai South Arcot district dated 1300 A.D. and issued in the reign of Maravarmao Kulasekhara I, records the alienation of 900 *kuli* of dry land at Manaduyya Perumal-nattilr which was a tax-free *devaditi* of the temple in favour of a Brahman of Manatilr for his services on the days of festival in the temple. It is stated that the *sthanikas* received 31 *parzam* in lump sum from the Brahman for the payment of *kac/imai* on the land levied

Artisans

The Artisans (*kammalas*) were associated with the works such as construction of temple towers (*gopurams*) with artistic sculptures on them, making of carts and chariots and making

of jewels and vessels from various metals. They had occupied a special place in the society and economy and particularly in the temple building activities. The *tachchan* or carpenters were made the wooden structures in palaces to wheeled toy carts for children. They built beds, planks, boats, doors, chariots and temple cars¹³

Economic activities involving stone-masonry (esp. after the advent of the new idea of the 'stone temple') carpentry, jewellery, goldsmith, icon-making, garland making, special textiles and numerous other ancillary industrial activities centred on the temple. These industries gave employment to a variety of people in the village or township. The making of icons (esp. the complex groups of figures in attitude illustrating the favourite theme of legend), which were noted for their high state of efficiency must have given constant and profitable employment for the skilled artisans. The making of ornaments and jewels to adorn the images must have given great employment to goldsmiths. Every segment of the society had something to do with the temple.

Other Employers

Jatavannann Sundara Pandya I appointed three persons; Prakataganadan Maran and his two brothers Soran and Bhuman as *Uvachchar*s for providing music daily in the temple at Puralakkuc:li¹⁴ Among the important servants 111 the temple were priests, *Tiruppadiyam Paduvor*¹⁵ *uvaccar*¹⁶ carpenter¹⁷ watchman¹⁸, *pancacarya*¹⁹ *nattuvan*²⁰, (accounts, etc.). They were all granted land for their maintenance. The *tapasys*, *devaraliyar*²¹ and drummers who were residing in the *tirumat:laivalagam* of the temple. Besides they were all owed to have second floor for their houses, two entrances in front and privilege of coating them with plaster²²

Besides the regular employees, the temple also provided job opportunity to a large number of people indirectly. The inhabitants of the villages were attached to the temple in various capacities. The Brahmins as priests peasants in cultivating the temple lands, the merchants in supplying various commodities to the temple and artisans and others rendering various other works and this apart, many persons were also hired by the temple temporarily or on part-time basis in need²³.

Temples were functioning as efficient administrative units. Several families made their living by depending upon the temple. Several agricultural families earned their livelihood by cultivating temple lands. There were multifarious appointments to ensure security of the assets of the temple. To maintain proper accounts, to receive grants in cash and in kind; to disperse salary to the different employees and the priests of the temple. to finance various activities like worship and service and to sponsor cultural activities.

The temple employees were maintained from the temple land or lands endowed for their livelihood. While donating any land or village as *devadana* certain allotment of land within it was made to them. The wages received by these employees were often reckoned in terms of land. The medieval epigraphic records furnish clear evidence remunerating temple servants through assignments of land which does not seem to have been common in the preceding period

wherein the payment was made in grain. The table below illustrates this:

Numerous other inscriptions suggest that the employment of temple servants and assignment of land for their maintenance, namely, for cleaning the temple floor²⁵ keeping the sanctuary lamp alight²⁶ keeping the temple yard clean²⁷, persons who fetched water for bathing the 'deit'²⁸, cooking in the temple kitchen²⁹, tending the temple garden³⁰, drummers³¹, conch-blower³², stone-masons³³, songsters³⁴, potters³⁵, carpenters³⁶, *bhiittars*³⁷, *SivabriihmatJas*³⁸ dancing girls³⁹, and goldsmith⁴⁰ was very much in vogue during the period under study. Besides assigning lands to the temple servants afwages for their services, temples also paid them in way of kind⁴¹ and mone or mone⁴² The appointment of the temple servants was generally hereditary. The temples of the medieval ages not only provide ample employment opportunities to the eligible in society but also gave them an opportunity to earn a respectable position in the society.

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AN ANALYSIS OF BUDDHIST IDEOLOGY ON WATER CONFLICT RESOLUTION AS A SPIRITUAL APPROACH TO RESOLVE CONTEMPORARY INTER-STATE WATER CONFLICTS OF SOUTH INDIA

P. Veena

INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary South Indian scenario, the Competition between states over river water is often viewed as a driver of conflict. A long historical efforts of these Inter-state river water conflict resolutions precedents the bare fruitiness of effective water management process and the criticality in conflict prevention, peace building and reconciliation procedures. To overcome these hazards various doctrines and theories have evolved, among them Buddhist ideology which vindicates the path of truth, non-violence, peace and harmonious co-existence is the most capacious spiritual approach to water conflict resolution and predominant guide to solve contemporary inter-state water conflicts of South India even after centuries of Buddha's teaching.

INTER-STATE RIVER WATER CONFLICTS OF SOUTH INDIA: CONSEQUENCES

The region of South India consists of the five southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu as well as the three union territories of Puducherry, Lakshadweep, Andaman and Nicobar are dependent upon the non-perennial river water sources such as, Godavari, Krishna, Cauvery, Vamsadhara, Mahadayi, Periyar, Nethravati, Tungabhadra, Vaigai etc are relied on Mansoons. Decrease in water availability due to Manson failures and increase in demand because of high population growth are the frequent contributors withal the rapid urbanization, modernization and industrialization; socio-political and economical tensions; Regionalism and linguistics differences; varied physical features and sporadic water resources; level of education and cultural patterns of the citizens and poor relations between the states are the pre-dominant causes for the Inter-state water conflicts of South India. The Contemporary South India has the most contentious Inter-State river water conflicts over the rivers of Godavari, Krishna, Cauvery, Vamsadhara, Mahadayi and Periyar under the Inter-State River Water Disputes Act - 1956, which also involved the states of Western and Eastern regions and an union territorial of India,

are inflicting serious threat to the development of Nation as a whole. The court-appointed tribunals of relevant Inter-state water conflicts have frequently relied on a vague principle of equitable apportionment of water. The extra ordinary delays in the constitution, execution and implementation of the tribunals and its awards bringing more conflictions rather resolutions. Water governance challenges, inadequate legal approaches, institutional vacuum, unsatisfactory and unsuccessful distress sharing practices, absence of transparent information gathering and sharing are vital in mediating and mitigating escalation of conflicts. It is necessary to have credible avenues for pursuing political solutions supplementing legal and institutional mechanisms.¹ Thus the need of seeking different approach of water conflict resolution is always in demand.

BUDDHA AND HIS DHAMMA ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Gautama Buddha (563-483 BCE) also called as 'Tathagatha', 'Sakyamuni' was the founder of Buddhism, has been described as "the Light of Asia" by Sir Edwin Arnold, was a great philosopher, religious teacher and Socio-religious reformer. Born a man, living as a mortal, by his own exertion Buddha attained that supreme state of perfection called Buddha hood, and without keeping his enlightenment to himself, he proclaimed to the world the latent possibilities and the invincible power of the human mind.² His dhamma, called as 'Buddhism' is the philosophy of enlightenment and the religion of peaceful co-existence emphasizes non-violence and promotes harmony as well as universal peace become the world's fourth largest religion which originated in ancient India between the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. From Buddhist point of view, the roots of all unwholesome actions i.e. greed, hatred and delusion, are viewed as the root cause of all human conflicts. Conflict often emanates from attachment to material things: pleasures, property, territory, wealth, economic dominance or political superiority. Buddhism has some particularly rich resources for deployment in

dissolving conflict. Buddhism addresses the Buddhist perspective on the causes of conflict and ways to resolve conflict to realize world peace. The world has enough to satisfy every body's needs but not everybody's greed.³

INTERVENTION OF BUDDHA IN ROHINI RIVER WATER CONFLICT

The Rohini River Water Conflict of Buddha's period, waged by intensified interests of water sharing between Sakyas and Koliyas for the fulfillment of agricultural need, has ended with the goodwill of cooperation and kindness because of the auspicious intervenience of Buddha. One of the major Buddhist texts, the 'Runala Jataka' in 'Jatakatta' narrates the story of the Rohini River water Conflict and elucidates the Buddha's intervenience in resolving the conflict. Also 'Goutama Buddha Kappiam' narrates the Buddha's mediation as follows:

When the Sakiyas and Koliyas waged a
terrible war

About sharing the river Rohini,

Blood, gushing like a spring, flooded the
waters,

The Buddha, coming to know of it,

Did what was needful

To end the long-drawn and

To bring both sides together.

All shall be well if good men try.

(Translated from Goutama Buddha
Kappiyam in Tamil)⁴

The Rohini River originates from Chure or Siwalik Hills in Kapilavastu is one of the holiest and most revered rivers in Buddhist scriptures. Buddhist traditions hold that Siddhartha Gautama crossed this river in his return to Kapilavastu. On the fifth year of his enlightenment, when Buddha was dwelling in Kutagarasala in Vaishali, he saw his father on the death-bed by his divine eyes and flew to Kapilavatthu to visit his father, and preached him to become an arahanta. Soon after the death of Suddhodana, Buddha became the peace mediator for the Sakiyas and the Koliyas and averted the bloody feud between the neighboring tribes.

DEMARCHE OF BUDDHA IN ROHINI WATER CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The demarche followed by Buddha during Rohini water conflict resolution is unique and worthy of compliance. Initially, Buddha directly spoke to the local cultivators and found that the root cause of the conflict was the lack of water due to the draught. Being belongs to the Sakya clan Buddha also having close relationship with Koliyan kingdom as it is the native of his mother Mayadevi and wife Yashodhara, was able to bring both the clans together and conducted mutual meeting and mindful counseling between the King Mahanama and King Suppabuddha. Buddha asked them to negotiate a quick solution to the crisis, because both sides would lose in a war, whether the loss was greater or smaller. By accomplishing peaceful coordination, Buddha convinced the hostile groups not to fight; by telling them, "**blood was thicker than water**" and "**human lives were infinitely more precious than water**". Through the consolidation of peace and co-existence Buddha opens up the resolution for the aroused conflicts with hopeful manners. The jurisprudence negotiations of Buddha brought Equal allocation of water among conflicted states. Buddha emphasized the discussion and dialogues between all concerned people and also pioneered appropriate water conservational methods and storage systems for the draught seasons by the plan of constructing dams. He invented remedial alternates to conflict and taught Temper management techniques through religious practices. Buddha put forward the plea that water abundance or scarcity by itself is not the reason for peace or war; it is the attitude of the society that governs it. If society is willing to follow its dharma, willing to develop a conscious, only then conflict for water will cease. Hearing the Buddha's Counsel, the two confronting sides calmed down quickly and reached an agreement. There after shared the water without losing their temper. Harmony was restored and peace prevailed in the region. Both the tribes then encouraged their men to join the Sangha as a token of gratitude for his mediation; and each extended hospitality by inviting him as its guest. The Buddha accepted both the invitations and dwelt alternately in Kapilavatthu and Koliyanagara. Some 500 Sakyas and Koliyas converted into Buddhist upon hearing the teachings of Lord Sakyamuni Buddha.

BUDDHA'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROTECTIVE CONFLICT FREE SOCIETY

The Enlightened Buddha recommended the development of mind of each individual in a society which is useful to reduce any conflict at different social interaction. Buddha advocates the control of one's own mind, where the other legislate the control of the other's body. Buddha guided people to conquer hatred by kindness and evil by goodness. He wishes to bring enlightenment in the minds of society where enmity, jealousy, ill-will and greed are absent. In order to achieve protective conflict free society Buddha recommended the Principles, Paths and practices are all about finding inner peace and controlling one's self desires.

BASIC PRINCIPLES, PATHS AND PRACTICES OF BUDDHISM

The Buddhism is all about finding inner peace and controlling one's self desires. **The Three Universal Truths:** (1) Nothing is lost in the universe, (2) Everything Changes, (3) The Law of Cause and Effect; **The Four Noble Truths:** (1) Dukkha: suffering exists, (2) Samudaya: there is a cause of suffering, (3) Nirodha: there is an end to suffering. (4) Magga: need of following eightfold path in order to end suffering; **The Ashtangamarga:** (1) Right view, (2) Right intention, (3) Right speech, (4) Right action, (5) Right livelihood, (6) Right effort, (7) Right mindfulness, (8) Right concentration are refers to "Eight members of the noble path", arranged into three **Skandhas**. Such as, **Sila:** Virtue, good conduct, morality. This is based on two fundamental principles: The principle of equality: that all living entities are equal. The principle of reciprocity: This is the "Golden Rule" in Christianity - to do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you. It is found in all major religions. **Samadhi:** Concentration, meditation, mental development. Developing one's mind is the path to wisdom which, in turn, leads to personal freedom. Mental development also strengthens and controls our mind; this helps us maintain good conduct. **Prajna:** Discernment, insight, wisdom, enlightenment. This is the real heart of Buddhism. Wisdom will emerge if your mind is pure and calm.⁵

The Buddha citing the "Chakkra Vaththi Sihanada Sutta" on the deadly effects of recourse to weapons recommended **The Three Powerful**

Weapons: (1) Knowledge, (2) Wisdom, (3) Relaxation - are capable of protecting human society.

The Buddha outlined **The Six principles** as being capable of creating a society free from armed conflicts and consolidating peace and coexistence, such as: (1) Compassionate deeds, (2) Compassionate words, (3) Compassionate thoughts, (4) Equal sharing of gifts among the near and dear, (5) A righteous life, (6) A correct vision.⁶

BUDDHIST IDEOLOGY – A SPIRITUAL APPROACH

The aforementioned Buddhist Ideology on water conflict resolution ever recommends genuine peace and harmonious existence among the states through non-violence practices. It would guide us to find exact mechanisms for internal and inter-personnel conflict resolutions which are mightily in need for consideration. But, the question of water allocation principles and patterns of regulation enforcement is rarely achievable through the Buddhist way of water conflict resolution. Rather spiritual and psychological intervenience of Buddhist thought of conflict resolution could unfold the alternates to conflicts and plead us to perform mutual share and care policy is a spiritual approach towards contemporary inter-state water conflicts of South India.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be propounded that the Buddhist ideology on water conflict resolution is a spiritual approach and almighty guide to solve contemporary inter-state water conflicts of south India as well as caboodle inter-state water conflicts of the world through brightening the path of restoring harmony and prevailing peace between the riparian states. Rohini River water conflict reflected on how the whole nation needs to be sensitized on the values of the renewable but limited resource. It asserted that the water question needs to seep into our consciousness; else it may end up in hatred and war which lead serious impact on economic growth, social harmony. Buddhist peace and non-violence - is not only a philosophy of life, but a doctrine of progressive reconstruction of society. Buddhism is a path of enlightenment aiming at the root of all conflicts. It is an answer for the problems which prevailed

in Buddha's time in India. But the validity of his message is universal. Therefore Buddhist

philosophy of peace is relevant even to the problems of contemporary world.

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A CRITICAL STUDY OF SIMON COMMISSION'S VISIT OF COASTAL ANDHRA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PRAKASAM DISTRICT

Dr. D. Venkateswara Reddy

The appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as Simon Commission with complete non-Indian personnel in November, 1927 accelerated the discontent of all political groups and parties in the country. This paper entitled "A Critical Study of Simon Commission's Visit of Coastal Andhra with Special Reference to Prakasam District" is an attempt to analyze critically the Simon Commission's visit to the coastal Andhra in general and Prakasam District in particular.

There was a comparative lull in the political activity in India after the suspension of Non Cooperation Movement in February 1922. The British provided a chance in 1927 to break the slumber and resurrect political activity in India. As per the provisions of Government of India Act of 1919, a commission would be appointed and sent to India after ten years to examine and review the effects of constitutional reforms and to suggest the needful changes. As promised the British Government appointed a statutory

commission popularly known as Simon Commission on the name of its chairman John Simon to examine the state of constitutional reforms in India and to suggest changes. It was composed of seven Members of British Parliament under the chairmanship of John Simon. The Commission openly defied the principle of self-determination and a deliberate insult to the self-respect of the Indians. The Indian people were outraged and felt insulted when they came to know the composition of the Commission. All its members were white men and not even a single Indian was accommodated in it. Hence, the Indian National Congress in its Madras session held in December 1927 decided to boycott the Simon Commission when it visited India. It was decided to organise demonstrations and observe *hartal* on the day of the arrival of Simon commission to India.

The Commission arrived India on 3rd February 1928. Nationwide *hartal* was observed by closing the shops and other business

establishment and all the educational institutions, Municipal and *Taluq* board offices were closed. There was a deserted look at almost all the places of India. The Commission was greeted with black flags as a protest with the slogan of 'Simon Go Back' that reverberated in all the cities, towns and even in villages. The Government was irritated by the successful boycott of the Simon Commission. In Lahore, Luknow, Calcutta and other place even respectable citizens became victims of the lathi blows of the police during the hartals in connection with the visit of the Commission. Among such victims was Lalalajpat Roy, who was beaten on the chest so severely that he passed away shortly, there after as a martyr to the cause of the country's freedom. The Andhras felt that the people in the rest of the country they should boycott this all-White Statutory Commission. They declared that the British had no right to enquire into whether Indians were fit for Swaraj or not because Swaraj was the birth right of every nation and also because resolutions in favour of independence were already passed in some of their conferences. They therefore suggested that the Commission should be boycotted even before a resolution to that effect was passed by the Congress.

Several Municipalities in Andhra like Tirupati, Kurnool, Eluru, Vijayawada, Srikakulam, Vijaayanagaram and Guntur passed resolutions in favour of boycotting the Commission. Processions were held against the visit of the Commission.

In tune with the pulse of the nation and Andhra, the towns and villages of Prakasam district observed *hartals* and hold public meetings protesting against the Simon Commission. On the evening of 2nd February a meeting was held at the Mahalakshamma Tree at Chirala attended by nearly five hundred people belonging to all religious denominations. Local leaders like Kotamraju Bairagi Dasu, Kotamraju Rama Rao and Sikhakolli Pattabhiramulu Gupta attended the meeting and appealed the people that it was the responsibility of every Indian to boycott the Simon commission as it was against the principles of self determination of Indians. A resolution was also passed on behalf of the people of Chirala in the meeting to that effect.¹ The Kandukuru town observed a complete *hartal* on the 3rd February

and shops schools were closed in protest of Simon Commission. A public meeting was held near the local Ankamma temple in the evening under the Presidentship of P.V. Narasinga Rao. He explained the assembled gathering the purpose of the meeting. Achanta Lakshmi Narasimham resolved that the people of Kandukuru would not involve in any way in the affairs of the Commission and the people of the town were expressing their discontentment for disregarding the Indian feelings in appointing the members of the Commission. The meeting also appealed and ordered the legislative members of the region namely Battina Perumallu Naidu, Bezawada Ramachandra Reddy and Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri should meet or involve in the Commission's proceedings.² The villages of Prakasam District were also enthusiastically responded to the call of the nation. A *hartal* was observed in Gudlur village by closing the shops and organising a meeting in the evening under the presidentship of Mannepalli Rama Krishna Rao and resolved unanimously to boycott the Simon Commission. Similarly, the villagers of Guravareddy Palem observed a *hartal* by closing the shops and schools. A procession with black flags was held and a meeting were organised near the local Poleramma temple and passed a resolution of boycott of the Simon Commission and resolved not to cooperate the commission.³

In Andhra, Guntur and Ongole were selected for the Commission's visit. The Simon Commission wished to visit at least one meeting each of District, Municipality, Taluq Board and Union Board in Andhra.⁴ T. Prakasam, V. Ramadas and V. V. Jogayya issued a statement to the press in which they earnestly appealed "to the public and local bodies of Guntur and Ongole to maintain national self-respect and make the boycott effective and real in both places. Let not Guntur and Ongole betray the Country's cause at this juncture".⁵ They also stated that Ongole attracted national attention and fame during the Non Cooperation Movement and if at all the people of the town welcomes the Simon Commission, the people of the town not only earn disgrace not only for themselves but also to the national especially to Andhra. They appealed the people the people that they were not supposed to betray the nation at that critical time and boycott the Commission and uphold the nation's self respect.⁶ *Desabhakta* Konda Venkatappayya, on behalf of the Andhra

Provincial Congress Committee appealed to all the Andhra leaders to boycott the Commission. For his boycott call, Bulusu Sambamurthy was taken into custody. The arrest of Sambamurthy created a big stir in the Andhra Districts. The Commission arrived in Guntur on February 23, 1928. There were *hartals*, processions, black flag demonstrations with placards of 'Simon Go Back' and protest meetings were the order of the day in Guntur. The Students of Guntur belonging to various educational institutions enthusiastically took part in the boycott programme. *Desabhakta* congratulated the people of Guntur on the complete, successful and non-violent *hartal*. On February 25th the Simon Commission visited some rural areas near Guntur. In Chebrole and Kottareddy Palem boycott arches greeted the Commission. When the Simon Commission special train steamed through Tenali and Chirala, large crowds gathered at railway stations and raised full throated cries, "Simon Go Back". Simon Commission left in a Special Train to Chirala and Ongole.

Simon Commission Agitation at Chirala

The day before the arrival of Simon Commission to Chirala i.e. on 24th February, 1928, Guntur leaders like Maddi Venkatarangayya, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastry and Neti Venkatachalapathi reached Chirala and held discussions with the prominent persons of the town and made arrangements for the boycott. They held two meetings at Chirala and Perala and appealed the people to greet the members of the Commission with black flags in the Railway station. Many prominent people eloquently spoke in those meetings⁷. Many shops were shut down by noon. Nearly two thousand people assembled on the platform of the Chirala railway station with black flags and placards with the slogans of "Simon Go Back to Birkenhead" along with tom toms.⁸ Prominent among those who assembled including Srikakulam Subrahmanya Sresti, Nune Narasimham Sresti, President of Cloth Association, Julakanti Venkata Subba Rao, Secretary of Cotton Association, Ravula Sitaramayya, Chirala Rangayya, Rajupalepu Venkateswarlu, Kotamraju Rama Rao, Kotamraju Bairagi Dasu, Bitra Subbarayudu, Avvaru Venkateswarlu, Pendem Venkatrayudu, Siddi Saheb, member of state Congress Committee, Kottamanu

Ranganayakulu, President Cotton Association, Ghouse Beg Saheb, member of All India Congress Committee, Pattabhiramulu Gupta, member of state Congress, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastry and Narayana, member of municipality. The special train in which the members of the Simon Commission were travelling reached Chirala Railway station at 2-00P.M. on 25th February.⁹ The slogans of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai', 'Ali Brothers ki jai' and 'Simon Go Back to Birkenhead' were raised by the assembled public and the station was reverberated with those slogans. It became tuff to control the people. Ravula Subba Rao, the Muncipal Chairman along with Jakka Papayya, a councillor and Mangalapurapu Nagabhushanam, the ousted bench magistrate with a difficulty entered into the train by making way among the congregated mob with a lot of difficulty and garlanded John Simon and gave him some plantains as a token of respect.¹⁰ The total number of councillors of Chirala municipality was 16. But at that time there were 11 councillors in office and the remaining 5 was vacant. It was said that the municipal chairman was unhappy when his effort for a planned grand welcome was failed and he met the Simon Commission with a long face. Viewing the incident, the angry public raised the slogans 'Shame Shame the Municipal Chairman', 'Chairman is not our representative' and 'Simon Go Back' until the train left the station. It was stated that John Simon was furious against the Municipal Chairman and scolded him by stating what was the nuisance and black flags? The chairman had informed them that there was no boycott at Chirala and the municipal council members were enthusiastic waiting to felicitate him. If he might have been informed them in advance they might have left without stopping at Chirala.¹¹ True to the rumour, the Chairman got down from the compartment keeping his head dress in his hand and was felt ashamed off to show his face to the public. Hence, he boarded the next train and travelled upto Vetapalem and returned to Chirala in another train and got down the compartment from the other side of the platform.¹² The leaders organised a public meeting under the banyan tree near the railway station soon after the departure of the special train to thank the councillors to uphold nation's self respect by not attending the felicitation and the public for making the boycott of Simon Commission a

grand success. The meeting resolved that Ravula Subba Rao felicitated the Simon commission not as their representative but as an individual.¹³

The special train reached Vetapalem platform at 2-30 P.M. Hundreds of people gathered with black flags and national flags. They observed the boycott programme.¹⁴

Ongole Visit of Simon Commission

Despite of the appeal of the State Congress, Varada Sriramulu, the Municipal Chairman of Ongole took a decision to hold the municipal council meeting on the days of the visit of Simon Commission as requested by the Collector of Guntur.¹⁵ Deferring the Chairman's decision, five councillors gave a requisition to hold an emergency meeting on the morning of 25th February to take a decision not to conduct the municipal council meeting during the Commission's visit to Ongole.¹⁶ The Bar Association of Ongole conducted a special meeting in which many of the members resolved not to welcome the Simon Commission.¹⁷ A public meeting attended by many lawyers, merchants and others was held on 20th February under the Presidentship of Neelamraju Chalapathi Rao. The speakers condemned the Municipal Chairman's decision to conduct the council meeting during Commission's visit of Ongole. Cheruvu Venkata Subhramanya Sastry proposed the resolution to boycott Simon Commission and it was seconded by Gollapudi Ramanadhayya. Another resolution was passed by which while condemning the Chairman's decision and appealing the rate payers to teach a lesson to the Municipal Chairman in the next election. It was proposed by Oruganti Rama Sastry and seconded by Dhara Gopala Sastry.¹⁸ It was also resolved to observe a complete *hartal* on the day of Commission's visit.

The special train carrying Simon Commission members reached Ongole at 3-30 P.M. Responding the appeal of the leaders, the public greeted them with black flags and slogans of 'Simon Go Back'. A complete *hartal* was observed from 12-00 noon. Only twelve lawyers attended the court. However, Varada Sriramulu, the Municipal Chairman and his supporting councillors, government officers and missionaries welcomed the Simon Commission. The Commission visited the local Municipal High School and met the teachers and students

of some classes. At 4-00 P.M. the Simon Commission went to the Municipal Office and attended the Council meeting that was conducted. The Chairman Varada Sriramulu explained the progress of elementary education in 1926-27 and a report a report on education. The Chairman and the president of the Commission discussed some more issues. In the meanwhile, the protesters arrived the Municipal office and raised slogans against the Simon Commission. Varada Sriramulu, the Chairman and Kopparapu Venkata Rao, Municipal Councillor, questioned the rational of boycotting such commissions and announced that they conducted the municipal council's meeting in their presence. They also watched the meeting of the *Taluq* Board for which only six out of sixteen members were attended. Later the Commission visited the Mission School and left Ongole in the special train to Madras.¹⁹

While the Commission was at Ongole, a huge public meeting was held at 5-00 P.M. in the evening of 25th February 1928. Dhara Gopala Sastry and other leaders spoke on the occasion condemning the actions of the Municipal Chairman and other councillors who attended the meeting and criticised that such activities harm the national interests. One Parupudi Satynarayana from Kakinada also spoke about boycott. *Desabhakta* Konda Venkatappayya also spoke on the occasion. He appealed the people to revive the Congress, to wear Khadi and to support the boycott movement. While strongly condemning the actions of the Municipal Chairman and other councillors, he asked the people to condemn such chameleon like behaviour that hinders the development of healthy politics and selfish politics.²⁰

It is worth recalling the heroic behaviour of Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu, the brave child of the Prakasam district when the Simon Commission visited Madras. During the agitation against the Commission, there was a police firing in which a person by name Parthasaradhi was killed. Prakasam, the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, was proceeding with a batch of followers towards the spot of firing. The police blocked his movement upon which he defiantly bared his chest and told them that "we are determined to move on and have a look at the dead body of our comrade; shoot me if you want". The police were taken aback by his

boldness and courage and allowed him to proceed.²¹ The courageous behaviour of Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu earned him the title "*Andhra Kesari*". Throughout the year 1928, the boycott propaganda against the Simon Commission was carried on throughout the length and breadth of the country.

In Madras, a public meeting was held on 3rd February under the Chairmanship of Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao who spoke in Telugu. He declared that the Simon Commission was coming to India to perpetrate India's slavery and that Indians should with one voice declare that they would have nothing to do with that Commission. Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao and Sami Venkatachalam Chetty of Ongole also addressed this meeting. The Congress in Madras attempted to boycott the Simon Commission under the joint auspices of the Andhra and Tamil Congress Committees. S.Satyamurthy was the Chairman of the Simon boycott propaganda committee and he issued a manifesto appealing to the students and teachers to abstain from going to schools and colleges, vakils, barristers to boycott courts, markets and shops to remain closed. He also said that no vehicles such as tramcars, buses, taxies and even bullock carts and rickshaws should ply on the roads of Madras and that all hotels and restaurants should remain closed. In appealing to the people to observe a complete hartal he declared, "The significance of the hartal is to show the government and to our enemies that the wish of the Congress runs as it is far as the Government, if not further".

End Notes

1. *Andhra Patrika*, 6th February, 1928.
2. *Ibid.*,
3. *Ibid.*,
4. *Andhra Patrika*, 18th February, 1928
5. B.Seshagiri Rao, *History of Freedom Movement in Guntur District*, Prasanna Publications, Ongole, No date, p.161, Also see *The Hindu*, 6th February, 1928
6. *Andhra Patrika*, 22nd February, 1928
7. Maddi Venkatarangayya, Neti Venkatachalapathi, Srikakulam Pattabhiramulu Gupta, member of state Congress, Julakanti Venkata Subba Rao, Utukuri Ramayya, Kotamraju Rama Rao, Ghouse beg Saheb, member of All India Congress Committee etc spoke on the occasion. *Andhra Patrika*, 28th February, 1928)
8. *Andhra Patrika*, 28th February, 1928
9. *Andhra Patrika*, 25th February, 1928
10. *Ibid.*,
11. *Andhra Patrika*, 28th February, 1928.
12. *Andhra Patrika*, 28th February, 1928.
13. *Ibid.*,
14. *Andhra Patrika*, 21st February, 1928.
15. *Andhra Patrika*, 21st February, 1928.
16. *Andhra Patrika*, 20th, 21st and 22nd February, 1928.
17. *Andhra Patrika*, 21st February, 1928.
18. *Andhra Patrika*, 27th February, 1928.
19. *Andhra Patrika*, 27th February, 1928.
20. *Ibid.*,
21. Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, The Ministry of cultural Affairs, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1972, p. 111.

Tanguturi Prakasam while appealing to boycott the Simon Commission by not presenting a Welcome Address also appealed to the people to show to the Government that "though we have quarrels amongst us, yet we have combined against you in the same manner as you (British Government) combined against India or other foreign nations". He said in this answer to the Commission lay the foundation for any Swaraj that Indians might seek to the ladies to observe hartal. In Madras the demonstrations against the Simon Commission were to a certain extent marred by the outbreak of violence.

Conclusion

The all White Simon Commission visited Prakasam District on 25th February, 1928. It got both shouts and claps in the district. In fact, the Commission was supposed to visit Chirala and Ongole. At Chirala the boycott was successful and the Simon Commission was unable to step down from the railway compartment. The welcoming and garlanding of the Commission became a closed affair within the railway compartment amidst noisy slogans of protesting the visit. However, despite of the *hartal* and agitation, Simon Commission visited the meetings and other educational institutions as per schedule at Ongole. The Ongole visit of Simon Commission was possible due to the efforts of Municipal Chairman, who belonged to the pro-British Justice Party. In fact, the Simon Commission's visit of Ongole was an indelible blot in the Commission's boycott in South India, if not in India.

SRIDHANA-FACTS REVEALED FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMILNADU

Dr. R.Vimala

INTRODUCTION

Every society has its own ideals, aspirations, values and culture. These are the indicators of the characteristic nature of the society. This article is an attempt to analyse the Sridhana which is prevailing in Tamilnadu and Practice existed in olden days as revealed from the Inscriptions. On the time when a man wants to marry woman, he has to give money or asset to that woman in the name of Sridhana. As per the Inscriptional Sources, the pandiya period "*Manur*" Inscription mentions the Sridhana that may probably be the earliest. On the occasion of marriage, property as well as money in some cases was given by the parents to the Kanyas was called Sridhana. As per the Inscriptions, women had the share to property by means of Sridhana.

WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Women held very important position in ancient Tamil society. Women's life was divided between family, marriage and religion. The women were main concern and responsibility of the procreation. In those times, family was very big so the typical role of the woman was that to be a good wife and a good mother. The status of women in Tamilnadu has undergone tremendous change over the years. A bird's eye-view of the operation various factors ensures a better understanding of how evolved to create the status of women in the society. This historical perspective is revealing in the case of the Tamil society that chronicles a continuous history of women for more than three thousand years. The contribution of women to medieval society, though under estimated and unevaluated for the time, past and future will not be forgotten. ¹

The women assist their husbands by their love and affection along with the required advices at times. As part and parcel of their life the wives accompanied their husbands in all achievements and accomplishments throughout their life. The women, due to their involvement in the multifarious social and religious services, were placed at the highest pedestal in the ladder of social status.² Inscription and literary works prove that women were given freedom to do anything in the society. Women were placed

under no restrictions in their social life and activities, though modesty was considered the highest among their graces. The inscriptions give many examples of women of the royal and upper classes owning property in the own and disposing of it as they chose. ³

MARRIAGE SYSTEM

Marriage is one of the most important institutions in the social life of any people. It is considered a sacred one, and the union of man and woman in wedlock was viewed as a status desired in the society. ⁴These marriages do possess the best qualities of man and woman. In the sangam period as the bridegroom paid a price for the bride. In the Chola, Pandya period the bride parents paid Sidhanam to the bridegroom. During Nayak and Vijayanar period the sridhana articles increased.⁵

There were formerly eight different modes of conducting marriage ceremony in Hindu Tamil culture. Early Tamil literature speaks about eight types of marriages practiced in the Tamil society. They are **Brahmana (Brahma)**, that of gods (**Diava**), that of the Rishis (**Arsha**), that of the **Prajapati (Prajapatya)**, that of the **Gandharvas (Gandharva)**, that of the **Asuras (Asura)**, that of the **Rakshsasa (Rakshsasa)** and that of the **Pisakas (Paisaca)**.⁶ Of these eight forms of marriage the first four are generally approved as religious marriages and these are recognised as virtuous marriages. These four marriages are followed by Brahma rite.⁷

During the period polygamy prevailed among the members of the royal family. But monogamy was the normal unit of social life. Marriage was usually arranged by the elders or parents. In general, the bride groom's family approached the parent of the girl to have the girl married to their son.⁸ Marriage was conducted with elaborate ceremonies and the bride's family bore the expenses. Girls seem to have been married only when they attained maturity. The wife is referred to as Manayal, Manavatti, Illamudaiyal, Ahamudaiyal, and Perumanaikilatti.⁹

On the occasion of marriage property was given by the parents to the bride. Given dowry

was generally prevalent from the evidence of literature we could guess that gold, jewels, instruments, furniture, household article and land were given by way dowry.¹⁰ A married women enjoyed absolute rights over her sridhana as is evident from way they freely endowed. Her property could be inherited only by her daughter. In many inscriptions the donations given by women from their sridhana properties are recorded. This shows that women were entitled to property and had the right to dispose them.¹¹

SHRIDHANA

Though polygamy was prevalent in the royal families' monogamy was the general order even among the common public also. While this exposes the importance assigned to women at the time of marriage, the custom of offering **Mahakkodai or Stridhanam** too existed then.¹² It was a customary practice among the people to give seedhana (Stridhana) to the bride groom as bride price at the time of the marriage.¹³ During 8th century the Brahmins from Manur inscriptions gave a part of land to the girls.¹⁴

The queens too had their hand in the economic pursuits in some way of other. In the same way, the same queen i.e. **Tribhuvana Madevi**, wife of **Uthama Chola** (973-985 A.D.) had purchased lands, which were granted as **Stridhanam** to two ladies of **Sembiyan Madevi Chaturvedimangalam**.¹⁵ Sembiyan Madevi Build Sri Kailasha temple. On every nont of **Sankaranthi**, foods ever offered to 100 Brahmas by the wife of **Tribhuvana Madevi**, which was purchased from two ladies of mother and daughter. This grant is dated as the 15th regnal year (1000 A.D.) of Raja Raja 1 (985-1014 A.D.) Social privileges assigned to women to find their place in the inscription.¹⁶

An inscription of Vikrama Chola states, (C.E. 1118-1135) one Aganangarayan of Mangainallur had to give his wife some of his own property for having spent away the proceeds of the dowry which he had received.¹⁷ In the same way, another record of the same ruler Kulothunga III (1178 to 1217/18 A.D.) of the same year i.e. his 33rd regnal year (1211 A.D.) had been announced the record that the registration of the sale of land by one land by name Antappulapperumal and her daughter by name Uyyavandal after having Araicurrudayan

Periyavudaiyan as their guardian and witness. The land house site measuring one Veli and half Kani and fraction was given earlier as Stridhana to Uyyavandal, who was given in marriage to Kotturudayan Arayar alias Vicaiyagangan. So, the women were associated with the execution of specific social customs. It was also a customary practice to include the name of the ladies in the sale proceeds of the lands to avoid future complications in the claims.¹⁸

It must be remembered that during the period of the Cholas dowry system caused havocs to women and the married women revived land grants called **mahakkodai**.¹⁹ She alone enjoyed the right to spend their grants in any way she liked. The husbands had no right to spend those amounts. If he spent that amount he had to give a specific quantum of land as compensation for his expenses. The issue of **parisam** to the married women was condemned and it was decided even to ostracise the husband and his father who offered to the **parisam**.²⁰

There prevailed a custom of receiving **Stridhanam** by the son in law from the father of his wife and that was in the force of land, which could be utilised in anyway by him. The same thing could be attested by another inscription available in the Adhipuriswara temple of Nannilam.²¹ Since a father in law had referred to the sale of land by his son-in-law in the same way as mentioned earlier it is obvious that there prevailed specific customs to which women were also made as a party.

During the 11th regnal year of (1262 A.D.) of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya 1 (1251-1268 A.D.) one Anangichami had sold her mother's one Veli land to the Devakanmis* of the Thiruvallinatha temple. The Anangichami was the wife of ManavalaBhattan of Rajagambira Chaturvedimangalam. These lands were her property assigned to her as Stridhanam (maintenance) and Samskara Dakshina.²²

Later Pandiya's period 14th century A.D at Pudhukkottai inscriptions. Non-Brahmin person gave 200rs money to prides home when he was married. It was mentioned in the name of money given to the expenses of marriage. "Kalyana Azhivukanalduvathanapanam" is mentioned. One bridegroom didn't have money so he sold

his land and have that money to bride for the Shridhana.²³

An inscription dated in **Sakaera** 1347 which is equal to 1425 A.D. refers to a social custom of offering money to the bride before performing the marriage ceremony. The girls were given in hand to the bridegroom gratuitously by their father as that was the custom that prevailed in the Brahmin families. This inscription informs that both the father who accepted money and the bridegroom who paid money for the bride were punished and had to be excommunicated from their caste. This decision had been taken, while all the learned Brahmins hailing from Karnataka, Tamil, Telugu and Late regions, who settled in **Padaividu Rajya** attended the meeting held in front of the Gopinathan shrine.²⁴

Owing to their affection for the daughter the parents might have liked to give a part and sometime even the whole of the bride price to be enjoyed by her as a separate estate during her

own life time. According to Mitakashra, property of any description belonging to a woman becomes her **stridhana**, even if it be inherited by her from a male person either as a widow or as a mother. The dowry settled on a girl was not, allowed to be spent by her husband as he liked.²⁵

Conclusion

Women's marriage system is different from race to race. Marriage is celebrated all over the country. Thus, in the medieval period the sridhana practice was in existence at least with the upper castes because during this period the women were entitled to donate from their sridhana. Thus, they had the right to utilise the properties as they liked. Whereas, in these days, even though, women have right to due share in the property as per law, they are not allowed to utilise their property as per their wishes. Thus they are deprived of their right to utilise their property due to Social Customs and preferences.

End Notes

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2. Ibid.
3. K.A. NilakantaSastri, *"The Colas"*, University of Madras, 1984, pp.552-553.
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EMNANT OF A CULTURE AND STRUGGLE FOR PROTECTION: MALA JEWISH TOWN AND PAITHRIKA SAMRAKSHANA SAMITI

Dr. Vinitha N. Vijayan

Varied traditions were there about the origin of Jews in Kerala. The travel accounts and the Hebrew chronicles from Malabar discussed their origin. It is believed that the first Jews sailed to South India on the ships of King Solomon; others say that they came during the Babylonian exile. Some others said that they fled to Malabar after the destruction of second temple. Some others refer to the fourth century migration. Most of these stories refer around the existence of a Jewish community in the ancient trade center Crangannore¹.

Jewish immigration to Kerala was a direct effect of the commercial contacts with Israel. The tradition says that the Jews came to Kerala coast in 68AD in order to escape from the religious persecution at home. They landed first at Muzuris and founded a settlement. Later they moved to such places as Paravur, Mala and Pullut². In course of time they developed into a business community with the patronage of the native rulers.²

Mala, a small town in Thrissur District near to Kodungallore and Chalakkudi has a vital role in the cultural history of Kerala. The region has its own cultural and economic impact in the annals of Kerala history and culture. Once it was the center of Jews and they made their own cultural imprints in the land. A number of studies were conducted in regard to their life and culture. When we trace the historiography of Jews in Kerala we reached up to the Jewish copper plate of Bhaskara Ravi Varman³.

The first definite proof of the Kodungallur settlement is the Charter of Bhaskara Ravi Varman (999A.D) granting lands and privileges of nobility to Jews. The Charter in the form of copper plates conferred in perpetuity upon Joseph Rabban, the leader of the Jews, and his heirs the free hold of a parcel of land called *Anjuvannam*. In addition, certain privileges of nobility were granted to Rabban including "the right to ride an elephant, to be carried in a litter, to have a state umbrella, to be preceded by drums and trumpets, to call out so that the lower Hindu castes might withdraw from the streets at his approach.²¹ It is also specified that the recipient shall not have to pay taxes and shall

enjoy all the benefits of the Rajah's administration⁴.

The 16th century Portuguese writer Durate Barbosa refer to the existence of Jewish Colony here. The Jews must have left Crangannore with the arrival of Portuguese and settled in other places where too the Jewish colonies eventually became defunct. At Paravur, Mala, Chennamangalam and Mattanchery there are Synagogues at present⁵.

When we traced the historiography of Jews in Kerala we reached up to the Jewish Copper Plate of Bhaskara Ravi Varman. It was issued in the 38th regnal year of the king. It reveals the socio-political situation of the region along with special emphasis of the Jewish community, the rights and privileges envisaged to the Jews etc. The Jewish Copper Plate is totally different from the temple inscriptions of that period. The document is a solid proof that how the ruler attracted the foreign merchants to the economic scenario of Kerala⁶

The Jewish Copper plates are the only relics of the Jews from the Chera period and they speak of the religious tolerance extended by the Hindu rulers of Kerala to the Jews at a time when religious persecution was the order of the day in many other parts of the globe⁷. However not much information is available regarding the religious aspect of the life of Jews in Kerala⁸. The Jews had the freedom to follow their religion in Kerala. These plates list economic and ceremonial privileges including exemption from paying taxes, the right to collect tolls and the honor of using particular lamps, umbrellas, drums and trumpets associated with high ritual status. This is a clear evidence of the firm establishment of the Jews in this area⁹. The Jews charter was unique in that it granted them rights that were the preserve of the royal family alone, including firings three salutes at day break and on the day of a marriage¹⁰.

Mala, a village in Thrissur District is a great cultural center of the Jews in Kerala. It is believed that the Jews at first migrated to Kodungallore region and from there they scattered to the regions like Mala and Cochin. The four acre

cemetery, perhaps the biggest Jewish cemetery in India and the beautiful Synagogue in Mala remains as a monument of their cultural life.

Scholars have different views in regard to the origin of the place name Mala. Majority of them tried to connect it with the Jewish settlement. Some says that the place name is derived from the Hebrew term *Mal-aha* means asylum. There is a similar word in Syrian language with safe place as its meaning. Mala the water logged area is considered as one among the oldest Jewish markets in Kerala. The region was a part of *Neythal* coast and salt making may be the prominent occupation of the people. Boats were made for the marketing of salt. These boats were known as *Masoola*. The term Mala may be a shorter version of *Masoola*¹¹. *Malak* in Hebrew also means salt. The *sangam* literary works mentioned of the term *Mantai Perumturai*. *Mantai* is defined as a port almost seven kilometers away from Kodungallore. Patittipattu praised the ruler Udayancheralathan as the lord of *Mantai* region¹². From the literary evidences it is clear that Mala was a notable center.

This paper is an attempt to trace the cultural antiquity of the Jews in Kerala especially in Mala and the pathetic situation of the Jewish cemetery and Synagogue along with the steps taken by *Paithrika Samrakshana Samiti* for its conservation and protection.

There are differences of opinion as to when the Jews of Mala first built a Synagogue. A Jewish Malayalam folk song revealing that wood used for the building of the Synagogue was donated in the year 1000 by the Raja of Crangannore. A new building was erected in 1400 AD, which in turn was renovated in 1792. Some others dated it up to 1597 after Kerala Jews had been driven away from Crangannore by the Portuguese. A rebuilding effort was occurred in 1909 evident by an inscription in the wood carvings in the Hebrew Malayalam along the sanctuary. In 1914 a fund raising effort was took place for the beautification of the Synagogue.

There have been frequent encroachments and attacks on the monuments. The synagogue first became a school and then a community hall. A shopping complex came up on the northern side of the synagogue. The compound wall was demolished, perhaps a hint that the sanctuary

was complete with all the religious artifacts intact. However, inside the synagogue, the Holy Ark, Torah Scrolls, lighting fixtures, main pulpit, original furniture etc. have disappeared and their whereabouts are still unknown. It is highly unfortunate that there is not a single photograph of Mala Synagogue's interior known to us from the period it was transferred to the Panchayath. No one knows whether these important artifacts were removed and sold or destroyed¹³.

The state of Israel was formed in 1948 and this marked the beginning of the immigration of Jews from India to Israel, the promised holy land of the Jews. Jews in different parts of the world decided to quit their diasporic life and reach their holy land as early as possible. The Jews in Mala also took the same decision. They sold all their properties at the available rate. There were more than forty Jewish families in Mala. The money from the sale of properties covered their travel expenses. A Jewish immigration office was set up in Bombay in 1950. Young people went first which was called youth *aliyah*¹⁴ with parents sending even little children. Gradually adults and older people also followed and many gave up even quite good jobs to make their future in Israel resulting into mass immigration.

When the last Jews of Mala returned to their home land, they entrusted the Panchayat to keep the Synagogue and Cemetery under certain conditions. They handed over their properties to the local authority that is the Mala Panchayat through a legally registered deed cum agreement on 4th January 1955. The historic document signed by the trustees of the Jewish community and the then President of Mala Panchayat contain explicit provisions for the conservation of the synagogue and cemetery by the Mala Panchayat. The agreement is signed as schedule A and B. A is the Synagogue property and B is the cemetery property. The condition in this agreement are

- Item A should not be used or converted as a place of worship of any denomination or sect.
- Under no circumstances A schedule item be used as a slaughter house.
- The done shall maintain the A schedule building in proper tenantable repair meeting

all the charges of its annual maintenance and repair.

- The done shall not in any manner alienate the A schedule item to any individual person or corporation.
- The done shall in a conspicuous part of the building in the A schedule announce and notify by a permanent and indelible inscription the factum of the gift as to perpetuate the memory of the Mala Synagogue.
- The done shall maintain as his own expense the Jewish cemetery without tress pass or molestation of the tombs.
- No one is allowed to dug or unearth the cemetery.
- The compound wall and the gate of the cemetery also are preserved.
- The done shall meet the expenses if any necessary for its preservation in good repair.
- The cemetery shall not be alienated and shall ever be preserved in its present condition without being put to any other use¹⁵. "Donors have been authorized by the entire Jewish community of Mala Synagogue and have become entitled to alienate all properties movable and immovable, appertaining to the Jewish Synagogue of Mala including the Synagogue Building and its premises¹⁶"

But the violation of agreement was not a difficult task to the Panchayat. The right and left governments didn't pay any attention to this. They used the Synagogue as a godown and the public began to enter their. The holy place of the Jews was converted as a business center. The authorities were least bothered about the terms and conditions of the agreement. The Synagogue began to function as the Govt. L.P.School by violating the agreement. When the school was shifted to another building Panchayat used the Synagogue as a community hall, and became a source of income. The Panchayat also constructed a two storied shopping center in the Northern side of the Synagogue. Today, the Synagogue is surrounded by private commercial buildings (South and West) and public roads (East and North). The freestanding boundary wall

in the southern border perhaps could be the original construction from pre-mid-20th century, but the current wall on the west is a later addition only. We know from the 1955 Mala contract that the Synagogue was surrounded by "compound wall on three sides¹⁷". There have been frequent encroachments and attacks on the monuments. The synagogue first became a school and then a community hall. A shopping complex came up on the northern side of the synagogue. The compound wall was demolished. Later, three-fourth of the cemetery became the Jawaharlal Nehru stadium.¹⁸

Resting place of ancestors means a lot to the Jewish community. Sometimes they even carried tombstones from their old settlements. Jewish graves have mostly Hebrew inscriptions. Cemetery was largely neglected. The orphaned cemetery became a feeding ground for cattle. Many of the tombs were completely or partially destroyed. Some of the natives took stones by break down the side wall. Trees planted in the cemetery were cut down. Pocket roads were formed inside the cemetery. Seventy eight graves in 1970s reduced to three in number¹⁹.

The people of Mala had a shortage of the public stadium. Historical monuments pose a great threat when any construction in the name of development is in progress. It is the responsibility of a civilized society to respect and preserve the historical monuments without any agreement. It is easy to pick up the land when there is no one to ask. Two decades of legal battles have been waged by the natives to preserve these monuments. The involvement of civic society, the formation of civic committees and the formation of small entities for anything and everything do not belong to a civilized democratic society. But all these are happening in Mala for the protection of these treasures of the Jewish culture²⁰

But in the beginning of 1990s Panchayat tried to do some construction work inside the cemetery. A series of agitations were organized under Thomas Master, a freedom fighter of the area. *Paithrika Samrakshana Samiti* was formed in Mala with K.A Thomas Master as the President and T.K.Sadanandan as the convener. Eminent personalities like C.L Joseph Master, K.H.M. Subair, E.K.Ouseph Master, M.K.Thankappan, K.C.Varghese, A.V.Thomas, E.A.Joy, K.K.Auseppunni and Kalam Master actively

participated for the cause of the protection of monuments. The Jewish Association in Cochin began to interfere in the problems of Mala. Their togetherness became menus to the Panchayat. Difference of opinion also created problems in the smooth running of the council. The political leaders of the area had an eye on the worthy land in the center of Mala town. They planned to construct a stadium on the cemetery in memory of K.Karunakaran, the loving leader of Mala people, and this decision was welcomed by the people of Mala. Actually it was a tactic from the part of authorities. In 2011, Mala fest was organized and at its end the then cultural minister Anil Kumar declared that the cemetery is to be convert into Judish Heritage Park of one crore sixty thousand rupees. Thomas Master the then President of *Paithrika Samrakshana Samiti*, Mala died in the same year.

Prof.C.Karmachandran, the present president of *Samiti* actively fight against the move of authorities. As a retired Professor in History, he took the issue in its real sense. He invited the attention of Professor M.G.S. Narayanan, the then Director General of Heritage Studies, Hill Palace. Thrippunithura. Prof. MGS strongly criticized it on the ground that it was the violation of the agreement. The heritage Council was able to create awareness among the public that historic monuments should be preserved. *Paithrika Samrakshana Samiti* has called for the amendment of the project, which destructed the traditional character and belief of Jewish community. A meeting of members of the council and MLA was held at Thiruvananthapuram.²¹ The meeting decided to rethink about the project on the basis of the conditions of the agreement of 1955. An advisory committee was also formed to make favourable changes for the protection of heritage.

On 18th July 2012 Panchayat convened a meeting with the presence of M.G.S.Narayanan and Prof.M.G. Sasibhooshan. Professor C.Karmachandran and Kittan were also there by representing the petitioners. But the absence of MLA in the meeting shows his displeasure. Even in his absence a monitoring committee was formed with MLA as the chairman for the future activities. But that committee decided to follow the destructive policy towards the heritage sites of Mala. They started the construction of Karunakaran Memorial Stadium in 2013 inside

the cemetery. They assigned it as a new project totally different from the previous one. The three stages of the construction were also announced.

- Indoor stadium in the first stage.
- Swimming pool, pavilion, gallery and two hundred meters of synthetic track in the second stage.
- The multi storied office and compound wall in the third stage²².

If the project has been done, every portion of the cemetery would be dig – another violation of the agreement and neglect towards the belief of a community. This injustice prompted the members of the Jewish community in Cochin and they filed a case against Panchayat authorities. They demanded the return of their ancestors properties. Panchayat give little attention to this. A case was also filed in Irinjalakkuda sub court. The court has stayed all works in cemetery by an interim order. In the court argument the Mala Grama Panchayat took a stand that the Jewish agreement was outdated and it was not bind to them. So in this juncture the is no question of violation of said agreement. The Panchayat also submitted that no body as Jewish were buried in this land. But the court rejected the all arguments of the panchayat and finally ordered on 3.9.2014 that the plaint B schedule property comprised 4 acres of land is undoubtedly Jewish cemetery and found Panchayat violated the agreement and the court directed by this order to the government and mala Grama Panchayat that the Jewish agreement is binding to all and the parties should not violate the agreement further. The court also directed to form a management and master plan to protect the Jewish cemetery at all cost²³.

The *Paithrika Samrakshana Samiti* stood for the protection of the monuments by demanding the declaration of it as the archaeological site under the protection of Muzuris Heritage Project. Finally their dream comes true. The Cultural Affairs Department has decided to include the 1,000-year-old Mala Synagogue and cemetery at Vadama village in Chalakkudy in the list of protected monuments thus signaling a victory for the long-running campaign for its conservation²⁴.The people's struggle was against encroachments and destruction of the rich Jewish history linked with the region. It is the responsibility of a

Government to keep the monuments as such they agreed to keep it²⁵.

Paithrika Samrakshana Samiti along with the support of Mala Grama Panchayat and Muzuris Heritage Project organized an international seminar on the 65th anniversary of the Jewish agreement on 4-1-2020 at Mala Panchayat Hall. The change of ruling parties and persons become a blessing and now the Panchayat affirmed their strong support to the protection of the monuments. A heritage walk was also organized. Professor C.Karmachandran was the seminar co-ordinator. The presence of Jewish members from Israel adds its importance. The teachers, students and the persons who loved history and heritage were also there. It was result of the hard work and dedication of *Paithrika Samrakshana Samiti*. Professor C.Karmachandran discussed the past, present and future of the Jewish monuments in Mala²⁶.

Our sites and monuments can only be given protection through the joint efforts of the global community. On the day of World Heritage, Prof. Karmachandran organized heritage walk for enlightening the students of neighboring institutions about the diversity of our cultural wealth and the kind of solution is needed to preserve and protect it. It is true that heritage sites are exposed to various risk factors and

hence we should do all that we can to the best of our capacity in providing protection to these precious assets. Heritage sites ought to be preserved and protected. They are priceless assets for mankind.

It is extremely important to inculcate a feeling of pride at our national cultural wealth and preserve it for posterity so that the coming generation can have the privilege of appreciating the cultural possessions of the Country. The least that we can do is not to throw garbage or litter the waste anywhere close to the premise of these heritage sites.

The case of Mala shows that the practice of popularizing monuments as places of entertainment and amusement should also be played down because it does not help much in protecting them as our heritage and on the other hand brings harm to the already vulnerable structures. In many cases, monuments have become love making spots which should be brought under control and younger and even older generations made to understand their cultural value and relevance. Only making laws will be of no help in protecting a monument, public support and administrative acumen are also required to achieve the objective.

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SUBALTERN HISTORY OF PRE -MODERN KERALA :ANALYZING GENDERED RESISTANCE THROUGH NJĀTTU -PĀTTU.

K.S. Wilson Jovise

Oral History has had a significant impact upon historical practice in the second half of the 20th century .It has democratized the study of the past by recording the experience of people who have been hidden from history.¹ Oral sources give us information about illiterate people or social groups whose written history is either missing or distorted.² Oral poetry and folk songs are reliable because it holds some degree of truth, as it inextricably explains about what these subalterns encountered in their day to day life . Folk songs are key components which contain the very precious cultural chronicles of a particular folk.³

In Kerala, Folk Arts flourished under the shadow of feudalism .It attempted to raise voice against the social and economic inequalities of the time. Gender and labor representations are seen through variety of folk arts through songs sung by the subalterns .Our folk songs reflect the way of life and rituals of our forefathers .The folk songs of pre-modern Kerala can be classified as for the worship of god, worship of heroes, entertainment, scientific, occupational, moral, political and communal .The ordinary activities of the people in the field of agriculture were also the themes of some of these early folk dances. ⁴ To reconstruct the history of pre-modern Kerala a vast number of oral traditions have been transmitted from generation to generation and the dearth of written documents on the life worlds of the subalterns makes these oral traditions a prominent one.

The folklore told and used by women is not necessarily the same as folklore about women . Women's folklore is a discourse that women create about themselves but also about others . The discourses women create, communicate and negotiate extend over the entire range of human experience .Women's folklore also demonstrates

women's power and resistance .In fact, explicit or implicit resistance to the strictures of patriarchy characterizes the majority of women's folklore and is one of the few generalizations that can be accurately made about it. ⁵ The folk songs sung by the non-literate South Indian women express their experiences and hardships .The subaltern women have always been active in agricultural activities unlike their high caste counterparts .They were exploited mainly in the fields and at the place of work .Women in paddy cultivation sung songs that narrate their day to day life and hardships making us familiar with their unwritten history that have been orally transmitted by them through generations .The Parayas and Pulaya women are the composers of these agricultural songs .These songs have embedded history in them giving insights on the position of lower caste women, labour exploitation, upper caste atrocities, untouchability, etc .

These songs were called as 'Njattu - Pattukal 'or 'Penn -Pattukal 'which were their 'weapons of everyday life 'used as a symbol of resistance against the oppressions by the Thampurans .They satirically criticized the thampuran for his conspicuousness and other atrocities towards lower caste. This paper highlights the important function of these folk songs in which low caste people and women in general are afforded an opportunity to express their bottled up feelings in a socially acceptable form .These songs convey how the subaltern women were forced ideologically to obey these Thampurans and how their body was an object for his sexual satisfaction. They were aware of all the deceptive motives of *thampuran* and his henchmen .Poverty and question of survival forced these women to obey the cultural norms. Their body is a subject of sexual exploitation by the *thampurans* after attaining puberty.

The complexities of untouchability and gender have always been documented through literatures that constitute the perspective of these upper caste men. For example, *Ashouchadeepikam*, *Shankarasmriti* Brahmanical canonical texts, etc. However, the tribal songs reflect the agonies and hardships of these poor sections of the societies, which is seldom recorded in the history of the caste people.

The subjugation, subordination and silence, the resilience and neglect marks the lives of marginalized even when they resist, they feel bound and defeated by their subject positions. This can be well explained using the Marxist theory of cultural hegemony associated with Antonio Gramsci, wherein the ruling class can manipulate the value system and mores of a society, so that their view point becomes the world view.⁶ The basic premise of the theory of hegemony is one with which few would disagree: the man is not ruled by force alone, but also with ideas.⁷ It is usually achieved through social institutions. This cultural hegemony functioned in pre-modern feudal society where these subalterns accepted the rule of Thampurans and idealized them. The norms and ideologies were internalized by them and carried forward as a universally accepted one. This resulted in their subordination even after generations.

Subaltern population and women have been classified under the Depressed class section of the society. The classification 'women' apply to the general women population of the society while the term subaltern is inclusive of both men and women. These subalterns are subjugated socially and materially while women are subjugated physically. In a caste based society, the destruction of women is equivalent to destroying a whole set of people in a particular society through patriarchy.

A *Kizhalar* women has to fight against both caste domination and patriarchy. She is seen as an object and has been sexually exploited by men belonging to other caste especially upper caste. In a society where lower caste was kept far from the sight of upper caste and where untouchability was severe, the women belonging to the same untouchable category was sexually exploited by these upper caste men. The upper caste women were treated ruthlessly by their

men, if the woman is lower caste, then she is seen as an object for derivation of pleasure by these men.

James Scott explains about everyday resistance. Scott notes, "Everyday acts of resistance make no headlines".⁸ He further argues that, "everyday" acts still qualify as resistance, to the extent that they "deny or mitigate claims made by appropriating classes".⁹ In contrast other acts are observable yet not necessarily recognized as resistant by the powerful. This includes much of what Scott refers to as "everyday" acts of resistance. For instance the use of humor can be a way for those in lower status positions to covertly express resistance to the more powerful.¹⁰

Songs such as 'Illandi Kunjaleri', 'Omana Thampuran', 'Munjalan Padathe Kunjalethi', 'Kalipulayi', 'Cherupullayi' are few songs that reflect the hardships of these women and the satirical resistance which the thampuran himself enjoys. These songs are spread all over Kerala thus it is not area-specific and the theme and tone varies according to regions.

In 'Illandi Kunjeleri' the notion of untouchability imposed by the Thampurans on the lower caste is questioned by Kunjeleri. But this questioning is only satirical and raised amongst the other Adiyar women and not in front of the thampuran. Here, it can be seen that the approach of these feudal lords towards these Adiyar women is better as compared with their counterparts only for deriving sexual pleasure and exploiting their labour. The thampuran offers her paan and establish a friendly relation so that she willingly sleeps with him. Later in the evening as she goes to collect her wages, the Thampurans asks her to serve him food and orders her to take bath and lie down with him. The scenario ends when Kunjeleri shares this with her friends as they satirically comment "Aanale thottal Kulikuna Thambran, Pennale thottal Kulikatha Thambran)" the lord takes bath only on seeing the lower caste men and this does not apply when it comes to the matter of his concupiscence and after touching lower caste women.¹¹

In the next song 'Kali Pulayi', the Adiyar women falls for the Thampurans fake promises of marrying her and she agrees to kill her husband, she offers poison to her husband and

sleeps with the thampuran .Next morning as she wakes up, thamburan asks her to leave his house and go back to her place .He says ‘I don’t have any property to offer you, go away and live by yourself’. This song is sung by the women on the paddy fields as a warning to women who fall prey to thamburans lies.¹²

In ‘Cheru Pullayi’ we can see a clear denial by the Adiyar women when asked upon by the thampuran to stand under his umbrella and accompany him to the Illam where he can sleep with her .She replies back saying politely that ‘like her glass bangles, his umbrella is also momentary ’umbrella being symbolized for the support of a man for his woman .Here, Cheru Pullayi is well aware of the consequences if she agrees with his demands and thus denies politely. Here, Adiyar women are asked to resist Thampurans demands in a socially accepted manner.¹³

In the next song ‘Munjyalam Padathe Kunjelechi’, the friends of Kunjyelechi advises her to ask the thampuran who has an eye for her on his approach, whether he’ll marry her? “Nokki edukumbo chodikane thambran Kettumo ketyol aakumo..?”

This counter question would seldom make a change in Thampurans approach but this teaches the women to resist his deceitful means.¹⁴

Women of the lower caste are considered as the subalterns among the subalterns in the social ladder. Her poverty leaves her with scarce resources to keep her body and soul together . These songs provide an insight into the lives of these marginalized, who are seldom given a chance to be in the mainstream historical writing.¹⁵ The unlettered women have stories to narrate and as we go down the lane we understand the fact that they were trapped in the cultural hegemonic ideologies of the society . These songs perform an important function -the low caste are afforded an opportunity to express their bottled up feelings in a socially acceptable form.

These songs never reflect strong resistance or protest instead they provide insights on how the societal setup has prescribed them to live their lives .These agricultural songs were usually sung for entertainment purpose s while working on paddy fields .Such spaces are utilized by these women to place their sufferings in a frame of songs .The gradual decline of this rich oral tradition due to little or no traditional agricultural practices can be seen. These songs are a part of the cultural milieu and the transformation of these orally transmitted songs into written realities which is a specimen of mere survival and a shadow of resistance .

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MUGHALS CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN KASHMIR

Dr. Zahoor Yousf Sofi

Introduction

The valley of Kashmir has history of its own. A glorious past and a peculiar social setup had been of little importance to the outer world, for a longtime not because of political background but because of geographical position. Mirza Haidar Dughlat who was impressed by the kingdom states that it is astonishing that so little is known about this beautiful kingdom in the outer world. The internal disorders exposed the kingdom to the outer world and the mighty Mughals. The Mughal emperor, Babur's grandson, Akbar was the greatest. He expanded the frontiers of the kingdom to their widest limits, but also ruled wisely with extraordinary tolerance and was an enthusiastic patron of scholarships and the arts. Akbar started interference with the affairs of Kashmir in the time of Ali Shah Chak. Akbar helped Yusuf shah Chak against Lohur or Gauhar Shah Chak. Later he detained Yusuf, and finally ousted Yusuf's son, Yaqub, and annexed Kashmir. Assured of full support from Sunni community of Kashmir Emperor Akbar sent army under Qasim Khan to invade Kashmir, and finally annexed Kashmir on October 14, 1586 C.E. However, it is the Mughal period, the people enjoyed peace and orderly government. It was during the period that the Kashmiri merchants, soldiers, poets, artisans and scholars served outside the Kashmir. They spread almost all over India¹, while Iranis, Turains, Afghans, and Indians came Kashmir and settled in the Subah². Obviously, this social mobilization gave a new turn to the existing social order.

Architecture: Muhammadain architecture in Kashmir must be pronounced as rather disappointing in comparison with the grand edifices of Hindu rule like the temples at Martand, Avantipur and elsewhere. Even for an ordinary hill fort on Hariparat. Akbar had to import a large number of masons from India as one can see from the inscription on the Kathi Darwaza of the fort³. The art of masonry seems to have died long before the death of the Hindu rule in the valley. But the wooden architecture of Kashmir that commands our admiration to this day originated with the Muhammadain and it appears that

Kashmiri Hindu mason of old had rebirth in the Muslim carpenter of the latter day rule. Muhammadain architecture in Kashmir, broadly speaking, says Mr. W. H. Nicholls, fall under three heads, the pre-Mughal masonry style, the wooden style, and the pure Mughal style⁴.

The wood constituted the primary building material of the mosques and shrines, but the royal palaces, inns, and mosques built by them were exclusively in lime and stone over a core of brick work⁵. The art of stone building was revived by the Mughals, which was almost forgotten by the Kashmiris⁶. But its influence remained confined to the imperial architectural activity. The indigenous wooden architecture of Kashmir flourished uninterrupted; imbibing no influence from the Mughal style⁷. The wooden architecture of Kashmir has its own peculiarities in spite of its resemblance to that Scandinavian countries, and Tyrol of Australia. It has been least influenced by the Buddhist Pagodas. It has been rightly observed that there was not a single Buddhist pagoda at the advent of Islam in Kashmir⁸. It is also quite significant to note that notwithstanding the highly skilled craftsmanship Kashmiris were not well-versed at joinery work. That is why they used to put the logs on each other and the gaps were filled with the bricks, stones and lime.

The architecture of Mughal period can be divided into two sections the stone architecture and the wooden architecture. Nagar Nagar fort, Pather Masjid Mullah Akhwand Shah and Sarais are the living examples of the stone architecture, while Khanqah Mualla, Jamia Masjid Srinagar, mosque at Shopiya, Hazrat Bal mosque and a number of the tombs were the remains of holy shrines are enshrined represent the wooden architecture.

Nagar Nagar fort

The foundation of the Nagar Nagar fort was laid in 1597 C.E., and Jahangir completed it at the cost of 11000.000 rupees in around 1606 C.E⁹. Kohi Plaran had a considerable importance for the defense of the city of Srinagar. It is on account of this importance that the Mughals laid out a well-fortified and magnificent city. In

Kashmir, the skill of handling the art of stone building was forgotten over the centuries. Akbar was the first, who introduced this art into Kashmir region, which was flourishing in all over India at that time. It is astonishing to note that there is not a single building existing intact nor the ruins of the palaces are traceable. But the main gate known as Sangin Darwaza, and the dilapidated Kathi Darwaza are extant. Sangin Darwaza is a structure highly expensive, ornate and stoutly built. Its elevation consists of well built-arched recess. There are gateways on each side. Kathi Darwaza is now in ruins¹⁰. There are three stone buildings, which were built by Mughals in Kashmir, the Pathar Masjid or new mosque (stone mosque), Mosque of Akhun Mullah Shah and Fort of Hari Parbat¹¹.

Mulla Akhun Shah Mosque

It is situated near the shrine of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. It is a most neglected monument and in ruins now. The domes and minarets are in a dilapidated condition and the raised verses of the Quran have been defaced, yet it is a living example of the Mughal architecture. It was built in 1649 C.E by Dara Shikoh for his preceptor Mulla Shah Badakhshi¹².

The mosque has a typical layout. It is as a matter of fact a mosque within mosque, built in polished granite stone. In finish and technique, it surpasses all the Mughal monuments. The exterior wall has six engrailed windows the north and the south. Main gate, now closed, lies in the east. The dome over the Mehrab, now dilapidated, appears to have been of great architectural importance. The Turkish bath is in ruins. It is purely a masonry work in bricks and lime¹³.

Jamia Masjid

The mosque represents both the stone and wooden architecture of Kashmir. It is rather a synthesis of Mughal and Kashmiri architecture. Originally the mosque was built in 1400 C.E by Sultan Sikandar, but it was devastated by fire on a number of times¹⁴. In 1622 C.E., while Jahangir was in Kashmir, the mosque was completely destroyed¹⁵. He directed Malik Haider to rebuild the mosque. It was again destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb, but was again restored¹⁶. The massive arched gateway is built in stone and bricks. The building consists of a courtyard

surrounded by wide colonnades. The outer-wall is of masonry work having projecting entrances on all the three sides. The interior of the building contains a large amount of wood work. There are about 378 wooden ornamented posts of 25 to 50 feet in height¹⁷.

Pather (Stone) Masjid

The genius for the monumental architecture during the reign of Jahangir is exemplified by Pather Masjid or the stone Mosque built by empress Nur Jahan in 1623 C.E. situated in the heart of Srinagar city, on the left bank of river Jhelum opposite to Shah-i-Humdan^{RA} mosque near Zainkadal. The Pather Masjid also known as Shahi Mosque, is the only surviving example of the Mughal mosque built in stone instead of indigenous wooden material. Architecturally its style is practically the same as that of Masjid of Agra, Delhi, and Lahore and such it has been emphasized that it has no outstanding architectural merit¹⁸.

Khanqah-I-Mualla

The Khanqah is the best example of the typical wooden architecture of Kashmir. Sultan Qutubud-din had great reverence for Sayyid Ali Hamadani had built this mosque for the saint¹⁹. It was destroyed twice by fire in 1479 and 1731, but was again restored²⁰. The present *Khanqah* was built in 1732 C.E., by Abdul Barkat Khan²¹.

It is a 70 feet square building two storey in height. It stands on the right bank of the jehlam on an irregular masonry foundation of an old temple. Its three tiered pyramidal roof surmounted by the open pavilion for *Muazzin*, over which rises the steeple with 125 feet high finial from the ground is of considerable interest. The interior lower hall is 63 feet long and 43 feet broad. In the centre there are four eight-sided ornamented posts supporting the second storey. The paneled walls and painted ceilings in multi-coloured designs add to the grace of the hall²². This pattern of architecture can be found in all the shrines, *khanqahs* and mosques which were built during mughal period. The *khanqah* at Sopore, Bararaula, and Shopiyan are virtually replicas of Shah Hamdan mosque. The shrines at Charari Shareef, Hazratbal and so many other shrines scattered all over the Kashmir are also in the same style. There is hardly any difference of the architectural design, or ornamentation in these buildings.

Calligraphy: Calligraphy and elegant lettering was an art cultivated and valued highly and sometimes treated with greater respect than the art of painting in the Muslim world. It had attained perfection in the Islamic world well before the establishment of the Muslim rule in Kashmir²³. *Kufi* and *Naskhi* style were very popular. The *Kufi* style was popularized by the Umayyads while *Naskhi* flourished under the Abbasides. Soon after the establishment of Islamic rule in the kingdom of Kashmir, the art of calligraphy developed tremendously. In the course of the time a distinct Kashmiri style was evolved. An unwashable ink and unique tints were discovered by the artists²⁴. After the fall of Sultanate, the Kashmiri artists entered the imperial services and in the galaxy of artists they retained their individuality²⁵. The art of illumination, border decoration and illustration was at its highest pitch during the reign of Akbar. The Kashmiri artists also excelled in this art. The floral designs were convenient for the religious scriptures. The designs abound in the various works of the period. The Kashmiri artists had achieved mastery in *Kufi*, *Nastaliq* and *Shalgami* besides Kashmiri *Qalam*. The art of calligraphy was considered a notable profession. A number of scholars earned their livelihood by scribing the holy Quran. Mohammad Husain Kashmiri was a famous calligraphist of this period. He was given the title of *Zarrin Qalam* by Akbar²⁶. In the art of calligraphy he even surpassed his teachers, Maulana Mir Ali and Abdul Aziz his skill was acknowledged by all the calligraphists of the period. Mulla Mohammad joined the court of Shah Jahan and was given the title of *Zarrin Raqam*. The inscriptions of various imperial buildings were scribed by him.

Painting: It must be stated at the outset that no account of the religious objection to the delineation of natural forms, Muhammadain did not produce the type of painting or achieve the excellence their genius could rise to in other fields of art. In India it was probably the dictum of Akbar that gave a definite turn to the faculty of the Muslim artist when his Majesty said: "There are many that hate painting but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means or recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work and thus force to think of God, the giver of

the life and will thus increase in knowledge²⁷." There is, however, a remarkable set of twenty four large paintings on cotton preserved in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, south Kensington that was produced in Kashmir about the middle of the sixteenth century before Akbar took measures to encourage painting after the Persian manner. These cotton paintings are said to have been illustration of a manuscript book of stories which has not been preserved or identified. The subject comprises many battles and scenes of bloodshed. The most pleasing and best preserved composition represents a central garden plot with chinar tree and highly decorated palaces in the Persian style cranes are seen flying above. The rocky scenery found in all, or almost all the pictures are connected with Kashmir. These works may be conjectured to have been executed in Kashmir between 1540 and 1551 C.E²⁸.

Garden tradition of Mughals: The conspicuous contribution by the Mughals to the Architectural wealth of Kashmir lies in the large number of gardens with their schemes of foundation and cascades which they built at several beauty spots in the valley²⁹. The gardens are famous throughout the world. Tom More in his immortal *Lalla Rookh* has painted some of these in colours so brilliant as to leave a lasting impression on the readers. The history of the development of the garden designs in Kashmir is, however closely associated with the Buddhist landscape gardening in China and Japan.

The Mughals from Baber to Shah Jahan were great lover of gardens. And the valley of Kashmir in the profusion of superb natural beauty, its variegated foliage and its enchanting vernal flower growth afforded the natural ground for the efflorescence of numerous gardens and the enclosed monuments to shed luster to the entire set-up. Right from the annexation hundreds of gardens were laid out by the Emperors and Subedars, and the other principal officers. Though the tradition of gardening and horticulture in Kashmir dates back to the period of Sultans³⁰, and even before, yet there were certain characteristics which were associated with the Mughals only. The fencing, symmetrical arrangement of the flower beds, presence of water and above all existence of fruit trees within the garden were the peculiarities of the Mughal

gardens. As a matter of fact the modern horticulture owes a great deal to the founders of these gardens. Experiments in grafting and the introduction of new fruit trees were virtually started with these gardens. Most of the gardens were laid out around the Dal lake and in the vicinity of the city. It is said that more than 700 gardens were found around the lake only³¹.

Shalimar: According to a legend, Parvarasena II, the founder of the city of Srinagar, who reigned in Kashmir from 110 to 170 A. D., had built a villa on the edge of the Dal lake in its north-eastern corner, calling it Shalimar, which in Sanskrit means "the abode of love." In 1619 the Mughal emperor Jahangir laid out a garden at this village and called it "Farah-Bakhsh" meaning "Delightful"³². It was spread over an area of 7500 square yards. The canal passing through the garden was paved with stone under the supervision of Prince Khurram.

Nishat Bagh: It is situated at a distance of seven miles from Srinagar on the farthest end of the Dal lake. It was gayest of all the gardens and even surpassed the Shalimar garden both in layout, design and architecture. It was put up by Asaf Khan during the reign of Jahangir. In 1635 C.E Asaf Khan hosted a feast in honour of Shah Jahan. He was highly impressed by the layout of the garden³³.

Bagh-i-Wafa: Mansbal lake is at a distance of 15 miles from Srinagar and the garden was laid out on the right side of this lake near village, Safapur. It was founded by Mirza Haidar Dughlat. But improved upon and renovated by Nurjahan Begum. In 1642 C.E, the garden was assigned to Jahan Ara Begum³⁴.

Achawal Bagh: It is situated at a distance of 6 miles from Islamabad. A small but a pretty garden was laid out there by Jahangir in 1622³⁵. It was improved upon and renovated by Shah Jahan in 1636 C.E. A pavilion was built in it. The garden was called Sahibabad. In 1662 C.E, Aurangzeb assigned the garden to Zebunnisa Begum. The garden is 467 feet long and 450 feet in breadth is divided into two portions. The water of the spring issues from several places near the foot of a low spur which is densely covered with deodar trees.

Bagh-i-Ilahi: It was laid out by Yousf Khan Rizvi during the tenure of his offices as Subedar in the vicinity of Batspora³⁶. A canal, three yard

in width was brought from the Sindh for irrigation of this garden. A pavilion was built in the centre with a tank in the front. Rows of fountains were installed in it. It was beautified by the plantation of chinars. Later on Shah Jahan Built two more pavilions on the either side of canal included this garden among the imperial gardens³⁷.

Bagh-i-Naseem: It stands in a fine open position well raised above the Dal lake. A cool fragrant breeze blows throughout the day and night. It was laid out by Akbar, and improved and enlarged by Azam Khan, Saif Khan and Afzal Khan. It was enclosed by a massive wall and a canal was dug out from Lar defile to irrigate the garden it retained its fame on account of its beautiful chinar trees. These were planted by Akbar and later Ali Mardan Khan also added more plants³⁸.

Bagh-i-Bahar Ara: On the bank of the western arm of the Dal lake is situated the Bahar-Ara. It was a spacious garden laid out by Nurjahan, queen of the emperor Jahangir. A stream of water from the Joi-Shahi, running from the Sindh Nullah vai Ilahi Bagh, used to flow into it, which watered the flower beds arranged in terrace³⁹. A mansion, seven story's high, had been built here on the highest point of vantage from which the emperor and his consort used to have full view of the Dal lake on moon light.

Noor Bagh: It was founded by Nurjahan in the vicinity of I'dghah. A branch of Shah Kul was brought through Zunimar for irrigation of the garden. It was famous for its fruits, flowers and chinar. This garden is now in ruins but the mohalla which sprang up around it called Noor Bagh.

Verinag: Verinag is a village situated on the foot of the Banihal pass. It is called after the name of the spring there known as Verinag. According to the legends the goddess Vitasta (Jhelum) wanted to take her rise from the place, but it happened that when she came, Siva was staying there, wherever she had to go back and she took her rise from Vithavatur a spring about a mile to the north west of this place⁴⁰. This spring was originally an irregular, shapeless pond and water oozing out from different places in it, spread about and formed a little marsh. The emperor Jahangir, whose artistic taste for polishing up the beauty of Nature is well known,

saw this and at once determined to improve it. He built the octagonal tank of sculptured stone round it, so that all water issuing from north-eastern side of the wooden hill was collected therein. This was completed in 1620 C.E.

Chashma Shahi: Chashma Shahi, the famous spring of pure, sparkling and cool water attracts people from far and near. Its situation on the slope of the Zebwan hill commands a superb view of the lotus on the Dal below and of the verdant vale across⁴¹. The spot could not, therefore, escaped the artistic eye of the Mughals. Under orders of the emperor Shah Jahan a small garden on the traditional Mughal pattern was laid out here by the governor, Ali Mardan Khan in 1642 C.E.

Conclusion:

The Mughal conquest in 1586 C.E., led to the attainment of many tangible results in the

overall development in the fields of administrative, social, economic and cultural institutions. The Mughal period was one of intense cultural regeneration in Kashmir. Art architecture and garden culture entered into a new phase of development. A huge amount was spent on the architectural activities: development of gardening, with requisite irrigation works, opening up of new trade routes, Serais, Roads and Cities. Moreover, remarkable growth was witnessed in the field of arts and letters; even the period was turning point in the cultural history of Kashmir. The mass scale contacts enriched the already copious cultural heritage. Cultural life attained a new dimension. There is no doubt that they beautified every spot that came to their notice and Kashmir reacted very well to their feelings. They did not only love nature, they had a fine sense of art.

End Notes

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IDENTITY FORMATION AMONG MUSLIMS IN COLONIAL TRAVANCORE : AN INTRODUCTION

C.H. Abdul Latif

British colonialism sought to transmute the princely states and provinces into what it perceived to be the icons and institutions of modernity, always within specific limiting conditions. The prevailing political structures and social practices were reframed and redesigned through the colonial technologies with varying degrees of success and sustainment. While widespread education and concerted proselytism did alleviate and plight those sections who had been suffering under ascriptive inequality, enumerative / statistical operations (biennial censuses, ethnographic surveys etc.) squeezed heterogeneous peoples into pre-existing cognitive grids. The resultant idea of rigid and monolithic communities has percolated into public imagination and has remained there almost intact since then. Such a process, wherein identity is linked to a religion, potentially and

actually leads to the redefinition and reconfiguration of the religion under reference.

The study of colonial modernity and identity formation in a class / caste / community has been a major research area of social science. The colonial rule in India has played a prominent role in the process of developing distinct characters of a individual / class / caste / community. These communities are, more or less, imagined communities. India witnessed major transformations in the identities of its Indian subjects during its colonial period. The growth of modern state, the introduction of new system of knowledge, the expansion of capitalist modes of production and spread of communication all have shaped these identities. Naturally the identity formation thus by community formation in a colonial state became the thrust area of modern scholars.

REDISCOVERING AND UNDERSTANDING THE FOLK GAMES OF KERALA

Abhimanew V.

Kerala has a fascinating history of native games. Majority of them had acquired deep-rooted history backgrounds. They are made or created in the villages and later acquired significance. As time flew they became competitive. Some of them are evolved into modern commercial games such as football and cricket. Each game varies according to the local dialects and the regional variations. Same Game may possess different names in the different places though the

gaming techniques are the same. By understanding the educational and enlightening methods of native gaming and its techniques one could amass the cultural and social history of the regions. This research paper focuses on the generous study of native games and gaming existed in the different parts of Kerala and thereby understanding the rich social and cultural history of the state.

MONUMENTS IN MEMORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN TIRUCHIRAPPALLI

P. Ayyappan

Tiruchirappalli remains an important centre of modern Tamil Nadu was an arena of national agitation organized for the success of freedom. Most of the prominent luminaries like Gandhiji, Balagangathara Tilak, Subash Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru and others visited Tiruchirappalli and encouraged the national movement. The meetings and struggle organized by them in this historic place are recorded in the history of Tiruchirappalli. Therefore, Tiruchirappalli played a vital role in all struggles organized against the British Government in

India. The places associated with them can be named as monuments of freedom movement. It was the venue for the famous historical movements related to freedom struggle. The places where the leaders stayed, worked, struggled are remaining memorial today. Therefore one can say each and every place of Tiruchirappalli keeps the golden memories of freedom movement. The purpose of this article is to record and remember the historical memories of the monuments of freedom movement in Tiruchirappalli.

ORAL HISTORY OF SKULL CULT IN MALAPPURAM

Balasubrahmanian Uruniankuth

Religious practices of particular community represents its socio cultural aspects especially in ancient days it was more complex than today. Now a day's rationalism and critical thinking influences every field of life and it impacted the removal of unwanted and unnecessary religious practices. But the ancient religious culture was more emotional than rationalism. Death and funeral customs and beliefs in life after death is the most significant aspects of almost all religious, religion laid foundation by these deaths associated rituals and marriage norms used to maintaining of communal identities. Religion is the most complex and philosophical construction of mankind. There are a variety of

religion and religious practices, the ancient burial practices especially the tribes and scheduled castes are interesting to the historians because it was totally different from the established religious. Kanakkas are one of the scheduled castes in Kerala. Skull cult was practiced among the scheduled castes of malappuram district up to the first half of the twentieth century. In those days the gods of lower castes separated from the mainstream Hindu gods and their religion was more ritualistic and black magical practices were very common. Black magical practices like *odi, maranam* etc. were very common. Skull cult was a form of ancestor worship prevailed in the area.

BUDDHIST MONUMENTS AT PHANIGIRI IN SURYAPET DISTRICT, TELANGANA - A STUDY

Bandari Suresh

The glorious era of Buddhism was a time, when the creed of Gautama Buddha had very stronghold on the minds of people of Telangana during the three centuries preceding and succeeding the birth of Christ. This phase witnessed an unprecedented growth of Buddhist, institutions and their art and architecture as witnessed from various Buddhist remains. The scores of Buddhist sites spotted so far by the spade or archaeologists attest the wide popularity of Buddhism in Telangana. The recent excavations revealed that the building activity began though in humble way by the local

Buddhists during pre-Ashokan or at least Ashokan times. The exploration of the Buddhist monuments initiated about the middle of the eighteenth century in Telugu speaking areas resulted in locating more than one hundred Buddhist sites and archaeologists excavated some of them. The excavated sites have brought out the grandeur and magnificence of *Stupas, Viharas, Chaityagrihas* and temples both rock-cut and brick built adorned with beautiful sculptures of stone and metal. Few of the label inscriptions and copper plates were also unearthed from these sites.

ROLE OF CHRISTIANS TOWARDS MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE AND PRESS

Chandra Kumari

Kannada literature, also called **Kanarese**, the literature written in Kannada, which, like the other languages of South India, is of the Dravidian family. The earliest records in Kannada are inscriptions dating from the 6th century A.D onward. The earliest literary work is the *Kavirājamārga* (c. ad 850). Christian Missionaries who primarily landed here for the spread of Christianity were found forgetting their original purpose rather learning Kannada language to revive, rejuvenate and immortalize that ancient language through several works. For this they established printing press. The German Missionaries and Christian scholars established

the first printing press and publishing centers in Karnataka. Kannada news paper has a legacy which reflects patriotism, public service and professional excellence. Kannada press has contributed immensely for the national independence, unification of Karnataka, democratic evolution, social change, economic development, Cultural Revolution and all-round progress of the state. In this paper I wish to write on, (i) Origin of Kannada literature and Press (ii) Christian and Kannada Literary works (iii) Christians and Press

HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN SOUTH INDIA

Ch.Chandraiah

The Hyderabad State was located in the south-central region of the Indian subcontinent, and was ruled from 1724 until 1948, by a hereditary Nizam. The Asaf Jahi dynasty was very popular in the British India. Asaf Jahi dynasty ruled the state of Hyderabad for seven generations establishing it as the largest and foremost Muslim princely state in India. Hyderabad's existence and development was intrinsically linked to the rule of the Asaf Jahi dynasty and their contributions were foundational to not only the States but the Deccan's Historical, Cultural,

Social, and Economic milieu. These are the Contractions. Falaknuma Palace, Chowmahalla Palace, Purani Haveli, State Archaeological Museum, Salarjung Museum, Public Garden, **Andhra Pradesh High Court, Arts College, Osmania University, Jubilee Hall, Kachiguda Railway Station, Mozzam Jahi Market, Paigah Tombs**, And another construction in Delhi build by Nizam VII Mir Osman Ali Khan that is Hyderabad House. These are the Asaf Jahi's constructions.

THE TRANSITION OF ADVAITA PHILOSOPHY TO SPIRITUAL RELIGION

Dr. B. Chandrika

Religion, Philosophy, and Spirituality all these three are a certain extent inquire about the very same thing i.e. Origin of the Universe, the essence of the Self, the essence of existence, etc. these three can be put on the same side. Here in my paper; I would like to look into the ideas of religion, Philosophy, and Spirituality. What are the common factors in these three ideologies? What are the peculiar differences between Spirituality and Religion? And how can we rename Advaita Philosophy as Spiritual Religion?

The paper is having three parts. In the first part, the differences between Spirituality and Religion is being traced out. The second part the differences between Philosophy and Religion are being discussed and in the third part how can we arrive at the point that Advaita Philosophy as A Spiritual Religion i.e. how three characteristics of Philosophy, Religion, and Spirituality can be assigned to the Advaita Philosophy are being illustrated.

GLIMPSES OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE TOWARDS SL AND REFORMS

Dr.K. Govindaraj & A.Yogeswaran

India, a country which depended on the land based economy from yester year to modern era. Historically, all kings were initiate the new-fangled land reforms to enhance the agriculture. Indeed, Land reforms might focused to abolish the prevalent intermediary system between the state tiller of the soil. These reforms assure them that they will not be exploited and get full reward for their labour. Fortunately, Indian tenorial system of India is very defective, both from production and investment its highly disincentive-ridden system the owner is least

interested in making invest objective is to get the maximum share of the produce. By optimum output from a given dose of inputs and to make agri dynamic, it is essential to make changes in the agrarian relations. It is reforms that can ensure maximum production and investment in aground render justice to the man behind the plough. he extent. But to get ones it is the land at in agriculture. This study mainly focused on how the Indian land reforms could enhance the Agriculture.

CONSERVATION PRACTICES FOR ANCIENT STONE STRUCTURES & CULTURAL PROPERTIES

Dr. V.R. Gunasekaran

Stone construction is primarily used in practically every ancient cultural and heritage monument in India. Ageing, environmental effects, human effects, etc. can cause decay and deterioration to these stone structures. In order to stop and prevent it to preserve our monuments, we need to identify and perform the appropriate

restoration and conservation techniques. This means reviving the original state of the stone structures without altering its cultural and historic value. Use of detrimental techniques should be avoided while doing so. Lime mortar repointing and protective coatings are applied afterwards to prevent further decay in the future.

MIRAGES IN THE MOUNTAIN TOP – THE TRIBES OF VALPARAI AND THEIR IMPEDIMENTS TO DEVELOPMENT

D. Joseph Rohith

Mirages in the Mountain top – The tribes of Valparai and their Impediments to development, is a study about the tribes of the Anamalai Hills. The Anamalai Hills is a significant segment of the Western Ghats. This study is about the two tribes the Malasars and Mudhuvars of the Anamalai Hills in the Valparai plateau. The aim

of the study is to know their livelihoods and other aspects of living. This study describes their way of living, habitations, physical appearance, general characteristics, occupation and way of dressing, family life, marriage customs and usage of their weapons, diet, social status, deities they worship and how they dispose their dead ones.

HISTORICAL AND TOURIST INTEREST IN KOLLI HILLS OF TAMILNADU

Dr. K. Karthikeyan

Tourism, today, has become a global phenomenon, both in terms of its penetration into hitherto unknown parts of the world and in terms of the number of people participating in this Sector. Tourism Development Activities, although evolving in Tamil Nadu since the

Second Five Year Plan Period, it gained a concrete shape only, when a separate Department of Tourism was set up in 1971. The history of the Kolli Hills is closely linked with ancient Tamil literature. It is believed that in the Ramayana, these hills are called Madhuvanam

(forest of honey), the abode of the monkey king Sugreva. The Kolli Hills are populated by tribes known as the 'Malaiyalis'. It should be noted that these Malaiyalis have got nothing to do with the Malaiyalis, who are the natives of Kerala state. By that they are referred to as Malaiyalis congruously denoting those who rule the

mountain (Malai+alis). Two view points, one at Seckuparai and another at Selurnadu are being developed to encourage Tourism. The location is ideal for trekking, the breeze is pleasant and the cascades of silvery water touching and brushing the innumerable herbs, which are abundant in the Kolli Hills, making the environment invigorating.

TOURISM IN INDIA: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES – A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANDHRA PRADESH

V. Mallikarjuna & Dr. G. Somasekhara

The travel and tourism industry as emerged as one of the largest and fastest growing economic sectors globally. Its contribution to the global Gross Domestic Product and employment has increased significantly. The Indian tourism industry has emerged as one of the key drivers of growth among the services sector in India. Tourism in India is a sun rise industry, an employment generator, a significant source of foreign exchange for the country and an economic activity that helps local and host communities. Rising income levels and changing lifestyles, development of diverse tourism offerings and policy and regulatory support by

the government are playing a pivotal role in shaping the travel and tourism infrastructure, global concerns regarding health and safety of tourist, disparate passenger road tax structures across various states and shortfall of adequately trained and skilled manpower. Concerted efforts by all community at large are pertinent for sustainable development and maintenance of the travel and tourism sector in the country. This paper aim to throw light on the importance of this area, the challenges and opportunities that awaits to make the customer satisfied and to lift the economy of the country.

GOMUKTISWARAR TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE AT THIRUVAVADUTHURAI

S. Meenakshi & Dr. V. Thirumurugan

The Architecture is the income of the ability technical skill. The greater pal lavas, Cholas and rules of first pandiyan Empire were devoted to the construction of Structural temples. The adhishanam, Kudappadai, Jagodhi, Kandan, Pattigar vimana are appealing. On the Southern side of the entrance of the mahamandapa houses the Vennaipillaiyar Scpture. The Mahamandapa has the same basement mouldings as that of the garbhagraha. Depite them the image of Rishabhadevar, Vishwanathar, Vishalakshmi, Thirumurai kanda Vinayagar, and sekkilar image are found. There are 20 Vimanas in the Gomuktiswara temple. The Vimana stones are constructed in a slightly projecting form in the centre on all the walls. Jagatai (the hare tier), Kundam (the central convey tier), and pathiga (the rectangular mould). This temple covering a total area of 9.30. Acres have a huge lower called Rajagopuram in the eastern entrance. The worship of Thiyagaraja by Musukundam,

Thirumalar under the papal three. Pillars of this Vasantha mandapa have the figures of animals such as yall, elephant, dancing women. Etc. The temple during the Chola period suggests that this temple was known not only for its architecture alone. It was a centre of Saiva learning and also was an impetus to the spread of Saivism. They also pinpoint that there were a number of artisans with exquisite caliber. This temple was the only one which was devoted to medical practices through mutts and madams. Thus, in addition to its architecture as the Gomuktiswara temple was actually a symbol of prosperity, it will be apt to presume that they are all brought to light by their superior Architecture. A number of Tamil works have references about the primary deity. The historical significance of the architecture of this temple has enabled to write many articles both on the architecture of this temple.

SHAIVA TEMPLES DURING THE PERIOD OF KALACHURIS OF KALYAN

S.R.Nagannavar

The *Kalachuri's* ruled Karnataka from 1000 AD to 1193. The dynasty started from the King *Uchit* and continued till *Bijjala III*. During the period of *Bijjala II*, *Rayamurari Sovideva's*, *Singhanadeva*, the age witnessed the overall progress in the fields of politics, religion and art and architecture. They tried their level best for the development of Shaiva religion. This is known by the

inscriptions. Totally there were 329 inscriptions available. In inscription, *Kalachuri* dynasty is recognized as *Kalachuri*, *Kalachuri*, and *Kalatachuri* etc. (*G.K.Devarajashwami. (Ed) Kalchuri Shasanagalu, p-23*) On the basis of inscriptions, this article aims at introducing the Shaiva temples built by the Kalachuri Kings.

ABOLITION OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY - (1920-1937)

Dr. R. Nandhini & M.V. Muthiah

This paper highlights the women care measures undertaken by the Central Legislative council to the whole of British India and by the Madras Legislative council to Madras Presidency till 1937 when provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, came into operation. These councils had enacted some laws to assign some rights for women and to care for their well beings against uncivilized

barbaric customs which were once the rules in Madras Presidency as in all other states of the British India, Legislations enacted by these councils rooted out the social evils of child marriage, slavery, inequality of women to men and immoral traffic of women in the society and they laid strong foundations for women's right today.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THIRUCHIRAPALLI DISTRICT

S. Rajanvelu

Narrates about the schools started by the Christian Missionaries in various parts of Trichinopoly. This was the first attempt in breaking the contemporary way of educating the common mass. The school education that was enunciated by the Missionaries served as a tool to remove the clutches of social segregation and gave opportunity for the women and the weaker section to get educated. When the East India

Company was reluctant to start any education institution in India, Fr.Schvartz of the Society for the Propagation of Gospel started the first school (St.John Vestry) in Trichinopoly by 1772. The efforts of the missionaries led to the formation of about 132 Government Aided Missionary Schools which were started in the district by 1947, which educated the major chunk of the student community.

SIGNIFICANCE OF "KADAVALLUR ANYONYAM" AS A MEANS OF PRESERVING KERALA STYLE OF RIGVEDIC RECITATION

Saranya Gopalakrishnan

The Rigvedic recitation of Kerala is quite different from the traditional Vedic recitations in other parts of India. The *Anyonyam*, which is conducted annually in the famous *Sree Rama Temple*, Kadavallur, Kerala, is the final examination in Rigvedic recitation of *Namboodiri* scholars (Kerala Brahmins). This is

perhaps the only example for annual contest of traditional Rigvedic scholars in Kerala, India or even in the World. Even after UNESCO considered Kerala style of Vedic recitation as intangible cultural heritage of mankind, it is struggling for existence due to the lack of Vedic scholars. This study tried to analyze the

significance of *Anyonyam* in preserving the Kerala style of Vedic recitation, the problems faced by the system and intended to provide some practical recommendation to overcome this problems.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' MOVEMENT AND THE INCIDENT OF
KILVENMANI MASSACRE –A HISTORICAL STUDY

Dr. G. Sheela Edward

The economy of India is predominantly agriculture-oriented. The majority of laborers are dependent on agricultural sector. A substantial labor force lies at the lowest rung of socio-economic ladder. They have passed their generation through socio-economic exploitation of resourceful rulers of the rural society. Kilvenmani is one of the villages in Nagapattinam district of tamilnadu had to bear the brunt of the ugly side of caste and exploitation. 44 dalits mostly women and children belonging to agricultural families were charred to death by land lords. This incident helped to initiate large scale changes in the local rural economy, engendering a massive redistribution of land in the region.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS - HISTORIOGRAPHY AND MARITIME HISTORY SECTION

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF KARNATAKA A BRIEF SURVEY

K.L.N. Murthi

Fellow Delegates, Gentlemen and Ladies,

I am immensely thankful to members of the General Body and Executive Committee of the South Indian History Congress for having invited me to preside over the historiography and maritime History Section of the 40 Session of the South Indian History Congress I deem it a great honour and privilege .

I take this opportunity to present to your some of my views on the concerned topic :

Historiography of Karnataka a Brief Survey

Karnataka had been a land without historical narrative, particularly of the ancient past, in the 18th and early 19th Centuries. The European officers found it necessary to look for sources that could be harnessed for reconstructing the past of this region. The work has to begin from a scratch. In the case of Karnataka, as in the case of India, it was through inscriptions that people recorded history. For knowing the ancient past of Karnataka, therefore inscriptions proved to be of immense value. The European officers recognized their value and initiated their collection and study. The first name deserving mention in respect of exploring sources is that of Colin Mackenzie, an officer in the Survey of India. Beginning his career in India in 1783 he retired as Surveyor General of India in 1807.

Along with his official commitments Mackenzie collected all that could be of historical value -manuscripts, local traditions, Sthalapuranas ie., local mythological histories and more important of all, copper plate records and impressions of stone inscriptions. The collection goes by the name "**Mackenzie Collection**". This collection contained as many as 1700 inscriptions. The ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, the mouthpiece of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, carried an article on this collection. "**Mackenzie Collection**" was unmatched mine for its time and later on it was exploited with advantage by several scholars working in the field of epigraphy in particular.

Like this pioneering work was carried by the European scholars in the field of Archaeology and other fields of Karnataka is surveyed here as to understand the early attempts and there worth.

Prehistoric Studies in Karnataka - A Survey

Karnataka is the heartland of Peninsular India, forming an elevated region known as Deccan plateau. It has played an important role in the prehistoric times being the home of the Early Man who inhabited various parts of the Indian sub- continent. The antiquity of Man in Karnataka goes back to the middle Pleistocene times marking a time range of some two lakh years if not more. In the earliest part of this of period, the Palaeolithic Man inhabited this region migrating from the South- the north-western parts of Tamil Nadu or from the North - the southern Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. This picture seems to have continued during the later part of the Palaeolithic times down to about 5000 years B.C. But from then on the region of Karnataka, particularly the northern part assumed the leadership and the new culture in the garb of the Neolithic and, later iron using Megalithic culture originated here through inspired from outside and flourished indigenously, laying the foundations for what is called the Karnataka culture in the historical times Much research work has been done to unravel this evolution by a host of scholars, and let us now make a brief and critical review of the work of these scholars

Early Palaeolithic Age

It was Robert Bruce-Foote known as the 'Father of Indian Prehistory' who systematically undertook the search for the remains of prehistoric antiquities. He was the Geological Surveyor of Peninsular India and spread his search from Kanyakumari to the regions across the Vindhyas starting his work in the mid-19th century.¹ He continued his geological and prehistoric searches till almost the turn of the Century Part of his collection was handed over to the British Museum in London, another portion was given to Calcutta Museum, but much

of his collection was purchased by Government of Madras and thus came into existence the Government Museum of Madras. In the course of his researches he covered the region that is Karnataka today. Even before Foote.

Dr Primrose had found a bagful of stone implements—knives and arrow heads from the backyard of his bungalow in Raichur, but it was a stray and unintentional find.² Foote's collection came from ten sites in old Mysore state at present southern Karnataka besides some very promising sites from what is now called Bombay-Karnataka region in the valleys of the Ghattaprabha and Mallaprabha rivers. No doubt his work was rudimentary from the present standards, but seeing that he worked at a time when prehistoric studies were at an infant stage, his work must be considered as very important contribution. He not only collected tools and other antiquities from a number of sites but made the first attempt at their interpretation as shown by his work.

He suggested a sequence of cultures which are true even today though recent investigations have added new phases or divided them into many sub-phases. His deep insight into meaning and functions of the prehistoric objects he was studying is well illustrated by interpretation of the “**neck rest**” from T. Narasipura.³ It is aptly said by Allchin that no beginner of Archaeological work in India can afford to ignore the work of Bruce-Foote.

After Bruce-Foote ceased his work towards the turn of the century, there was a lull in prehistoric studies in the sub-continent as a whole. But in the thirties, there were two significant events: the first one is the discovery of Palaeolithic tools from the Godavari Valley by Cammide and their study in Burkitt and the second one is the Yale-Cambridge University expedition to India to study the Pleistocene chronology and Stone Age cultures of the sub-continent.

But even before the occurrence of these events, the members of the Geology Department of Central College Bangalore, P. Sampat Iyengar and L. Rama Rao collected the Palaeolithic tools from Kibbanahalli and Billigere, both in the Tiptur taluk of Tumkur District. This again is a stray work because it was not pursued with any earnestness by others for many years. The work

of the scholars listed here consisted of collection from the surface without their geological and environmental contexts being properly noticed. So it is not possible to get a comprehensive idea of their cultural implications.⁴

After the fifties of the present century trained students of prehistoric archaeology have undertaken explorations by Sri Seshadri and Dr. B. K. Gururaja Rao revisited the site of Kibbanahalli and the surrounding places. Dr. B. K. Gururaja Rao has undertaken a project on the geo-archaeological investigations in that site. Joshi has undertaken a detailed investigation and discovered more than twenty one sites in the Mallaprabha and the Ghattaprabha valleys of the Krishna basin. Among these sites mention may be made of Khyad and Menasigi first reported by Foote and Hiremulangi and Tuminhal which have yielded not only a wide range of tools but also provided a reasonably clear picture of the environment of the Early Man in the region.⁵

Pappu⁶ discovered more sites in the Krishna-Ghattaprabha complex particularly around Anagwadineer Bagalkot. The studies by Joshi and Pappu together reveal that Early Man in North Karnataka preferred to live on the lower foot-hills and banks of the rivers which supplied him water for drinking and also animals which came there for quenching their thirst and raw-materials for his tool making. Nittur on the Tungabhadra in Bellary District is another significant site. This site has yielded not only a variety of stone tools from stratified river terraces but also fossilized skeletal remains of cattle thus giving us an idea of the associated fauna of that age.

Another notable site is in Gulbarga district, i.e., Gulbal. This site is important as it is identified as a factory-cum-camp site of the Acheulian man, a place where he set up his camp, collected the river pebbles from the river bed and manufactured his tools. The most important discovery in the Palaeolithic studies in Karnataka, rather India is the location of a living site of the Palaeolithic man at Hunasgi in Gulbarga District by Paddayya.⁷

The site was excavated in 1975-76. Some more sites were located in the oval valley of the Hunasgi stream. The Acheulian man occupied for his 'home' about sixty sq meters and left behind an occupational deposit ranging in

thickness from 10 to 35 cms. The area of the 'house' was marked by pieces of stones to construct an enclosure to the living area, there were two granite boulders inside the square measuring about 50 cms. Probably they served as seats on which the man sat while making the tools. On the whole, the site consisted of an oval open area, over 60 sq.meters surrounded by granite boulders on three sides. This site yielded some 900 tools along with the waste flakes.

This recent work mainly by scholars of the Deccan College, Poona has given a new dimension to our understanding of the environment in which the prehistoric man of Karnataka lived; while Paddayya's work has given us an idea of the camping places of the Early Man.⁸ Ansari has thrown light on the faunal association and Pappu has shown us the evidence of the climatological conditions.⁹

Middle Palaeolithic Age

Though Foote has collected some flake tools from the North Karnataka sites, their real cultural significance in Indian prehistory was not known at that time. Again it was left to the researches of the Deccan College and Seshadri to identify this cultural phase in Karnataka. Banerjee was the first to identify this phase.¹⁰ It is about this time that Seshadri reported fine flake from Salvadgi in Bijapur district (1962).¹¹ But a clearer picture of this middle Palaeolithic age emerged from the work of Pappu and Paddayya.¹² New and improved techniques of tool making, diversification of means of subsistence and more importantly, adjusting to the changing environment were the noteworthy developments of this age and by employing newly discovered scientific techniques of study, the scholars have been able to reconstruct, though not to the desired extent, the environment in which the man lived in that age. It is about this period that new techniques of excavation, study and dating were evolved and the scholars have fully utilised this new situation. The work of Paddayya has provided a clean cut stratigraphical and the chronological clarity Pappu has provided an insight into the conditions in which that man lived.

Upper Palaeolithic Age

This phase also known as the 'Blade Burin Culture' in India is of a recently identified and representing closing phase of the Pleistocene

culture. Till in 1955, its existence in India was not recognised. Though Burkitt, Krishnaswamy and Soundararajan indicated the possibility of an upper Palaeolithic phase in Indian Prehistory, a clear and stratigraphical picture was eluding till Murthy reported a stratified cultural distinguishable horizon from Chittur district of Andhra Pradesh.¹³ Immediately there was an appraisal of the material collected earlier.

Further, Paddayya went in search of reinvestigation of the sites to obtain a sequence and understand the cultural horizon of these sites. Salvadgi, Meralbhavi, Gulbal, Vanahatti and Hunasgi proved to be rich sites.¹⁴ This industrial phase evidenced a new technique of tool making not on flakes, but on narrow blades and also using bones for tools. Yadwad is another site reported by Pappu also in Belgaum district. The tools become smaller and lighter, composite in nature, meant to be used while pursuing the fast moving smaller game.¹⁵

Mesolithic Culture Phase

The end of the Pleistocene age saw drastic climatic changes. An overall increase in temperature characterized this "Neo thermal" period. The big game of the Pleistocene disappeared, light footed fast-moving animals like varieties of deer, hare and rabbit besides wild fowl supplied Man's dietary needs; fish and other aquatic creatures supplemented his food habits. More importantly, hunting was yielding place to catching. The fast changing environment forced man to stay at or around perennial sources of water. This phase of human prehistory stretching from about 9000 to 3000 B C is the transitional one from the nomadic food collecting to food producing sedentary life style.

The existence of this was recognised right from the days of Bruce-Foote. But its chronological and cultural horizons were realised in a correct perspective only by Zeuner-Allchin, Sankharya and B B Lal. Before the work of the above scholars, microliths were reported by a number of field workers since 1896 in Karnataka particularly from Bellary and Chitradurga.¹⁶ These discoveries did not reveal any stratigraphical or cultural contexts.

At Jalahalli near Bangalore Todd discovered microliths from a narrow valley which provided for the first time, a hazy picture of the climatic conditions. To this may be added

the Brahmagiri group of sites which according to Seshadri represent a distinct group of Mesolithic culture having its origin in the upper Palaeolithic and leading on to the Mesolithic culture of the Neolithic phase in South India.¹⁷ A third group of microlithic culture is represented by the Kibbanahalli complex which stops with the Mesolithic. Since no evidence of a succeeding Neolithic culture is encountered in the region so far.

In North Karnataka the picture of the Mesolithic is not very different as shown by the evidence from the Bijapur, Bellary and Gulbarga districts. Recent work of Majumdar and Rajaguru at Kupgal, Sankalia, Ansari and Nagaraja Rao at Sanganakallu has thrown a flood of new light on the living conditions and environment of Mesolithic man in the region besides indicating the slow but steady progress towards the food producing stage of human history; it may be incidentally pointed out that actual food-producing or Neolithic culture emerged in course of time in this Bellary region. This work has also given an antiquity to this culture between 9000 and 3000 BC.¹⁸ Pappu's work referred earlier has confirmed the prevalence of similar cultural horizon in Bijapur. Paddayya's work in Gulbarga represents an almost similar cultural horizon.¹⁹

Some thirty sites have been discovered here of which some ten have been studied in detail by Paddayya. There are going descriptions would enable the pre-historians to conclude that this transitional Mesolithic culture emerging out of the Palaeolithic leads on to the proto-historic food-producing Neolithic period in Karnataka. This also shows how the food-gathering savaging man gradually was marching towards a sedentary food-producing stage which laid the foundations for the historical civilization.

Neolithic Age:

This period in the saga of human history marks a milestone; man within a short span of about a millennium transformed himself into a capable being on this planet Earth. He gained though gradually, mastery over nature, learnt the art of domestication of animals, cultivation of plants, acquired the quality of settled life as a consequence of which he started building residential structures, providing household

equipment's and variety of other necessities of a decent life.

The early discoveries of the Neolithic remains from India were made by HP Le Mesurier in Uttar Pradesh in 1861, Theobald (1862) and Cockburn (1879) also in Uttar Pradesh.²⁰ The first discovery of Neolithic site in Karnataka was made by Fraser at Kupgal near Bellary in 1872.²¹ Sometime about this period Bruce Foote started surveying the region of Karnataka geologically and incidentally picked up Neolithic tools from Birmangala and Srinivasapur in Kolar district, Pandavapura and T Narasipur in Mysore district.²² A study of the distribution of the Neolithic sites was made by Wormanin 1949.²³ But, regular systematic excavation work of Neolithic sites in Karnataka was started by M H Krishna at Brahmagiri in 1942 which spurred Wheeler to undertake more elaborate researches at the site.²⁴

This work has revealed to us the type features of the Neolithic culture in Karnataka and also an attempt was made to provide a chronological framework. Both these aspects are no longer considered as valid at present in the light of researches in the post-Wheeler era; Wheeler's work started, as it were a series of excavations in different regions in Karnataka – Sanganakallu (1948) by Subba Rao, Piklihal (1951) by Allchin, Maski (1954) by Thapar, Tekkalakota (1963-64) and Hallur (1965) by Nagaraja Rao, T Narasipura by Seshadri, Hemmige by Hanumantha Rao and Nagaraju, Sanganakallu by Ansari and Nagaraja Rao, Kodekal by Paddayya besides many other studies into life style and culture of the Neolithic man in Karnataka.²⁵

These studies have established firmly that during this period ranging from at least 2500 to 800 B.C. Karnataka witnessed a settled life, living in thatched huts, enclosed by a circle of stone boulders, mud or rough stone built houses equipped with a variety of hand-made furnished greyish pottery not very well fired. They earned their subsistence from pastoralism namely grazing flocks of sheep and goats, herds of cattle; cultivating different types of fruits and grains in a rudimentary way, they used for their daily activities a variety of polished and ground stone tools supplemented with bone and probably wooden tools, decorated their bodies with bone shell and semi-precious stone beads, often

terracotta and copper also being used for the purpose, a few gold ornaments were also found from Tekkalakota and T Narasipura. Some evidence of art is also seen in the form of punched dotted designs of pottery from Tekkalakota representing an antelope or pecked and painted designs of bulls, sambhar deer, gazelle, sheep, goat and horse, besides stylized human figures, a *trisola* and rarely trees and flowers: their pottery was often painted with red ochre on the lips.

In later phases, they came into contact with the chalcolithic cultures of southern Maharashtra and northern Deccan and from them adopted the use of copper, though on a small scale, for their implements, and utensils, the painting designs on their pottery which is distinguished as the black-on-red painted ware. It is under this influence from their neighbours that these Neolithic folk of Karnataka adopted the improved forms of agriculture often using irrigational facilities, wider use of copper and bronze in the closing phase of the culture and started more durable and elaborate residences. We can see the emergence of villages during this transitional phase. The work of scholars from Deccan College, Poona again claims the pride of place in revealing this evolving pattern of life of people of Karnataka in the second millennium Before Christ. The achievements of archaeologists from 1960 to 1970 have really provided us a lucid picture of life style of proto-historic man of Karnataka. But the sudden emergence of an iron-using dynamic culture in the first millennium B.C. brought about a transformation in the life style of Man in Karnataka.

Megalithic Period

The Iron Age Megalithic culture represents a very great step forward in the march of Man towards civilization. Having its origins in the Mediterranean islands in the fourth millennium B.C. It gradually spread northwards and eastwards and travelling through Europe, South Russia, Iranian highlands and Afghanistan, it arrived on the west coast of North India sometime in the later half of the 2nd millennium B.C. By the time it reached the Indian borderlands. It had already acquired certain distinct cultural traits like the use of iron for tools and equipment, the method of disposal of their dead by burial often in fractional form. In its first home on the Indian soil - Rajasthan and Sindh-

Baluchistan regions it picked up the use of a distinctive ceramic tradition besides other fabrics in its household equipment.²⁶ On its arrival in India, it found the Western India, the Ganga-Yamuna doab and even Central India being already made the home of developed proto-historic peoples like the painted grey ware using Aryan speakers or the Chalcolithic communities also of Aryan extract or under their influence.

Further these regions did not have the suitable rock mate necessary for building the distinctive megalithic burials since the Ganga-Yamuna valleys are largely covered by the alluvial silts and the Central and Western India covered with the trap rock as a result of the volcanic activity. Hence these megalithic folk moved south of the Vindhyas which region was at that time inhabited by the Neolithic-Chalcolithic people still using copper and stone for their tools and equipment. The Iron-using megalith builders had an advantage over them and thus quickly gain mastery over them and become dominant in the region. All this happened sometime around 1300 B.C and lasted till the beginning of the Mauryan penetration into South India in third century BC or the dawn of historical period.

Researches in this field began early in the 19th century. Among these early workers may be mentioned British civil servants like Babington, Congreve, Durand, Mackenzie, Newbold, Oldham, Meadows Taylor, Walhouse and others as the pioneers.²⁷ Among them the name of Meadows Taylor stands out prominently. Being the British Political Agent in the Nizam's State in the middle of the 20th century he discovered a number of megalithic sites in Northern Karnataka and conducted systematic very scientific excavations, of that time. While the earlier workers and even those who came after Taylor upto 1940, excavated these burials in a haphazard manner and imagined their dates from prehistoric times to early medieval period. Taylor followed a method of excavation which very closely resembles the present scientific standards. Then came Brecks who has made an ideal use of Ethno Archaeological model in the interpretation of a proto historic culture in the light of a present day tribal culture.²⁸ Another noteworthy name in the study of Megalithic culture in the pre-independence period particularly in the field of

Interpretation is Walhouse. He has tried to interpret various antiquities and customs of these people of South Indian Iron Age. Then came on the scene Wheeler and his excavations at Brahmagiri showed the correct approach to the study of these monuments.²⁹ But the chronological range suggested by him was very conservative and the two decades that followed his work saw an explosion as it were and the archaeological researches in the country by mostly those trained by him. Dr. Seshadri, Thapar, Subba Rao besides Krishna, M. H. of the Mysore State Archaeology Department have done numerous studies in this field.³⁰

But unfortunately these scholars devoted their attention to excavation, description of the antiquities or the fixing of their dating viz. more attention was being paid to the details rather than to the interpretation of these material for the material culture of the people of the times.

So the first attempt at classification of this material, a scientific analysis and reconstruction of the life pattern of the people was made by Prof. Dr B K Gururaja Rao and A Sundara.³¹ These scholars attempted for putting the available data in the form of a monograph and presenting comprehensive assessment of the life style, origin and chronology and authorship of the culture. Sundara, Nagaraja Rao and Subbayya are the other scholars who have contributed for the unravelling of some more debatable points still defying the solution.³²

Thus taking on overall view of the achievements in the field of Prehistoric studies in Karnataka, we have no hesitation in stating that it had grown out of its infancy and reached a stage when the problems facing the pre-historian are becoming well defined and appears possible to build up a cogent and intelligible picture of the development of human culture.

Epigraphical Studies

Epigraphical studies are the most notable branch. After Tamil Nadu, Karnataka has the richest collection of epigraphs, their number in the state estimated to be between 20 and 25,000 and most of them are stone inscriptions. Pioneering work in this field was done by Colin Mackenzie who was an officer in the Survey of India. He started his career in India in 1783 and retired as Surveyor General of India in 1807.³³ Along With his regular duties he also collected

manuscripts, local traditions and *sthalapuranas* and also copied inscriptions and collected copper plates. In his collection there were 1,700 inscriptions too, and in the 9th volume of the Asiatic Researches an article was published on his collection. From Bombay State in 1821 Elphinstone, M. collected hundreds of inscriptions which includes 14 inscriptions from Kannada areas and the summary of these was published in 1835.³⁴ Walter Elliot, is remembered for the pioneering work he did in promoting Kannada education in Bombay Karnataka area by opening a Kannada school at Dharwad in 1831. During his stay in this area (Bombay Karnataka), he collected 1,300 inscriptions from this area and also from Hyderabad Karnataka. Based on the records collected by Meckenzie and himself, tried to cull out relevant historical details.

The Hindu inscriptions of his collection became the primary source for his (1836) effort to outline his findings in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society. Wherein he has surveyed 595 inscriptions and traced the history of Karnataka from the 9th century till 1234 A. D. He narrates the history of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Kalachuris, the Hoysalas and the Seunas or Yadavas.³⁵ So important was this pioneering writing that Fleet later observed that "No better method than Sir Walter Elliot's of dealing with the subject could be well devised."

Elliot was a scholar in Persian, and he, with Dowson translated many Persian accounts under the title *History of India as Told by Her own Historians* in eight volumes and he also published a book titled *the Coins of Southern India*, in 1886.³⁶ Another officer, Major Dixon had collected some photographs of inscriptions from Mysore area, which helped B. L. Rice to publish Mysore Inscriptions in 1879.³⁷ Important work in the Bombay Karnataka area was done by J F Fleet. He was a senior revenue officer in Bombay service, and he started publication of inscriptions that he came across and later he started a series of publication titled Some Sanskrit, Pali, and Hale Kannada Inscriptions in Indian Antiquary.³⁸ He also published inscriptions in *Epigraphia Indica* from 1891. He examined nearly 1,000 inscriptions in Bombay Karnataka area, and in his pioneering work *Dynasties of the Canarese Districts* for the Bombay Gazetteer in 1882, he presented an outline of the history of ancient dynasties.³⁹

Epigraphia Carnatica, in 12 volumes edited by B.L. Rice's being his greatest contribution and is a unique work. The first volume was on records from Kodagu (Coorg) followed by those from Shravanabelagola. Inscriptions from Mysore State were published districtwise, each volume having inscriptions from every taluk regularly arranged and numbered. Such a systematic work of presenting the text in original script, the transliteration in Roman script and its English translation has not been done in any state and in any area. The districts in Karnataka from outside the former Mysore State also could not enjoy the privilege of such a systematic treatment of inscriptions found in them till now. The word epigraphical was Rice's coining, and was later used in such publications as *Epigraphia Indica*. Between 1886 and 1904, he published 9,000 inscriptions in 12 volumes.⁴⁰

His successor as Director in the Department of Archaeology of Mysore was Mahamahopadhyaya R Narasimhachar brought to light many more inscriptions not included in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes and published them in Mysore Archaeological Reports.⁴¹ He also revised the volume of *Epigraphia Carnatica* on Coorg by adding some more newly found records. The work was continued by M H Krishna, and the Chandravalli inscription of Kadamba Mayura Sharman was his notable find.⁴² He read it as a Prakrit record; recently a young epigraphist, Dr. BRajashekhharappa has deciphered it and identified its language as Sanskrit.⁴³

Mysore University has taken up the commendable work of issuing the revised editions of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes. Presently inscriptions of Mysore district of those days had been covered in the five volumes against three volumes of B L Rice. In the revised edition Mysore district alone excluding the former areas of the present Mandya district, carved out from former Mysore district has three volumes. Inscriptions belonging to Mandya district (which was created in 1939) compiled in two volumes. The increase in size is due to the addition of new inscriptions, which were found till its publication and published elsewhere are included in the revised volumes.⁴⁴

A host of scholars from the Epigraphy department of the Government of India collected and edited hundreds of inscriptions from the

Madras and Bombay Karnataka areas, and published them in the South Indian Inscriptions series.⁴⁵ Hultzsch, K. B. Pathak, D. R. Bhandarkar, Krishna Shastry, H. Venkayya, N. Lakshminarayana Rao, K. V. Subramanya Iyer, T.T. Sharman, D. C. Sircar and of late, men like G. S.Gai, K V. Ramesh, M. N Katti and Jayarama Sharma of the department have continued the work. Yazdani, R. S. Panchamukhi, P. B. Desai, A. M. Annigeri, Srinivasa H Ritti, B.R. Gopal, R.N. Gurav etc have done considerable work in Bombay and Hyderabad Karnataka area.

Panchamukhi and Annigeri edited *Karnataka Inscriptions* in four volumes and Gopal published two more volumes.⁴⁶ Recently Srinivasa H Ritti edited *Nanded inscriptions* and with Kumbhar, *Sholapur inscriptions*. Kundangar's *Collection of Inscriptions from North Karnataka and the Kolhapur State* is also notable work.⁴⁷ The inscriptions from these districts are neither exhaustively surveyed nor made available in one or two volumes, as in the case of the inscriptions from old Mysore districts. K.V. Ramesh and Jayaram Sharma have edited one volume of inscription from Dakshina Kannada.⁴⁸

M. M. Kalburgi has written a book on Kannada epigraphs in Maharashtra and has done solid work in preparing index of taluk-wise inscriptions collected from a few Bombay Karnataka districts.⁴⁹ T. V. Mahalingam and B. A. Saletore publishing summaries of Vijayanagara inscriptions. Historical Research had initiated a scheme of publication of epigraphs dynasty wise. In the later dates ICHR published all the inscriptions of Vijayanagara Empire as per the local language series along with Sanskrit ones in different volumes. Earlier G. S. Gai had brought out a volume of inscriptions of the Kadambas in this scheme.⁵⁰ Similarly, K. V. Ramesh had brought out a volume on The Western Ganga inscriptions.⁵¹ Recently, under the same scheme, a volume of inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badami edited by S. V. Padigar has been published.⁵² Dr. Gopal has also compiled the inscriptions of Banavasi Kadambas and written a comprehensive account of their history.⁵³

Under the Classical Language Scheme, the University of Mysore has launched a series of dynasty-wise volumes of inscriptions. The volumes pertaining to the Rashtrakuta and Kalyana Chalukya dynasties have already

appeared and those pertaining to the Kadambas and Chalukyas of Badami are also published.⁵⁴

The scholars have contributed immensely to the field Epigraphy in the recent past are: Vasundara Filliozat of Mysuru, Seetharam Jagirdar, and K. Mohammed Shariff belong to University of Mysore EC revision Project, V. V. Kulkarni, S. Rajashekhhar, Leela Shantakumari, H. R. Raghunath Bhat, S. V. Padigar, associated with Karnatak University, Dharwad, Devarakonda Reddy, associated with Kannada University, M. D. Sampath, H. S. Gopala Rao, B. Rajashekharappa, Vasanta Shetty, P. V. Krishna Murthy, Dr. P. N. Narasimha Murthy and etc., are scholars of the present generation who have deciphered and published a good number of inscriptions. S. C. Nandimath and R.C Hiremath of Dharwad also contributed to the field of epigraphical studies.

The urgent need is to publish all the remaining volumes of B L Rice edition and the Inscriptions on the lines of *Epigraphia Carnatica* for the Bombay Karnataka and Hyderabad Karnataka areas and the Bellary district. In this lines the Kannada University has done some work much as to be done in that area.

Numismatic Study

Allan, Rapson, Elliot and Smith had written about coins of Karnataka.⁵⁵ B. L. Rice by his writing in 1891 on Roman coins found near Bangalore arouse the curiosity of the scholarly world regarding Rome's trade with South India and Karnataka. But much work was done by M.H. Krishna on the numismatics of Karnataka by his illustrated writings in the MARS.⁵⁶ R. S. Panchamukhi studied coins available in Bombay Karnataka. M.H. Krishna's unpublished manuscript, Deccan Numismatics is a noted work on the subject. Hultsch, Altekar, G. H. Khare, Deshikachan, Bhandarkar, Sherwani, etc, have done notable work in the field.⁵⁷ Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy has published *Coins of Karnataka*, introducing coins of all dynasties of Karnataka.⁵⁸ M. M. Prabhu of Mangalore has made many notable contributions to this field. The State Archaeology Department has a very large collection of coins. They require to be systematically catalogued and displayed with a view to help scholars to consult them.

Historical Survey

The historical narratives of Karnataka appeared in the last quarter of 19th Century. **Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan***⁵⁹ and **Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts***⁶⁰ stand out distinctly as pioneering works in this respect. *Early History of the Deccan* was restricted to the history of the Maharashtra region **of the Deccan. But Fleet's work *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* focused on the political history of the entire region what is called Karnataka today up to 1318 AD.** These works, particularly the latter, are full of discussions on issues of chronology and succession and record the achievements of rulers. Cultural history, **though superficially dealt in Bhandarkar's work, does not find room in Fleet's work.** Fleet focused on translating, studying, translating the epigraphs and in finding suitable solutions to the ambiguous issues. His work is class example of '*epigraphist's history*'. He started a movement, as it were, of writing a history based on a study of epigraphs. **It is called here a 'movement' because *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* became a model to emulate for later writers like R. S. Panchamukhi and R. H. Deshpande.**

In the second decade of the 20th Century appeared an interesting work of historical nature. Alur Venkatrao, a nationalist leader from Dharwad authored the book entitled *Karnataka Gatavai bhava*.⁶¹ It contained an outline of the history of Karnataka up to the Vijayanagara period. The book had a specific goal. The goal of the writer is rise a wisdom and the belongingness to the linguistic region called Karnataka in the people at the same time sense of pride as a linguistic-cultural entity and to get united under one banner. The book embraces a highly emotional language for this purpose. This may be regarded as the first ever work in **Kannada on Karnataka's history with an open intention of glorification of Karnataka's past** for the goal of unifying Kannadigas. R. H. Deshpande was also 'inspired' to write a history of Karnataka in Kannada and he wrote *Karnataka Samrajya* in two volumes which were published in 1926.⁶² The first volume covered the dynasties of Karnataka particularly the Alupas, Kadambas, Gangas and the Chalukyas of Badami. And the second volume covered from the Rashtrakutas to the foundation of Vijayanagara.

He was the Vice Principal of the Teachers' Training College and had written some other books on history, like Mughal history, Shivaji, Nujjahan, Tipu Sultan etc. Some scholars have appreciated Deshpande as the first true Kannada historian of Karnataka. A peep through the introduction to the work shows that Deshpande was not a historian, but he was interested in writing history. However in his work he put in considerable efforts to make it objective. Unfortunately, the account of Puranas is treated by him as acceptable history, though he admits that this is so owing to want of information before the advent of the Buddha.

Mysore Gazetteer edited by B.L. Rice (1897)⁶³ and C. Hayavadana Rao⁶⁴ (1930), deals at length with the history of Karnataka. B.L. Rice wrote this gazetteer in two volumes whereas C. Hayavadana Rao revised the earlier Gazetteer compiled in two volumes in five volumes and seven parts. It comprises of four parts, running to 3000 and odd pages. In the first part the sources of history are considered in detail. Epigraphic, numismatic, art and architectural, sources and Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil literary sources are critically examined in great detail with respect to their utility in this part.

The second part discusses the ancient period from the Nandas through to Chalukyas of Kalyana, Kalachuris and Cholas. The dynasties of Karnataka covered here include Nandas, Mauryas, Satavahanas, Kadambas of Banavasi, Banas, Vaidumbas, Pallavas, Nolambas, Gangas, Eastern Gangas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Hoysalas and Kalachuris. The remaining parts of this work dealt with Vijayanagar Period (Part III) and post-Vijayanagara Mysore (Part IV). Since the treatment is based on all types of sources the work is of great use for any serious student of history.

Karnataka Gazetteer published in two parts (1982-83) comprises of sections on sources authored by Srinivasa H. Ritti, Prehistory authored by A. Sundara, history of the ancient period by A.V. Narasimha Murthy, history of medieval period by B.R. Gopal and history of Modern period by Suryanatha U. Kamat. Notes on historical developments in agriculture, irrigation, horticulture, industry, trade, transport, administration, education, literature etc are incorporated while dealing with respective

topics. To this may be added the district-wise Gazetteer volumes that have appeared for almost all the districts of Karnataka.⁶⁵

The next important work deserving mention here is *Karnatakada Arasu manetanagalu* authored jointly by N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi.⁶⁶ This work concerns itself only to the ancient **period of Karnataka's history. It contains valuable** discussions on the Kadambas, the Chalukyas of Badami, the Gangas of Talakadu, the Nolambas and Banas tapping particularly the epigraphic records available till the time of its publication. However the Rashtrakutas are not dealt with in this work. Perhaps the most significant work in Kannada on Karnataka history was by Panchamukhi entitled *Karnatakada Itihasa* Vol I.⁶⁷ It consists the history of Karnataka and its various political and cultural dimensions right from prehistoric times to the end of the Rashtrakutas, excluding the Gangas.

Among the works that gave considerable space to dealing with Karnataka history in the context of South Indian History, mention made to the works of KAN Sastri and Yazdani **particularly. The first is K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's** *History of South India*.⁶⁸ In this work Sastri tried to integrate the dynastic histories to avoid repetitions. Thus he deals with the history of the Pallavas and Chalukyas of Badami simultaneously, as politically related to each other. He also gave attention to cultural developments - in the field of religion, literature, art etc - **in an integrated manner. Thus Sastri's** work stands out distinctly in South Indian historiography. Later when Yazdani edited the *Early History of the Deccan*,⁶⁹ Sastri made major scholarly contribution in it about the Chalukyas of Badami.

The saga of writing Voluminous histories of Karnataka was inaugurated by *Karnataka through the Ages*. It was edited by R. R. Diwakar and his associate K. Sampadgiri Rao, and published in 1968.⁷⁰ It collection of papers by various noted scholars. The subject matter covered, apart from the history of major dynasties, the history of feudatory dynasties of particular periods. Aspects of administration, **society and culture on every imperial dynasty's** period are also dealt with in separate articles. This was soon followed by a Kannada version of the book entitled *Karnataka Parampare* in two

parts. Another large work on Karnataka history that followed soon after the above was *Karnataka Itihasa Darsana* edited by M. V. Krishna Rao and M. Kesava Bhatta.⁷¹ It can be considered as the first large book to appear on Karnataka history, but its approach is not always scientific.

A History of Karnataka jointly authored by P.B.Desai, Ssrinivasa H.Ritti and B.R.Gopal is the major contribution by the epigraphists.⁷² The work considered the whole range of Karnataka history from the earliest times to unification of Karnataka, though it dealt with the period up to the end of Vijayanagara extensively. The remaining period is covered very briefly. It was written as a forerunner to a twelve-volume comprehensive history of Karnataka, of which only two volumes saw the light of the day, one dealing with the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Kalachuris written by B R Gopal⁷³ and the other is the Seunas or Yadavas of Devagiri written by Srinivasa H Ritti.⁷⁴ A History of Karnataka shows mastery of its authors in utilizing the epigraphic material as the primary source. Suryanatha U. Kamat writes, "it was the first carefully written account of ancient and medieval Karnataka making the latest available epigraphical material, though only political history dominates the narrative" Suryanatha U. Kamat wrote a book titled *Karnatakada Sankshipta Itihasa* (A short History of Karnataka) in Kannada in 1973.⁷⁵ Its English version, *A concise History of Karnataka* was also published in 1980.⁷⁶ This work serves as a handbook on the history of Karnataka.

In 1997, the Kannada University at Hampi published a seven volume series of Karnataka history in Kannada entitled *Karnataka Charitre*.⁷⁷ The first volume in this series was edited by Sundara. Several expert scholars contributed their articles on various aspects of history. This 560 page work attempted to signify the nature of developments in Karnataka history through ten chapters and contains very useful information on background on environment, people and culture. The emphasis is on prehistoric cultures, only four chapters dealing with historical period from the Satavahanas to the Chalukyas of Badami.

It is worthy of note also that in the *Vishaya Visvakosa - Karnataka*, brought out by the University of Mysore in 1977 the various aforementioned topics have been discussed in considerable detail along with relevant

illustrations.⁷⁸ the same has been revised by A. Sundara as *Itihasa mattu Puratatva Encyclopaedia*⁷⁹ and this has extensive information on the latest material on various aspects of archaeology and history of Karnataka, written by experts in the respective field. Yet the fact that the political, social, economic, religious and other aspects as historically integral developments does not seem to have been recognized by many at present. One somewhat exceptional approach, though in outline only, has been recently put forth by a younger scholar M.V.Devadevan in a Kannada work authored by him. However an in-depth command over a wide variety of historical and literary data is a desideratum for such an approach to become valid.

Dynasty-wise works on History

Early Dynasties Study of individual dynasties could give scope for dealing with a limited period on an intensive scale. Quite early this advantage was realized by certain scholars and they took up the study of individual dynasties seriously. The Mauryas had their home region in Magadha (Bihar) and hence their age in the context of Karnataka has not been exhaustively treated by scholars in the field, though there is good scope for examining this aspect.

The Satavahanas

It is the Satavahanas who acquired importance in enquiries. The Satavahanas were considered to be centred in upper Deccan and Central India and hence their connection with Karnataka was also deemed marginal. Long chapters or articles have been contributed by scholars like V.S. Bakhje, D.R. Bhandarkar, A. S. Altekar, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Ramachandraiah, Gopalachari,⁸⁰ and Ajaya Mitra Shastri⁸¹ have published their findings and writings on the Satavahanas and their culture in various publications. One of the recent works with a great amount of discussion is by Ajaya Mitra Shastri and it reconsiders the chronology, genealogy and other aspects of the Satavahana history. However cultural aspects such as art, economy and religion do not figure in this work. History of the Satavahanas in relation to Karnataka is one of the areas deserving special attention of the scholars.

The Kadambas

The Kadambas One of the early dynasties to attract attention of scholars for detailed enquiry was that of the Kadambas. Reverend Henry Heras who did commendable work in the field of Karnataka history, particularly in respect of Vijayanaga, encouraged scholars to take up individual dynasties for in depth study. Many research dissertations were produced on aspects of Karnataka history. One of these was by George Moraes entitled *Kadambakula* published in 1931.⁸² This was produced under the guidance of Rev. Heras. This work included discussions on early Kadambas as well as later Kadamba families, such as those of Hanagal and Goa.

Western Gangas

The Gangas of Talakadu, better known as the Western Gangas, were among the important dynasties that had the longest rule and ruled over parts of Karnataka. They issued a large number of inscriptions Rice proved convincingly that this dynasty did rule and not all their records are **spurious**. **After Rice's reconstruction of Ganga history a small monograph appeared on this dynasty's history authored by M.V.Krishna Rao.**⁸³ Although the family was treated in the works of N.L.Rao and Panchamukhi and P B Desai and others, a single volume dealing with Ganga history was not published until when Sheik Ali brought out his work *History of the Western Gangas* in 1976.⁸⁴ This work is commendable in the sense that the author attempted in fourteen chapters the various aspects of Ganga history, the first eight dealing with political history and the remaining six chapters respectively with administration, economic conditions, social conditions, education and literature, religion and art and architecture.

Ramesh has brought out a volume of *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*, titled *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*, in the introduction of the volume he has focused on certain issues relating to the genealogy, chronology and usefulness of spurious records.⁸⁵ But this work cannot be considered a monograph on Ganga history. As such, the problem of understanding a period of history in relation to land, people and culture in integrated manner still persists in the case of the history of Gangas.

The Chalukyas of Badami

The first empire which falls within the scope of the present work is that of the Chalukyas of Badami. Fleet spared considerable energy in reconstructing the history of this dynasty by critically examining the numerous Sanskrit and Kannada inscriptions known till his time. The subject was treated also by R.S.Deshpande in *Karnataka Samrajya* at length wherein he examined to the extent of his abilities issues on Chalukya origin, their rise, temporary eclipse, and recovery, and the conditions during their period.⁸⁶ He dedicated as many as four chapters to these aspects. Similarly, N.L.Rao and Panchamukhi also dealt with the political history of this dynasty.⁸⁷ Chalukya period was one of the most wonderful periods of Karnataka history in terms of availability of sources, political achievements, cultural transitions, artistic heights and so on. But it is surprising that monographs were not attempted on this dynasty in significant numbers. Two notable publications on this dynasty are by Durga Prasad Dikshit (1980) *Political History of the Chalukyas of Badami*⁸⁸ and K.V.Ramesh (1984) *Chalukyas of Vātāpi*.⁸⁹ **Dikshit's work was an extensive review of review of the sources for reconsidering the various political and administrative aspects. Of the ten chapters in this work, seven deal with the political aspects and the remaining three respectively with general administration, fiscal administration and army organization. There is an exhaustive list of epigraphs with summaries. The attribution of certain epigraphs to rulers and re-fixing the chronology of certain Chalukyas rulers like Mangalesha are noteworthy in this work. However the religious, cultural and art aspects for which great amount of material is available has not been attended to in this work. Ramesh's work focuses on ruler-wise political developments, providing reinterpretations of many Chalukya inscriptions and using them, but from the point of view of development of religion, culture and art this work has little to offer. In the introduction to recent volume of *Inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badami*, Padigar has attempted to review the status of knowledge of the Chalukya period on epigraphic grounds. Hampa Nagarajaiah's work looks at the Chalukyas in the framework of Jainism.**

Apart from the above-mentioned works, different aspects of culture have been treated

separately by different scholars adept in their fields. For instance, *history of Vaishnavism in Karnataka* has been examined on epigraphic and archaeological evidence by S.V. Padigar.⁹⁰ A comprehensive analytical *study of coins and currency system of Karnataka* has been made by A. V. Narasimha Murthy.⁹¹ Aspects of trade and commerce as gleaned from epigraphs have been treated by B.R.Hiremath.⁹² The most extensive work has been in the field of study of art and architecture of Karnataka, particularly of period of *the Chalukyas of Badamis* by Henry Cousens and it deals the subject with detailed drawings and brief studies of the Chalukya monuments.⁹³ **Percy Brown's Indian Architecture contained a critique of Chalukya monuments and proposed a classification and evolution of the temples.**⁹⁴ The accepted chronology of the Badami Chalukya monuments was questioned by different scholars and more objective and rational approach was provided during the latter part of 20th Century. Moreover, several studies of Chalukya monuments and sculpture have opened up possibilities of new vistas in understanding monuments and culture of the Chalukya period.

The Rashtrakuta Period

The Rashtrakutas produced a heroic line of rulers who had successfully challenged the rulers of Kanauj who are described as holding the paramount power of India from the days of Harsha. Dhruva and Govinda III had successfully challenged these rulers of Kanauj and collected tribute from them and Indra III had held Kanauj for two years (914-16) under his control. After Fleet and Bhandarkar, Altekar wrote an exhaustive work on the Rashtrakutas outlining the details about their administration, and also presenting a picture of social, economic and cultural conditions.⁹⁵ An improved chronological details of this dynasty was provided by Panchamukhi⁹⁶ and P B Desai⁹⁷ in their respective works on Karnataka history, mentioned earlier. Many Rashtrakuta temples have been identified by Annigeri, M S Nagaraja Rao (the Sirval groups), ASundara and Sindgi Rajashekar.⁹⁸ The Seminar on the Rashtrakutas organised by the Mythic Society saw many interesting papers on the art of the epoch including bronzes and paintings. These papers are edited by Dr. B.R Gopal and published by the Mythic Society, Bengaluru.⁹⁹

Dr M S Krishnamurthy has studied the Nolambas, whose contribution to art is important, it is covered in the work.⁹⁹ *The Chalukyas of Kalyana* have been treated by Fleet. Dr.B A Gopal discussed them in *A History of Karnataka* as he had studied the dynasty for his doctoral thesis. Krishna Murari's *The Chalukyas of Kalyani* (1977)¹⁰⁰ not only presents a political history of the dynasty but also discusses administration, and social, economic and cultural life at considerable length. But perusal of Kannada literary sources including the vachanas would have helped the scholar to present a better picture of the social and religious life. Even the genealogy presented by him is not free from defects for example he has not mentioned Mallikarjuna in the genealogical tree; though he ruled as crown prince under Vikramaditya VI for long.

K R Basavaraju's Administration under the Chalukyas of Kalyana (1983) is a detailed account of their administrative arrangements including taxation.¹⁰¹ *The Chalukyas of Kalyana* edited by M.S Nagaraja Rao, published by the Mythic Society in 1983 is the compilation of Seminar papers. It presents a fine picture of the cultural life of the period including an art, music, religions, literature composed both in Sanskrit and Kannada of the time.¹⁰² The authoritative work on the political history of the dynasty was *the Chalukyas of Kalyana and the Kalachuns*, written by B R Gopal (1981), who has carefully studied a large number of inscriptions in Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit spread over the whole of South India to present a carefully crafted life and achievements of each and every emperor. This is a readable and standard work on the subject.¹⁰³ The Chalukyan art is a subject of great interest and scholars like Rea, Burgess, Taylor, Brown and many contemporary scholars like S R. Rao, A. Sundara, S. Nagaraju, etc. have written copiously on it. There are over 100 temples of the Chalukyas and their feudatories in Belgaum district, and a majority of them need to be studied.

The feudatories of the Chalukyas, namely the Kaachuris usurped power in 1162 and became emperors. Fleet had given an outline of their history. But a very systematic study of the dynasty was made by P.B. Desai in his book *Basaveshwara and His Times* (1967) tracing the

history of the dynasty to several earlier generations, and identifying as many as six sons and two grandsons of Bijjala who either ruled or tried to rule.¹⁰⁴

The Yadavas or Seunas

About the Yadavas or Seunas, both Fleet and Bhandarkar had presented good accounts. Alterkar's chapter in *the Early History of the Deccan*¹⁰⁵ and also in the Maharashtra State Gazetteer on the dynasty are worth noting. Of the independent publication on the subject, is by Dr. O.P. Verma titled *The Yadava and Their Times*¹⁰⁶ was the earliest. But Verma could not make use of all available inscriptions on the dynasty, and he could not interpret Kannada records properly to explore their full importance. However, his chapter on the temple architecture is something unique. He also presents a good account of their cultural achievement. Next came A. V. Narasimhamurthy's *The Sevunas of Devagiri* (1971).¹⁰⁷ Here the author has strongly argued the Kannada origin of the Sevunas. His account of the genealogy of and chronology of the Sevunas was an improvement on what earlier writers had done. He also pointed out that a prince called Mallugill ruled as a feudatory of the Delhi Sultan in 1333 A.D. Srinivas Ritti's¹⁰⁸ *Sevunas* was a further improvement on their genealogical history. Ritti has fixed that date of the famous Battle of Soratur as A. D. 1190, and as against the years 1191 or 1192 fixed by others. Ritti has presented a very good account of local administration under the Seunas.

The Hoysalas

The Hoysalas have been carefully studied by Rice and Hayavadana Rao, and Prof. Coelho's *Hoysala Vamsha* (1950)¹⁰⁹ is the first major analytical work on the dynasty. Nobody can study the Hoysalas without reading these works. But a more readable and scholarly work was by J.D.M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas: A Medieval Royal Dynasty* (1975).¹¹⁰ He interprets *tottudere* as concubine tax (*tottuis* a female servant) and *balavana* as child tax (which is actually a tax on the livestock). He gives a highly analytical and scholarly account of their administration. Seetharam Jagirdas, of late, has traced the history of the Hoysala family to the 10th century A.D.

The Hoysala Dynasty (1972) published by University of Mysore edited by Sheik Ali is the

compendium of the papers of a seminar organised Department of History, University of Mysore.¹¹¹ This is a highly useful book on the dynasty, discussing literary and cultural growth under the Hoysala patronage. This volume contains several good papers on various aspects of the period. A Research paper on coins by S. Nagaraju and on art by scholars like A. Sundara, B. K. Gururaja Rao,¹¹² S. Settar¹¹³ and others are worth mentioning. Sundara has pointed out that stellar shape profusely used in *Hoysala temples*, was already in vogue in the Chalukyan structures. S. Srikantha Shastry's *Hoysala Vastu shilpa* (1965) in Kannada is a detailed and scholarly publication on Hoysala art.¹¹⁴ Earlier, R. Narasimhachar has published detailed monographs on Belur, Somanathapura and Dodda Gaddavalli temples.¹¹⁵ Many scholars have studied Hoysala temples, and the latest in the series is a highly illustrated book in the Marg series, *In Praise of Hoysala Art*.¹¹⁶

There are some interesting publications on the social and economic history of the period titled the rise of Vijayanagara. A. Venkata Subbayya published many scholarly papers on the *agraharas* and on education, including the Kodimatha of Belgavi. G. S. Dikshit wrote a booklet in Kannada on education in ancient Karnataka and also the chapters on the subject in *Karnataka Through the Ages*.¹¹⁷ M. Chidananda Murthy also wrote a chapter on the subject in his *Kannada Shasanagala Sanskritika Adhyayana*.¹¹⁸ Dr. S. Leela Shantakumari's work *the History of the Agraharas in Karnataka 400-1300* has been published (1986).¹¹⁹ The latest publication on the subject, Dr. Jyotsna Kamat's book covers new ground by discussing developments during the later periods too with very valuable illustrations.¹²⁰

The times of Vijayanagara

A Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell thrilled the students of South India when it was published in 1901.¹²¹ The value of Sewell's **account lay in its full exploitation of foreigners'** accounts on the Empire like those of Frnao Nuniz and Domingo Paes and also of Nicolo Conti, Caesar Frederick, Durate Barbosa and Abdur Razzak. The translated accounts of Frnao Nuniz and Domingo Paes were published for the first time as an appendix to the book. He was at ease with epigraphical material too, but as many inscriptions as now were not made available to

him. He also freely borrowed the statements of Ferishta (1606), the historian who wrote from the court of the Adilshahis, and as such was biased against Vijayanagara. Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi or *Tarikh-e-Ferishtain* Persian has been translated by Col. Briggs under the title *Rise of Mohammadan Power in India*. Sewell's work, with all its disadvantages as a pioneering work, was still a very graphic account of the Empire. Scholars connected with national resurgence were thrilled by the account *Never to be Forgotten Empire* by B Suryanarayana Rao illustrates these feelings and popular reactions to Sewell's writings.¹²² Books on the rule of the Bahmanis, the Adilshahis and Mysore rulers had been published by then. They included writings of Ferishta, Zubairi (*Basatin-us-Salatin*, 1818), Kirmani, Wilks, Bowring and the like Meadows Taylor in his book on Indian history, Rawlinson etc had given an account of the Bahmanis, Adilshahis and Haider and Tipu History of other dynasties of the post-Vijayanagara times came to be written very late, during the 20th Century.

No systematic effort has been made to outline the impact of Maratha or Mughal activities in Karnataka Aurangzeb's campaigns and later the campaigns of the Peshwas and their commanders should be studied from the point of view of their effect on Karnataka.

Alur Venkatrao, from Dharwad wrote *Karnataka Gatavaibhava* in 1920 and it is in a highly emotional tone.¹²³ Historical writing in pre-Independence days by Indians had this tone in common all over India. He gave an account of Karnataka history till the days of Vijayanagara. The glory of Karnataka ended with Vijayanagara to him and many other nationalists. The Muslim period and other Hindu dynasties which ruled over small territories were not taken seriously for long. Secondly, there was a great fascination for epigraphic all studies because it involved scholarship in Sanskrit and Kannada. This national spirit did encourage historical studies.

In fact the *Karnataka Itihasa Samshodhana Mandal* was started at Dharwad and he sent R. S. Panchamukhi to the office of Epigraphy at Udakamandala and helped him to get appointed there with a view to get him trained in Epigraphy to serve the needs of the North Karnataka area. Later, Panchamukhi trained P.B Desai. He was hailing from a family of nationalists and Joined the office of Epigraphy by the influence of

Panchamukhi who trained scholars like Srinivas H Ritti N S Rajpurohit, Bengeri, Annigeri, Umarji, etc in epigraphical studies. Enthusiasm created by these men helped the founding of the Kannada Research Institute at Dharwad and Siddappa Kambali was instrumental in its establishment.

The Kannada Research Institute as a government department has done considerable work in the field of surveying antiquities, epigraphs and paper records. The institute has published *Karnatak Inscription* vols Panchamukhi, Malwad, Saletore, P B Desai, etc. were worked as its directors. It built up a highly useful library helping research scholars of Dharwad region.

The *Karnataka Itihasa Samshodhana Mandal* as a private body, created lot of public interest in historical studies, and it organised the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Festival at Hampi in 1936 and brought out *the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, a highly useful publication, outlining the various facets of the empire's achievements in the field of religion, literature, art, music, etc.¹²⁴ P B Desai's *Vijayanagara Samarajya* (1936) in Kannada was also brought out on the occasion.¹²⁵

B. A. Saletore's¹²⁶ monumental work had already been published in 1934 and T.V. Mahalingam covered the same field in the early forties.¹²⁷ Both discuss in detail the political conditions, administration, taxation, etc., and also social conditions. T.V. Mahalingam has written a separate account on economic conditions of the Empire. Vijayanagara has been a popular subject on which researches have been continued by scholars from Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu. Works of H. Krishna Shastry (his three long articles on the three dynasties in the Annual Report of Archaeological Survey in 1907-8, 1908-9 and 1911-12),¹²⁸ S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar,¹²⁹ N. Venkataramanayya,¹³⁰ K. A. Nilakantha Shastry,¹³¹ Father Heras,¹³² P B. Desai,¹³³ Rama Rao,¹³⁴ Dr.G.S.Dikshrt,¹³⁵ O.Ramachandrayya, S.Srikantaya, Dr. K Sarojini Devi and a host of others have enriched our knowledge on the empire.¹³⁶

Dr. A.V. Venkataratnam has made a study of local government under Vijayanagara.¹³⁷ Dr. K. Srikanthayya has published a book in Kannada on social conditions, mainly based on

Kannada literary sources.¹³⁸ Outlining the developments of Vijayanagara rule in each and every district of Karnataka is bound to help secure **better insight into Karnataka's past as inscriptions** of the time are available in plenty in old Mysore area and also in Bellary region in quite a good number. Dr. G.S. Dikshit has edited a monograph titled *The Early Vijayanagara*, which contains the papers presented in a seminar on the Sangamas.¹³⁹ A separate work on herostones in Kannada by Dr R. Shesha Shastry¹⁴⁰ and Seminar papers edited by Settar are notable. Local self-Government in Medieval Karnataka by Dr G S Dikshit is a scholarly work, helping the reader to understand the political institutions connected with popular participation in local administration.¹⁴¹

Excavations at the capital city described as an open-air museum have been going on. Many foreigners like Mitchel, Filiozat (Dr Pierre and Dr Vasundhara) and a host of others have worked at Hampi and have brought out useful publications. Both the State and Central Archaeological Departments have also brought out illustrated reports. Those who have read Longhurst's Hampi Ruins have to revise their views after these excavations. An unpublished thesis by Anila Verghese (Bombay University) on the Hampi ruins being used to outline the religious conditions of the empire is worth mentioning here.

The history of the Bahmanis

The history of the Bahmanis is reconstructed with the help of the contemporary and near contemporary writers like Fenshta, Nizam-ud-din Bakshi (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Volume I, II III),¹⁴² Rafi-ud-din Shirazi (Taz-kirat-ul-Muluk, translated by J.S King) and Tabataba Burhan-i-Masir, translated by King. These near contemporary accounts serve as highly useful source material for their detailed accounts of the dynasty, and the last two have been translated by J.S.King in the book titled *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, published in 1900.¹⁴³ H.K Sherwani's *The Bahmani Kingdom* and *The Bahmanis of Deccan* are two scholarly works on the Dynasty.¹⁴⁴ The Early History of Medieval Deccan edited by Sherwani and Joshi in 2 volumes (1973 and 1974) has presented an account of their political history, but also of their cultural achievement.¹⁴⁵ Dr. P.M. Joshi's chapter on the Delhi Sultanate family in the Bhawan's

series is also worth mentioning. Yazdani has given a detailed picture of their monuments in his profusely illustrated work *Bidar - Its History and Monuments* (1944)¹⁴⁶ in which together with the discussion on the monuments in Bidar and Ashtur, a history of the Baridis and an account of their monuments is included. It is a scholarly publication, with very good photographs and **drawings. S.K. Sinha's** *Medieval History of the Deccan*, outlines the history of the Bahmanis (1964).¹⁴⁷

The contemporary works on the Adilshahis, by Shirazi and Farishta serve as good source. *Busatin- us-Salatin*, written by Zubairi in Persian in 1818 is a copious account based on a large number of records he had at his disposal. A Marathi translation of this, undertaken by noted Maratha historian Parasnis and edited by V.C. Bendre, (*Vijapurchi Adilshahi*, 1968) is available work.¹⁴⁸ Meadows Taylor wrote a chapter on the dynasty in his history of India. So did Rawlinson and others.

All these accounts on the history of the dynasty have failed to present a picture of their rule with special reference to the Kannada speaking areas or its impact on Karnataka, except what has happened in Bijapur. There is a need to outline the picture of their rule with reference to agriculture, industry, trade and social aspects. The post Vijayanagara history is developed more or less on the Archival Material preserved in various forms in different libraries and the contemporary writings. Dealing such works will take more time space thus, those section in discussed in brief under archival studies

ARCHIVAL STUDIES

Another important branch of study connected with the utilisation of sources is the Archives study of paper records and *kadatas*. It is a far wider field, mostly connected with post-Vijayanagara period, covering the time when the Muslim rule in Karnataka started. The dynasties like the Bahmanis, the Adilshahis, the Baridis and all the subordinate pategars of Vijayanagara like Keladi, Mysore, Chitradurga etc. archives of no royal family have come down to us as it happened in the case of the Peshwas of Pune (the Shanivarawada collection, etc.) The papers of the Kodagu royal family found in the Deputy Commissioner's office of Madikeri. Only the

British administration built up their Secretariat records at Bombay, Madras and Bangalore from 1831. The Mysore Palace Records acquired by the Karnataka State Archives in 1982 do not go beyond the 19th century. Paper records are perishable and the scholars who took historical researches after 1900 did not pay much attention to them as they fond of inscriptions. Some individual scholars like Taliur Rayangauda, Panchamukhi and others at the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwad, Ganapathirao Aigal in South Kanara, Hulluru Srinivas Jois of Chitradurga and Keladi Gunda Jois did make some efforts in the direction. When British scholars like Meckenzie and his like collected them on a large scale, Indian scholars did not pay any attention to them. These papers were taken to far off museums and libraries overseas including the India House Library, and neither they are accessible to scholars easily nor are the systematic catalogues easily available.

Publication of Sringeri records by the efforts of G S Dikshit, S. V. Deshikachar and A. K. Shastry, and one volume of Kudli-Sringeri Records in 1956 by the Mysore Government (edited by B. Venkatasamanna) are two notable efforts in this direction.

There are records on Karnataka at the State Archives of Maharashtra (at Bombay, Kolhapur and Pune at the Shanivarawada and Alienation Office), Tamil Nadu, Goa, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala, and also at the National Archives. Records on Karnataka are also available at Paris,

Basel, London and Lisbon. Records at the Government offices like those of the Divisional Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Municipalities, etc., are yet to be systematically catalogued. A regular cataloguing of records in the custody of the mathas, temples, mosques, *dargahs*, churches, public institutions, in families of successors of officers of yore and industrial houses has not received adequate attention. Old newspaper files have to be located and preserved. Archival movement in the state is languishing, and it awaits the emergence of a dedicated band of scholars trained in the decipherment of Kannada and Marathi *modi* records and also those who know Marathi, Persian, French and Portuguese.

A good number of books surveying the history of Karnataka over a stretch of time came to be written is pioneering, and covered the period till the days of recent past. Books on the Shatvahanas, the Kadambas, the Banavasi, the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Kalachuris, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara are the major dynasties and some of the minor dynasties like the Goa and the Kadambas of Hanagal, the Guttas and the Rattas and many more medieval feudatory states contributed to the development of Karnataka Culture and the study of such dynasties needs to be carried in the lines of the major families.

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LADAKH IN HISTORICAL OUTLINE : FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO MODERN TIMES

Amjad Khan

The history of Ladakh as an independent Kingdom can be traced from 10th century when after the disintegration of Central Tibetan Empire which resulted in the formation of small kingdoms. Earlier Ladakh was considered as part of Yarlung dynasty's Tibetan Empire. After the disintegration of Tibetan Empire, a group of royal lineage people migrated towards the west part of Tibet, founded the Gon dynasty around the areas of Nyari Gogsum. The founder of the Gondynasty Nyima Gon 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.¹ The second son Trashis Gon, received the Purang and Guge. Ldetsug 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 chenrgyalpo (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 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 centred at Shey. In fact Ladakh separated in to 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. He died childless, without any natural heir for the throne, there occurred power scuffle among the vassals, resulting in independence declaration.

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.

The war against the Kartse proved detrimental, as 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.³ 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 had 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 captured.⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶ The reign of Sengge Namgyal had been a successful rule. He extended his kingdom 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.⁷ 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 send 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.⁸ 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 sent 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 within the boundary of Ladakh and Tibet will be used as the expenses for the sacrificial lamps and the reading of prayers in Tibet⁹. 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 to the Dalai Lama. In addition separate presents were also to be sent 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.¹⁰

The conquest of Ladakh by Dogra general Zorawar Singh in 1834 put Ladakh under the Lahore Durbar, Gulab Singh collected a force of about 5000 men and sent under the command of Zorawar Singh Kahluria,¹¹ he took the route from Kishtwar and Zaskar. 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.¹² 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.¹³

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 till the snow got melted and the passage became accessible, 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. And Ladakh remained part of Dogra Kingdom till 1947. After the partition of India and Pakistan, Ladakh with Jammu and Kashmir became part of India.

Thus the foundation of Gon dynasty broke Ladakh's political lineage with the Tibetan Kingdom which became stronger with the foundation of Namgyal Dynasty by king Bhagan. After staying independent for centuries Ladakh's independency came to end under the Dogra rule and in 1947 Ladakh with Jammu and Kashmir became part of Indian Dominion.

End Notes

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2. Janet Rizvi, *Ladakh Crossroads of High Asia*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1996, p. 57.
3. A.H. Francke, *A History of Ladakh*, p. 91.
4. Nawang Tsering Shakspo, *A Cultural History of Ladakh*, Kyle Gardener (ed.), Centre for Research on Ladakh The Solitarian, Sabu-Leh, 2010, p. 123.
5. According to Cunningham, during the attempts to re-strengthen Buddhism in Ladakh, the colossal stone Maitreya at Mulbe is said to have been probably erected. This is quite improbable, as such an event would certainly be mentioned in the chronicles. Besides, the custom of erecting stone images is very much older. Judging from the few dateable ones, we may say that not many were erected after 1000 A.D. The Mulbe image was probably carved by one of the Purig chiefs during their first time of independence.
6. Sengge Namgyal didn't followed his mother's faith.
7. A.H. Francke, *A History of Ladakh*, p. 100.
8. The Jamia mosque in Leh.
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B.N.SASTRY'S (1932-2002) HISTORICAL WRITINGS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE - A CRITICAL NOTE

G. Anjaiah

The fact that some non-historians contributed to the enrichment of historical writings in India is indispensable. D.D. Kosambi (1907-1966) a mathematician by profession extended his valuable insights to history and all his historical writings were appreciated by eminent historians. To this genre belongs, the Telugu scholar Bhinnuri Narsashima Sastry, (1932-2002) who occupies a special place in the scholarly world of Andhra Pradesh for his contribution to Telugu literature, History and Culture. The formation of Telangana State on June 2nd 2014, made the government, Historians and Scholars to focus on the importance of history of Telangana from pre-historic times to contemporary period. In the process of tracing back the intellectual wealth of Telangana, the historical works, inscriptional volumes, Zilla Sarwasvaalu (District encyclopedias), Historical novels, plays etc., of B.N. Sastry became much sought after by historical scholars. To renew B.N. Sastry's works, his students E. Shivanagi Reddy, K. Suryakumar and Kurra Jithendrababu and his associate Sreeranga Chary, historians Adapa Satyanarayana and I made a humble attempt to revisit and highlight the great contribution of B.N. Sastry towards the regional history of Telugu people. The primary objective of this research is to focus on major contributions

of B.N. Sastry to Historical writings of Andhra Desa on the basis of his works.

Bhinnuri Narasimha Sastry, popularly known as 'Shasanaala Sastry' (Sastry of epigraphs) was born on 10th December 1932 in Nalgonda. He was a renowned scholar in Telugu, Sanskrit, Brahmi, Urdu and English, B.N. Sastry was a multifaceted personality. His works speak about his commitment to write a fact based empirical history and culture. All his published works were self-financed and never accepted any aid from government, institutions or individuals. Sastry condemned the policies of state government in his editorial articles in a monthly journal 'Moosi' until he breathed last. He is considered to be a unique personality of Nizam State. He toured more than two thousand villages of Andhra Desa and collected nearly eight thousand Telugu inscriptions which provided elaborate and interesting details about the History of Ancient and Medieval Andhra Desa.

The following are the important works of B.N. Sastry on Epigraphy, History and Culture:

S.No.	Name of the Book	Year of Publication	Remarks/Subject matter
1.(A)	Inscriptional volumes; 1. <i>Shasana Samputi</i> . 2. <i>Tripurantakam</i> temple Inscription 3. <i>Kanduru Chola</i> Inscription 4. <i>Bejawada Durga Malleshwari</i> Temples Inscription 5. <i>Mukhalingam Temple</i> Epigraphs. 6. <i>Cheruku Reddy</i> Epigraphs 7. <i>Golkonda Charitra Sanskrithi</i> Inscription 8. <i>Recherla Padmanayaka</i> Inscriptions.	1974 1984 1984 1985 1985 1989 1989 1994	These inscriptions are collected by Sastry. He visited many village in Andhradesa and published. All these inscriptions with his own money. Today these volumes became a primary source to scholars who are working on history of Telangana. Very interesting political, socio, economic religions, cultural aspects are found in these volumes.
2.	<i>Andhrula Saangika Charitra</i> (Social History of Andhras),	1975	This book gives a detailed History of Andhra people from 400 BC to 1100 CE. It filled the gap left by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy (The author of <i>Andhrula Saangika Charitra</i>).
3.	Andhradesha Charitra Samskruthi (History and Culture of Andhras) Three Volumes	1990	First volume describes the History of Andhradesa from Pre-Historic times to 1323 CE. Second volume covers the <i>History of Andhradesa from 1323 to 1517 CE</i> . The Third volume covers <i>The History of Andhras from 1518-1990</i> .
4.	History and Culture of India (21 Volumes)	1992-1999	The vision and aim of Sastry is not confined to Andhradesa. He was a true nationalist. A great admirer of Indian culture and its values. So he wrote the Indian History in 21 volumes covering from Ancient times to till the year 1948.
5.	Zilla Sarvaswalu (District Encyclopedias) a. Nalgonda. b. Adilabad. c. Mahaboobnagar	1975-1986 1990 1993	These Zilla Sarvasvaalu are real gift by Sastry to the people of this region. They contains glimpses of the life of Telangana Villages.

B.N. Sastry started the writing of '*Nalgonda Mandala Sarvaswam*' (encyclopedia of Nalgonda) in the year 1975 and it was completed and printed in 1986. In this work Sastry tried to provide the History of Nalgonda since Pre-Historic times to 1931. He collected

more than hundred inscriptions from different parts of this Mandal. Two Brahmi Inscriptions were discovered and edited by B.N. Sastry in 1965. They belongs to Vishnukundin Kings *Govindavarma's* (398-435CE), Indrapalanagara copper plate grant(556-570CE) and *Vikramendrabhattaraka Varma's* copper plate grant found at the same village, *Nagaram-Thummalagunde*, (in present Yadadri-Bhuvanagiri) brought him great recognition as epigraphist. These two Bhrami epigraphs were well read by Sastry and he established the correct chronology, family genealogy and that the *Indrapala Nagaram (Thummalagudem)* was the capital city of Vishnukundins on the basis of the above two epigraphs in a famous Telugu monthly journal *Bharathi* in June, July.1965. He received great appreciation from the established historians like M. Ram Rao¹ Eminent historians such as Nelaturi Venkataramanayya, Kommaraju Venkata Laxamn Rao, Ajay Mitra Sastri also appreciated the great historical value of B.N. Sastry's two epigraphs and his findings. Sastry became well known historian in Andhradesa. In his second volume, *Andhradesa-Charita and Samskruthi* (1323-1518) B.N. Sastry tried to provide a detailed history of Kakatiya Mandalikas such as Recherla Reddis, Cheruku Reddis, Kayastas, Malyalas, Viriyala Chiefs and Nathavadi Chiefs, he also tried to provide the history of Musunuri chiefs, Recherla Padmanayakas, Reddi rulers, Vijayanagara and Bahmani rulers, who ruled Andhradesa after the decline of Kakatiyas. In the writings of this volume he used the epigraphical data collected by him from Telugu inscriptions found at Warangal, Nalgonda, Karimnagar, Draksharamam and Velpuru.

B.N. Sastry quoted many primary sources in his three volumes, for instance while discussing about Satavahana Administration, he quoted the information collected from *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol-VIII Nasik inscriptions No.2 of Pulomavi II. According to the data collected from the above inscriptions in the Satavahana kingdom during the reign of Pulomavi II, Eleven Rastras or Provinces namely, Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Surata, Kakura, Aparantha, Anupa, Akara, Vidarbha, Avanthi, Vaijyanthi were mentioned.² Similarly, the above scholar also mentioned the little 'Sarvaraajalokamandala Prathi Gruheetha Shasananya'. This title is given in the above stated Epigraph.³ The learned

scholar in another lace while describing the importance of King Hala's Prakrit work Gaadhasapthasati, provides very interesting details about Hala's queen 'Mayavathi' her multifaceted talent. The poets, scholars patronized by Hala such as Kumarila, Sreepalitha⁴ etc. In this same volume on Page Number 129, the scholar provided a map of Andhradesa, with important Buddhist centers such as Shulikatta, Kondapur, Thirumalgiri, Nelakondapalli, Vardhamankota, Gaajula Mandha, Phanigiri, Indrapuri, Amaravathi, Jaggayyapeta, Ghantasaala, Shaalihundaala, Nagarjunakonda, Karimagar, Bhattiprole, Guntupalli, Bavarkurthi etc.⁵ Thus the details given on certain aspects by B.N. Sastry are really showing his talent and caliber as historian.

Telugu and Sanskrit inscriptions⁶ of Outbshahis were given in chapter one.

The Information gathered from Urdu, Persian epigraphs was also used by Sastry in the writing of this volume. The details mentioned in this volume about the History of Outbshahis are matching with the details given by eminent historian H.K. Sherwani in his work "The History of Outb Shahi Dynasty".

Tripurantakam Temple Inscriptions (1984):

B.N. Sastry collected nearly 105 inscriptions between 1964-1983 from Tripurantakam (Prakasham District) Temple and its surrounding villages. They are issued by the various rulers and officials, queens, rich people of Andhra Desa who ruled between 1108 CE to 1386 CE. The subject matter of these epigraphs is composite in its nature. Political, social, economic, religious aspects are covered in them. Sastry gave a table in this volume. It clearly describes the name of the donar, occasion, details of gift made in the form of cash or kind. A separate table was given in this volume with a title 'Akhanda Deepadaanalu' states that 1276 cows, 127 bulls, 123 goats 127 oxen were donated to this temple by rulers. He also specifically quoted that in the year 1258 CE, Mollala Annapa Reddi donated 25 cows, one horse to Lord Tripuranteshwara for the purpose of maintain Akhandadeepam in the temple.⁷ Sastry collected the inscriptions published in *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol.X. published in his volume to make it more easy to understand to general readers.

According to Sangana Bhatla Narsayya a retired Telugu scholar from Dharmapuri (Karimnagar), B.N. Sastry succeeded in collecting and writing detailed account on Inscriptions of Vemulawada Chalukyas. Among them, Vemulawada epigraph of ArikesarIII (930 CE), Kurmalya (936 CE) inscriptions of Jinavallabha younger brother of famous Kannada poet Pampa. Dharmapuri village was donated by king Arikesari to Pampa. This epigraph gives a **lengthy details about Poet Pampa's ancestors.** The unique feature of this epigraph is it consists of **three Telugu, Three Kannad 'Khanda' Padyams** (poems).⁸

The learned scholar also edited Baddega's Vemulawada stone inscription, Repaka epigraph of Arikesari III, Vemulawada Tank epigraph of Ammalladeva (undated) Jagadekamalla Jayasimha II's Kedareshwara inscription dated 1033 CE, Beemeshwara Temple inscriptions of Vikramaditya VI dated 1106 CE mentions (Puttivenkrukalapannu -tax on hair removal ceremony (tonsure). These epigraphs are in Telugu, Kannad and Sanskrit language. B.N. Sastry also wrote '*Bezawada Durgamallishwara Inscriptions*' nearly 95 inscriptions (8th - 16th century) issued by different rulers, officials are described in this book. Contemporary socio-economic and culture is depicted in these volumes. According to eminent historian Kolluri Suryanarayana, B.N. Sastri edited these epigraphs. He also provided the history of Ganga, Gajapati rulers, who ruled this region.

B.N. Sastry was deeply influenced the ideals of Indian National Movement. He closely experienced the oppressive rule of Nizam (Osman Ali Khan) and his supporters (Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Patels, Patwaris). He **read the articles written in 'Neelagiri' paper by Shabnavees, Venkata Rama Rao and Golkonda Patrika** by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy. The love

for freedom, equality etc propagated by above intellectuals of Hyderabad State inspired Sastry to raise his voice against Nizam. At the age of fifteen he took part in the Telangana Peasants Armed Struggle, alongwith the famous Communist leader Ravi Narayana Reddy. Young Sastry participated in Communist *Dalams* attack on the camp of Razaakars located at '**Gundrallapalli (Nalgonda) on 17-10-1947.** This makes it clear that Sastry is capable of using his '**Pen**' and **Gun to achieve justice.**

In his revolutionary novel '*Viplavajwala*' (Flame of Revolution), he described the Pathetic and horrible life of Telangana people under the oppressive rule of Nizam, Sastry was known for his humane touch. In his historical writings, he not only described the life style of kings, officials, rich, but he also presented the colourful, humble life style of common people. In order to provide a fresh life to historical and cultural aspects, to encourage research on above aspects, he contributed many scholarly articles in a leading *Telugu Journal Bharathi* between 1965-1980. But, as this journal was stopped since 1980, **Sastry, started his own monthly named 'Moosi'** from August, 1980 onwards. At present this historical and cultural journal (Moosi) is under **the able editorship of Sastry's daughter Bhinnuri Manohari and Sagi Kamalakara Sarma** son-in-law of Sastry. (Assistant Professor of Department of Telugu Osmania University). Recently they conducted a two-day National Seminars on 10-11 December 2019 in Osmania University on **B.N. Sastry's literature and historical works.** It was well attended by learned scholars from both Telugu speaking States. They appreciated the great qualities of Sastry as a true historian, paid tribute to Sastry. The idea of establishing a Telangana Cultural and Historical Centre was coined in memory of this great scholar.

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INTRODUCING A NEW HISTORICAL GENRE: MISSION AND VISION OF HISTORY BE TALKING MALAYALAM ARTICLES IN PRINCELY COCHIN

Ansu Mathew

The debate regarding the historical consciousness of India began with the advent of Europeans in India. 'Modernity' made historical consciousness as equal to the writing of history in positivist methodology. So Europeans started to search for written history based upon positivist methodology in India. Since the historical consciousnesses of Indians were different from the ideologies of 'modernity', colonizers prejudiced that Indians are 'ahistoric'.

For the validity of knowledge, 'modernity' wants to institutionalize knowledge. It also wants different disciplines and insists on a strict methodology. Philosophy of positivism also influences knowledge making. Empirical knowledge making had an important role in it. The main dogma of empirical knowledge is that truth and objectivity will lead to knowledge. 'Modernity' wants value free-neutral and non-judgmental knowledge. Because of the influence of positivism, history also came under strict methodology. Ranke was introduced to scientific methodology in history. Chronology, data, interpretation, truth, causes, objectivity, collectivity, methodology and narration are important factors in it. From the period of colonial modernity Indians also started to understand historical consciousness as the writing of history. The influence of the philosophy of positivism sources got significance in the writing of history. Identification of 'authentic' sources, prioritize that sources based on the level of authenticity and the scientific data analysis are part of scientific history writing.

With the introduction of the positivist methodology by colonizers in Indian history writing, it shifted to an institutionalized form. Through this process, colonizers legitimized their power. At the same time history grown up as an academic subject. Knowledge forms like Archaeology, Museology, and Archives became institutionalized as part of it. Rankean Scientific history writing introduced to India as a result of colonial modernity. Even though truths, objectivity like scientific concepts are established to India as a colonial hegemony,

these concepts made significant changes in Indian history writing.

In the case of princely Cochin, all the fluctuations in the history crafting process can be seen here also. Even though *Cochin State Manual* was a manual, it was the first that attempted to cover the 'whole' history of Cochin with a positivist methodology. As part of colonial project colonizers discovered the 'absence' of historical consciousnesses in Indians. During the first half of the twentieth century, a discursive space was formed in princely Cochin about the history. Magazines and compiled works in the Malayalam language had an important role in it. Middle class educated people like Malayalam literary scholars, lawyers were active participants in these discussions. Some of the articles published in these magazines were added to the textbooks of students. The articles mainly focused to introduce what is history, what are the sources introduced for crafting history and how historical knowledge benefited for the contemporary society and so on. This paper is an attempt to analyze how the history discussed articles published between 1910 and 1930 gave awareness to craft history with a positivist methodology in princely Cochin.

As part of the colonial knowledge production pan Indian project, the colonial government tried to make a historical consciousness in princely Cochin in the first half of the twentieth century. The articles that come under the present study tried to define what history is. During the first half of the nineteenth century, two explanations can be seen regarding the history of princely Cochin. The first one is history deals with various cultural industries and social discourses in the contemporary periods of these events. Discussion of a particular event in a period is not history. It is one of the parts of history.¹ In another discourse, history is defined as a science. Because like all other sciences history is hypothetical and it concerns the human community². This definition makes awareness that how modernity connects science with history.

Some of the reasons behind the active discussion about the procedures for crafting history in princely Cochin are

'Absence of history' and 'absence of history writing skill' in Kerala.

The main theme explained in these articles was about the 'absence of historical consciousnesses of Kerala'. In South India and Kerala, history is absent and people never attempted to collect and preserve any historical sources. Only civilized society preserves its history. All these colonial notions are accepted in these articles and criticized the laziness of Kerala people to preserve its historical knowledge. Precolonial Indians had their kind of historical consciousness. Modernity made historical consciousness as equal to the writing of history in Positivist methodology and it differentiated historical consciousness, historical knowledge, and historical sense. Historical consciousness is placed higher than historical knowledge.

In Kerala historical narrative of each period is shaped by the important literary genre of that time. There are two kinds of historical narratives in Kerala. That is Normative and Specific. The normative kind of historical narrative includes legends, Folklore and so on. A specific kind of historical narrative framework has been adapted from contemporary literary genres and history interpreted within it. One of the examples of this type of history production is *MushikavamsaKavya*.³ But Europeans didn't understand our way of historical sense and they neglected it. The colonizers remarked that historical works in India is full of exaggerations and fables. So authenticity and chronology were absent in their works. After the *History of British India* by James Mill, most of the articles and works about history by Europeans and Indians repeated about 'ahistoric' Indians. These articles were also a tool for spreading colonial notions about India and thereby fed the mindset of Indians by colonial false assumption. So the history discussed articles in princely Cochin wanted Kerala people to build up 'authentic' historical knowledge about their society. Actually "The new historical method that ascended to dominance in the colonial period both criticized and delegitimized older narratives of the past but at the same time that these narratives became the raw material

with which the new historians could construct more accurate histories."⁴

Introduced a new kind of history writing method

Pre-colonial Indian historical consciousness is expressed through myths, legends, Grandhavari and so on. The historical consciousness of Kerala is presented in the prominent literary branch of the contemporary period. But Europeans never understand our way of expressing the history and falsely concluded that Indians are 'ahistoric'. They introduced a new methodology that is positivist methodology in India. Positivist methodological history writing is a new knowledge for Indians. That methodology came to British history during the nineteenth century. William Logan's *Malabar* is the first attempt to write a positivist history in Malayalam. The chapters dealt with history in *Cochin State Manual* and *Travancore state Manual* compiled based on positivist history writing methodology and focused on chronology, objectivity, source criticism and narration of facts. The nature of Manuals and Gazetteers set on positivist methodology. The first academic historian in Kerala, K.P. Padmabhamenon's work *Cochirajyacharithram* strictly followed positivist methodology.

In England, antiquarian practices and philosophical history were convergent to form new history writing method. Likewise, pre colonial practices of history and colonial antiquarian practices are combined to form a new method of historical writing in India.⁵ It indicates that the interference of 'native' power in the writing of history.

Identity creation

Even though chosen articles for the present study published in princely Cochin, they concentrated on Kerala history writing. Except for certain mentions about the initiatives to collect sources materials for history writing by Princely Cochin and Princely Travancore Governments, the entire essays focused on Kerala history writing. Articles interestingly discuss sources available for the writing of Kerala history and categorize them based on nature and authenticity. There is a strong relationship that can be seen between history and patriotism. Remarks like "History dealing works are absent in Kerala. Most of the available books dealing with history discuss

foreign history. This is because people attracted to follow the activities of foreigners. People less interested in the activities of Kerala is due to their ignorance in the Kerala history”⁶ is trying to say the strong bond between History and patriotism. This indicates the attempt of identity creation among Kerala people. This is one of the outputs of colonial modernity.

To Participate in Colonial Data Collection Project.

During the British Raj, History is developed as a part of the Pan Indian level Knowledge producing project. Colonial Government itself appointed officials to collect and preserve data about all the localities in India. ‘Native’ people also had an important role in it. As part of this colonial project, Government took initiatives to collect local histories, *nadanpattukal*, customs and rituals at the village levels. During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, a conscious attempt happened to identify historical sources, order them and preserve those sources by colonial Government. Lord Curzon interestingly took initiatives for it. The Governments of Princely Travancore and Princely Cochin were part of it. In princely Cochin, the establishment of archives, preservation of historical monuments was the continuation of this project. But articles criticized that the Government of Cochin has done fewer activities than the Government of Travancore to collect and preserve sources for history. The archaeology department is active in Princely Travancore but in the case of Princely Cochin, there was no special department for archaeology and the activities of the archaeology department conducted by the transportation department. This had been criticized by these articles.⁷

The articles that came under this study mostly deals with the sources for history writing. Kerala needs a written history. Source materials are the main raw material for crafting history. Colonizers criticized people of Kerala as ‘ahistoric’ not only because of the absence of written history but also because of the absence of ‘scientific’ sources to write Kerala history. These articles aimed to make suggestions for practice to collect sources, scientifically arrange them, make scientific data analysis and craft an objective Kerala history. For this purpose

articles firstly discussed the sources for writing Kerala History. Here lots of sources introduced through these articles and arranged them in a hierarchical order based on authenticity. Secondly, articles discuss with available local sources and foreign sources to write Kerala history and how to collect those sources. Lastly, these articles discuss how to scientifically approach and analyse data from the sources. Heuristics and Hermeneutical methods are clearly explained here. How to study myths, legends, *nadanpattukal*, proverbs, rituals, and customs are well explained. The articles gave warning against the authenticity of the travelogues of foreigners and translations of foreign sources. Because foreigners were unaware about our specific customs and tradition. At the same time articles gave encouragements and supported the data collection process done by Europeans during the British raj.⁸ The entire articles focused on objectivity, truth, authenticity, chronology like concepts of modernity. It also tried to ensure a close relationship between history and science.

The articles mention not only the source collection process but also points to the necessity of a discursive space for the reveal these sources to the public. They suggested the formation of organizations like *Kottakal Charitrasamajam* to collect, print and publish collected sources. At the same time magazines which published articles came under the present study also take initiatives for publishing Grandhavaries, temple inscriptions and so on.

As part of an attempt to institutionalize history in Princely Cochin, Archaeology, Archives, Museums were the hub for ‘authentic’ sources for writing Kerala history. “...the formation of colonial archives at the cusp of the transition to colonial rule. It was at this juncture when precolonial narratives of past came into contact with the emerging historical method.”⁹ The colonial government had an important role in the growth of these institutions. The growth of all these institutions happened in the princely Cochin during the first half of the nineteenth century. Conclusion:

Conclusion

- Colonizers failed to understand the hybridity in the historical consciousness. At

the same time, they equalize historical knowledge and historical consciousness. The colonial notion that pre colonial India especially southern India lacked history and historical consciousness was a part of colonial hegemony. But the article published between 1910 and 1930 in Princely Cochin indicates the acceptance of this colonial idea.

- The articles are an attempt to train the people of Kerala to write history in positivist methodology. At the same time, the hidden agenda behind these articles was to support the pan Indian colonial data collection project. One of the main things is the authors of these articles were western educated. The articles show that this generation has to collect sources and the

duty of writing history is assigned to the next generation.¹⁰ But in the princely Cochin after *Cochirajyacharithram*, there is no other attempt to write the history of Princely Cochin or Kerala history in positivist methodology.

- The articles seek to establish not only the involvement of colonial power groups but also the involvement of the 'natives' in the historiography. So the article repeats that the history of Kerala write or materials collection for the writing of the history of Kerala should be done by Keralites.

In short, these articles indicate the attempt of the establishment of history as an independent discipline or institutionalization process of history in princely Cochin.

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STUDIES ON THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KAMATA-KUCHBEHAR.

Binay Barman

The present study 'Historical Geography of ancient and medieval India of Kamata-Kuchbehar, tried to find out the historical geography of Kamata-Kuchbehar region with valid and logical arguments and documents as well as its geo-political background. The early medieval period in eastern India may be starts from probably 7th century A.D. to 8th Century A.D. and its end probably in the beginning of 13th century A.D. During this period some remarkable geographical change took place in the state of Kamarupa (modern Assam) that influenced upon the change of history of Kamarupa proper making an important unit of historical geography

which we intend to deal with here in the present research work.

The historical geography of ancient Kamata -Kuchbehar state was built within the geographical regions of Kamarupa state. According to Pargitar, the early Pragjyotish state includes the present Assam, Kuch-Behar, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Bogura, Mymansingh, Decca, Tripura, Pabna and some parts of Nepal.¹ In the ancient time, Purnia district of Bihar was also a part of Pragjyotish which enlarged up to the Koshi River in the North West.² The Pragjyotish state was build in the age of Epics.

According to Edward Gait, “Prag” means “east” and “Jyotish” means “star” or “astrology” (shining), which means the “City of Eastern Astrology”.³ On the other hand, in the opinion of B. K. Kakati Pragjyotish, means “connected with topographical features of the land rather than any region’s cult, because Pragjyotish was situated on the extensive hill.”⁴ In the fourth century A.D. Pragjyotish became familiar as Kamarupa. We find the proof in the Allahabad Inscription⁵, where the word “Kamarupa-Kamakhya” was carved. And also, in the ‘Jogini Tantra’, we find the description of Pragjyotish state:

“Nepalasya Kanchanadri Brahmaputrashya Sangamang

Karatoya Samashrita Yabaddikkarbasani.

Uttarasan Yajmagiri Karatoyastu Paschime

Thirthasrestha Dikshunadi Purbasayang Girikanyaka

Dakshine Bramhaputrashya lakhyya Samgamadhi

Tringsat Yojana, Bistairna, Dirghen Shatojjonam

*Kamrupang Vijanihi Trikonakar Muktamam.”*⁶

Free translation: So, as detailed in the above-mentioned quotation of ‘Yogini Tantra’ the area of ancient Kamarupa was Kanchagiri of Nepal in the North and confluence of Brahmaputra and Lakshma in the south, Karatoya in the west and Dikshu River in the east.

The Kamarupa was divided into four parts which were known as “Pithas”. The four parts of the Kamarupa were Ratnapith the banks of Karatoya and Swarnakosh river, Kamapith, the area of Swarnakosha and Kapila, Swarnapith, the area of Pushpika Bhoirabi and Saumerpith up to Bhoirabi Dikshu river. But in the *Kalika Purana*, there is a description of Kamarupa. According to this description, the Kamarupa state was in the east up to Lolita Kandahar, in the west up to Karatoya, in the south up to Dikkarbasini, and in the north up to Bhutan.⁷

According to some archaeologists the Kamarupa had extended like a triangle and in the south, it was up to Padma river of Bangladesh and in the east up to Meghna River and in the west up to present Hoogly River. Though,

Ptolemy, a Greco-Roman geographer did not agree with such description.⁸ Hiuen Tsang in his work “Si-u-ki” has noticed some regions of India like Poundrabardhana, Kamarupa, Samatata, Karnasubarna, Tamralipta, etc.⁹

There are many regions in the Kamata-Kuchbegar state. Some important capitals and places of Kamata state are as follows a) Mynaguri, b) Prithurajar Garha, c) Chilapata Garha, etc. In the records of the fourth century A.D., we find the name of the powerful king Sanghaldeep in the east of Karatoya River. Afrasiab, the king of Turan and Sythia started a fight at Ghoraghat with Sanghaldeep. In that battle he was defeated by Sanghaldeep. Most probably Sanghaldeep was the first king of Kamata State. Many scholars believe that the word “Kamata” was not used in the indigenous sources up to 7th century A.D.

In this case, we can say that Sanghaldeep was not the king of Kamarupa as he had fought against the king of Kamarupa and extended his territory in the north up to Bhutan and then Banga, Gour and Bihar. The centre of his kingdom was from Karatoya to Swarnakosha River. During this period the king of Kamarupa was Salasthambha whose territory was within the eastern Kamarupa. The west Kamarupa became an independent state under the leadership of Sanghaldeep. Another important historical place of Kamata is Jalpeswar temple of Jalpaiguri which was built by the king Jalpeswar in the 8th century A.D.¹⁰ In the next period Prithuraja established himself as a powerful king. His capital was in the Bhitargarha or Prithurajar Garha.¹¹

The capital of Kamata kingdom was Kamatapur. In the reign of Kamata kings, this area became the centre of politics. The important places of these regions were Chilapata, Prithurajar Garha, Gosanimari, Singijani, Nalrajar Garha, Chilaroy Garha, etc. After the death of Sanghaldeep in the 7th century A.D. and after the destruction of Pala kings in Kamarupa, we find the historical descriptions of Kamata state. Maharaja Prithu, Sandhya Roy, Niladhaja, Nilambar were some of the powerful Kamata kings.

Finally we can say that the geographical position of India not only determined but also helped in her preservation of her culture. It may

be saying that it protected by the Himalayas in the north, India experienced only a few invasions from the north-west in the ancient times mainly through the Khybarpass. The foreigners were eventually assimilated in the local Indian population, firstly due to the absence of regular reinforcement as well as the fresh wave of new entrants with different racial background. The **studying of historical geography a country's** history and culture, not only that the important of its geography can hardly be over estimated. The physical features of any particular country

determine, to its large extent, the food habit, dress, ornaments of its people, their activities in the material and intellectual fields are regulated accordingly. It is indeed true that climate, fertility of the land and rainfall along with the physical environment shape of the nature of the people living in that particular region, and this features mould their way of life which one might called culture. So, the cultural study of the peoples of any country could well be done in the geographical context.

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FROM PAYAVA TO THE PALLAVA EVOLUTION OF ROCK CUT ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA

Binod Bihari Satpathy

Introduction

Architecture is the art and science of enclosing and decorating the space created by nature. Architecture may be said to include every building or structure raised by human hands. Architecture arises out of an urge to protect oneself from the elements. It is an expression of symbolic desires. The first habitations of man were undoubtedly those that nature afforded, such as caves or grottoes, which demanded little labour on his part to convert into shelters against the fury of the elements, and attacks from his fellows or wild animals. As soon as man rose above the state of rude nature, he naturally began to build more commodious habitations for himself, and some form of temple for his god.

In the process of arranging an abode for himself, man created many kinds of structure with separate purpose. Mankind utilize naturally available materials such as wood, soils, rocks etc. for construction of building. Generally, the architectural activities of man are categories into structural or rock cut. Rock cut was one of the earliest and most durable architectural type men has created on the earth surface.

As the nomenclature suggest 'Rock-cut Architecture' is the creation of structures, buildings, and sculptures by excavating solid rock where it naturally occurs. Rock-cut architecture is designed and made by man from the start to finish. However, caves and caverns, that began in natural form, are not considered to be 'rock-cut architecture' even if extensively modified. Although rock-cut structures differ from

traditionally built structures in many ways, many rock-cut structures are made to replicate the facade or interior of traditional architectural forms. Interiors were usually carved out by starting at the roof of the planned space and then working downward. This technique prevents stones falling on workers below. The three main uses of rock-cut architecture were tombs, cave dwellings and temples.

Rock-cut architecture, though intensely laborious with ancient tools and methods, was presumably combined with quarrying the rock for use elsewhere; the huge amounts of stone removed have normally vanished from the site. Rock-cut architecture is also said to be cut, hewn, etc., "from the living rock". Another term sometimes associated with rock-cut architecture is monolithic architecture, which is rather applied to free-standing structures made of a single piece of stone.

The architecture of any region has influences of its geographical position, climate, social-political conditions and other related factors. In addition to the natural factors, contemporary socio-political, economic and most importantly religious conditions also played pivotal role. It is evident in history that in politically unstable society the importance was given to security than artistic embellishments. Similarly, when the society or state was prosperous, it provided a conducive environment for the development of sophisticated arts¹.

Global History of Rock-Cut Architecture

Ancient monuments of rock-cut architecture are widespread in several regions of world. Alteration of naturally formed caverns, although distinct from completely carved structures in the strict sense, date back to the Neolithic period on several Mediterranean islands e.g. Malta, Sardinia and others². Even in the southern territory of India some evidence of scooped or dressed activity during the Megalithic period has been noticed under the serpent hood shaped natural rock-shelters at Budigepalli³. The Megalithic people in order to keep the skeletal remains of their dead in safe enclosures, selected the hill slopes and excavated the laterite rock. Thus, rock cut architecture started with the purpose of tomb in different part of the globe.

The idea of making rock-cut tomb in real sense was started by the ancient Egyptian.

Among these monuments was the Great Temple of Ramesses II, known as Abu Simbel, located along the Nile in Nubia, near the borders of Sudan about 300 kilometers from Aswan in Egypt. It dates from about the 19th Dynasty (ca. 1280 BCE), and consists of a monumentally scaled facade carved out of the cliff and a set of interior chambers that form its sanctuary⁴.

The Hittite rock-cut sanctuaries around 1250 BCE followed the Egyptian. In the 8th century BCE, the Phrygians started some of the earliest rock-cut monuments, such as the Midas monument (700 BCE), dedicated to the famous Phrygian king Midas. Rock-cut tombs can be even found in Italy dating from the Etruscans in the 5th century BCE. The custom was brought eastward by Darius I, whose own tomb (486 BCE) was carved out of the cliffs near Persepolis. The rock-cut tombs in Lycia on the southern coast of Turkey date from the 4th century BCE; on the front of many of them are temple facades in miniature⁵. It is interesting to note here that in the Mediterranean region and Middle East Rock Cut Architecture was only manifested as tomb.

In course of her journey towards east the Rock Cut Architecture found its greatest creation in Indian subcontinent. Here the Rock-cut technique transformed itself from tomb to shrine and occupies a particularly important place in the history of Indian Architecture. The earliest instances of Indian rock-cut architecture, the Barabar caves, date from about the 3rd to the 2nd century BCE and continued upto late first millennium CE. Subsequently this kind of architecture spread to different part of the subcontinent and found manifestation in different forms. Below are some of the main sites of rock-cut architecture, by date:

Date	Structure type	Location
1450 BCE	Tombs	Thebes, Egypt
700 BCE	Tombs	Lycia and Cyprus
500 BCE	Tombs	Etruria, Italy
500 BCE	Tombs	Etruria, Italy

486 BCE	Tomb of Darius	Persepolis
312 BCE-106 CE	Tombs	Petra, Jordan
300 BCE-200 CE	Tombs	Cyprus
250 BCE	Ajivikas Caves,	Bihar, Eastern India
40 BCE	Jaina Caves	Bhubaneswar, India
100 BCE	Buddhist caityas	Western Ghats, India
100 CE	Buddhist caityas	Northwestern India
100 CE	Houses	Tiermes, Spain
400 CE	Buddhist caves	Dunhuang, China
480 CE	Buddhist caves	Ajanta, India
600 CE	Hindu temples	Elephanta, India
650-750 CE	Hindu temples	Southern India
700-900 CE	Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain caves	Ellora, India
900 CE	Churches	Cappadocia, Turkey
1200 CE	Churches	Lalibela, Ethiopia

Beginning of Rock-Cut Architecture in India

Buddhist literature referred about dwelling of monks in the caves.⁶ The Buddha was said to have allowed the monks to use *guhās* or caves among the other five kinds of dwellings. The Buddha himself is said to have stayed in the natural caves of Saptaparni at Rajagriha⁷. Apart from these early natural caves which were used for habitation, live rock was cut into caves for dwelling and religious purposes in India. The secluded location of the hills, far away from human habitation, with the tranquility necessary for the meditation and religious practices of the

Buddhist and Jaina monks, was responsible for the selection of this kind of site. Soon there was the proliferation of rock-cut monastic and ritual retreats.

In India the practice of rock-cut technology for monumental buildings was, for the first time, initiated during the Mauryan times. The earliest known examples are the caves at Barabar and Nagarjuni hills in Bihar state commissioned during the Maurya ruler or the *Ājivikas*⁸. The architectural features of the group of the Mauryan caves at Barabar and Nagarjuni hills provide ample evidence to comprehend the process of the genesis as well as experimentation of rock-cut architecture. The caves can be broadly categorised into two groups: The first type consists of the caves which have two chambers: the outer chamber is rectangular on plan and the inner one is circular. The caves of the second type include the caves having a rectangular or elliptical plan. Interestingly, the caves do not have any object of veneration carved inside the caves. In the inscription from the caves of the Nagarjuni hill, such as Gopika Cave and Mathika cave, which were excavated under the patronage of the Mauryan king Daśarath, not only mention the word '*kubhā*' but also the mention of '*vāṣa nīṣidīyāyē*' which is quite interesting. The scholars generally translated the word '*vāṣa nīṣidīyāyē*' as some kind of residence during the rainy season⁹.

Here a question appears that what led the Mauryan Emperor to excavate cave in the living rocks for the Ajivikas? Possibly it was because Emperor Ashoka got inspiration from his western neighbor of Mediterranean world. Rock-cut technique was originated in the Mediterranean region and later traversed to the east. As mentioned above there are innumerable rock-cut caves exist in Turkey and other nations. Interestingly some of the caves found in the Anatolia region of Turkey particularly those of Lycia resemble the Mauryan caves in Bihar.

There are caves and sarcophagi with pointed arches in Lycia, moreover carved as if they were wooden structures. Many of them were made in the 4th century B.C.E. As to India, the first cave temples appeared in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.E. They are the caves at Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills built for Ajivikas by King Ashoka. If there is no connection between the two sites located so far apart, it might be

considered only a strange coincidence. However, there exists historical evidence of the eastern expedition by Alexander the Great of Macedonia (reign 336 B.C.E. - 323 B.C.E.), in the latter half of the 4th century B.C.E.

Another place in Turkey is Phrygia, the capital of the ancient Phrygian Kingdom is Gordion, close to 100 km west from Ankara is dotted with ancient rock-cut caves. They are rock caves and rock carvings from the latter half of the 8th century B.C.E. till the first half of the 7th century B.C.E., which means about 500 years before the first cave temples in India appeared, and they were to be related to Lycian caves in the 4th century B.C.E. Many Lycian style rock-cut tombs are found in Necropolises in Caria. The best-preserved are the Kaunos remains located on the opposite bank of the river in Dalyan. The cliff tombs of Kaunos look like Greek temples, and also it is surprising that they are arranged in a row as rock cave temples at Ajanta, India. The largest tomb is incomplete, only the upper parts of the four columns are carved, and it proves that in Lycia, workers started to carve from upper part just like the Indian rock caves¹⁰.

The history of Lycia is almost clear as the ancient epigraphs are deciphered owing to the inscriptions on monuments written together in three languages, Greek, Lycian and Aramaic. According to the inscriptions, the majority of cave tombs and sarcophagi in Lycia were made in the 4th century B.C.E. It is quite probable these forms and techniques were brought to India after the eastern expedition of Alexander the Great late in that century, and influenced the Lomas Rishi Cave at Barabar Hill that is the first cave temple with an ornamented facade in India.

Though there remains no inscription on the Lomas Rishi cave, the plan and interior space suggest that King Ashoka had it made in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.E. together with the adjacent Sudama cave that has an inscription by Ashoka. The technique of excavating rock caves itself might have been brought from Persia to India, not from Lycia. Only the Lomas Rishi Cave has an ornamentally carved facade in the group at Barabar, but there is no similar carving inside. As its design is related directly to the facades of Baja and later caves, it is appropriate to consider that the facade of Lomas Rishi was carried out as a 'trial' for those of later Chaitya caves, perhaps in the 2nd century B.C.E.

Beside the Macedonian invasion the establishment of Mauryan Empire and unification of the Indian subcontinent, transformed India into a new and potent economic force in the Asian world. The Mauryan kings expanded their territory westward and southward until, at its height, the empire stretched northward along the natural boundaries of the Himalayas and westward to Kandahar, which had been founded by Alexander in the 4th century BCE. This brought India into full contact with Greek and Persian culture, and soon Indian spices, copper, gold, silk, and rice began to appear in distant places. Possibly during this time, the idea of Rock Cut Architecture arrived in India through trade connection.

Whatever, may be, the rock-cut architecture had a long tradition in Egypt, Anatolia, and Patra, so the technique was most likely brought to India through Persia, particularly after Asoka. In the centuries to come, this simple beginning was to flower into a tradition of rock-cut buildings that spread throughout Indian subcontinent. This method of rock-cut technology of the Magadhan region in all probability, served as models to the early examples of such rock-cut activity in the Western Deccan, coastal Andhra and Odisha. The beginning of rock-cut technology in the Western Deccan has been noticed at Ajanta, Bhaja, Kanheri, Kondavite and Pitalkhora and this goes back to the 2nd 3rd century B.C. The Odishan examples at Udayagiri and Khandagiri on the other hand, were excavated by the Chedi King Kharavela in the 1st century B.C.¹¹ Rock-cut technology in early Andhradesa can be considered co-eval with the Mauryan experiments or be attributed to a slightly later date.

Rock-cut Caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri. The caves from Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Odisha are second phase of rock cut architecture in eastern India. A group of thirty three caves at the twin-hill site- Udayagiri and Khandagiri throws light on not only early Jain rock-cut architecture but also on the genesis of the early monastic architecture of the subcontinent and most of these caves were dedicated as dwelling retreats for Jain monks¹². Here the **caves are known as 'leṇā, koṭhā** (residential cell) and *pasāda* (shrine/palace)¹³. Many of the caves are excavated by Emperor Kharavela, his family members and officials in

the 1st Century B.C. Probably Emperor Kharavela got inspiration from the caves of Nagarjuni and Barabara hills, cave architecture of western Deccan and Andhradesa for excavating caves for the Jain monks. In the subsequent era the Bhaumakaras and the Somavamsis also patronised rock-cut cave architecture at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Odisha.

Western Deccan: During the Satavahana rule, the *Sangha* flourished with the support of traders. The monasteries building and chaityas proliferated to a larger extent. Apart from the stupa, monasteries are the most impressive remains in the living rock. The Western Ghats became the centre of rock-cut activities due to the routes for the potential followers and patrons linked with Sopara and Arabian seaports¹⁴. As a result of this, more than a thousand excavations came into being. Among these most famous are: Bhaja, Nasik, Junnar, Bedsa, Karle, Kanheri, Kondane, Pitalkhora, Aurangabad, Ellora and Ajanta. Each of these site has at least one chaityagriha and several viharas. These are situated with each other in consistency¹⁵. These caves represent the finest skill of the craftsmen chiseling from top to bottom till finishing of each section before starting new¹⁶. The multi-storey structures, railings, terraces, balconies, lattice windows etc. ones which were predominantly produced in the timber work were literally translated into the living rock.

Rock-cut chaitya shrines of Western India may be divided into two groups representing two phases of development, Hinayana and Mahayana. Among these two kinds of structure, the chaitya hall and the vihara that were copied in the rock-cut manner, the more importance was given to the chaitya hall¹⁷. Rock-cut technique was started in western Deccan in the second century BCE and continued upto late first millennium C.E. Along with Buddhist, caves for the Jain and Brahmanical faith were excavated in this region by various ruling families and merchant classes.

Andhra region-The rock-cut monuments in Krishna-Godavari valley are divided into chaityagrihas, stupas, viharas, and cave temples. All the major religious faiths, viz., the Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism have been affiliated to monumental buildings made with this technology. The earliest rock-cut monument has been reported in the form of a *chaitya-griha* and stupa at Guntupalli, Rampa Errampalem and

Sankaram. Monolithic stupas cut-out of rock-boulders have been reported from Karukonda. Rock-cut temples of the Brahmanical faith have been found near Vijayawada at Bhairavakonda, Gandharikota and Adavi Somanapalli. Few Jain rock cut caves have been noted at Sangamayyakonda. The rock-cut technology in Andhra began to operate from as early as the 3rd century B.C. and continued upto the 12th century C.E.

So far as patronage is concerned, the earliest sites of rock-cut caves located in the fertile tract of Andhra were commissioned by the royalty and chieftains and important officers of the State and merchant communities. The Andhra-Satavahan, Ikshvakus and the eastern Chalukyas of Vengi are the royal patron of Andhra rock cut architecture¹⁸. In pattern, the earliest rock-cut chaityagriha of Andhradesa found at Guntupalli is similar in plan to the circular chaityas at Mahakali and Junnar. The entrance facade of the Guntupalli rock-cut chaitya arch resembles the facade of the Lomas Rishi cave. The chaitya consists of a small circular chamber containing a rock-cut stupa in the centre with a domed roof, surmounted by curved stone ribs resembling an umbrella frame²⁹. At Karukonda, stupas of big size cut-out from living rocky boulders are found. Based on architectural style these cut-out stupas have been dated to the 3rd-4th centuries C.E¹⁹. Apart from the stupas the rock-cut technology was also used to build viharas in Andhradesa. Here, we notice certain interesting features in plan and execution. The vihara sometimes became both a monastic dwelling and a sanctuary as has been observed at Guntupalli, where rock-cut chaitya and vihara were excavated side-by-side. At Guntupalli five rock-cut viharas with rectangular halls and cells have been reported²⁰. The front facade was carved with three doorways, and two cells had windows on either side. These caves resemble the Hinayana counterpart of western India. On paleographic ground these caves are datable to 2nd century B.C.E²¹.

The Jain caves at Sangamayyakonda are carved with simple jamb designed entrance⁴⁶. These caves datable to 12th Century CE are plain and bear the carvings of the Jain Tirthankaras. After these cave rock cut technologies discontinued in the Andhradesa. The rock-cut cave associated with the Brahmanical sects are

found at Mogalrajapuram, Undavalli and Bhairavakonda. Stylistically these caves have been dated to the 9th century C.E. The origins of rock-cut technology in Andhradesa can be traced back to the 3rd century B.C.E and it continued to be used for excavating religious structures upto the 12th century C.E. This technology gradually became less important and then totally disappeared after 12th century C.E. Further, from the early medieval times onwards building of free standing stone temples in almost all sub-regions gained momentum, supported by munificent grants offered by the local chiefs, nobles, and royalty. This hindered the progress of rock-cut technology and finally it disappeared by the 13th century C.E.in Andhradesa.

Emergence of Hindu Rock-Cut Architecture

In the 4th century B.C the Gupta-Vakataka extended their patronage to the Rock Cut Architecture of both Buddhist and Hindu. During the sixth century C.E, the two Great empires- Chalukyas of Badami and the Pallavas of Kanchi in Deccan and Southern India respectively had ushered in an era of vigorous temple activities, reflecting in its mores the mingling of forms and ideals.¹⁰⁶ The Pallava in the Tamil initiated the Hindu rock –cut tradition in the form of *mandapa* and monolith *ratha* temple at Mahabalipuram and other localities in north eastern part of Tamil country. The rock-cut cave temples at Mahabalipuram are an expression of artistic genuine at creating monolithic temple from the living rock²². The Chalukyas of Vatapi erected the multitudinous edifices and structural excavations in that age and simultaneously Elephanta and Ellora cave can be attributed. Jogesvari, on the other hand, implies a long period of excavations and virtually should have got completed only by the time of the Chalukya Rashtrakuta transition. Later the Rashtrakuta rulers concluded the rock cut tradition with the gigantic monolith temple of Kialashnath at Ellora and others cave.

Rock-Cut architecture in India-Findings

From the above discussion following few findings arise:-

- The rock cave was produced throughout the world. The ancient rock caves in the Middle East, including Egypt, were almost all tombs.
- On the other hand, Indians did not produce rock caves as tombs but as monasteries and chapels.
- There may be a possibility that, because of the transmission of the form of cave tombs in the Middle East, Indians might have begun to construct stupas as tombs and chaitya caves to enshrine them. As opposed to the Middle East, where interment was dominant for funerals, sarcophagi were not necessary in India where cremation was. Consequently, only the rock cave tombs were inherited to enshrine stupas where the Buddha's remains were embeded, and they might have come to be used as chapels as well.
- Whether they are tombs or chapels, among the rock caves in the world, those with a pointed arch on the facade, moreover carved as if they were a wooden structure, exist only in Lycia and India. Indian Chaitya caves, influenced by the method of Lycian cave tombs and sarcophagi, developed on a larger scale, and created an imposing barrel-shaped interior space, setting semicircular rafters, even in true timber in certain cases, as if it was a sheer 'rafter structure', so as to match the hemispherical shape of a stupa.
- The rational wooden structure in ancient Lycia transformed into the fanciful wooden-like cave temple in India that cannot exist as an actual wooden building.
- The rock-cut activities are associated all the leading sects of ancient India such as Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism sects.
- The association of Buddhist monasteries along with the trade routes shows that these rock-cut caves were not only the place for meditation but were also exploited as trade centres by the traders.
- The phase of rock architecture extended approximately over a period of more than a thousand years from the time of Ashoka, and is found scattered over different parts of India.
- The rock-cut architecture consists of pillars and pilasters representing the various wooden prototype such as erecting a wooden post into a kalasha full of water, serving both the purpose symbolic and utilitarian. The early chaitya halls are almost

a replica in rock of wooden prototype is evident from their design and execution which are peculiar wooden architecture.

To sum up it is clear that the rock-cut technology arrived in India from Persia but the style of execution definitely traversed from Anatolia through the traders and found expression in Magadha under the Emperor Ashoka. Subsequently, the idea of rock cut caves spread to the Andhra territory and western Deccan and Odisha. In course of time pattern of the cave architecture change owing to the taste of the Patron class and influence of the affiliated

sects and geography of the different region. From rock-cut caves to rock-cut monolith at Mahabalipuram and Ellora for a period of thousand years this mode of architecture persist in the sub-continent. The cave temples in India have no superior in the world in their magnificent carvings and architectural formality, with pillars and beams in systematic order. About 1,200 ancient cave temples still exist, mainly in the Deccan, because they are carved structures on the strong Rocky Mountains. It is to be noted that rock-cut architecture of India are temple not tomb but the idea originated from tomb not temple.

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FROM BACKWATER TO LANDSCAPE: CONTEXTUALIZING THE DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY OF MARINE DRIVE, COCHIN

K.T. Binu

The study entitled '**From Backwater to Landscape: Contextualizing the Developmental History of Marine Drive, Cochin**' analyses the histological transformation of space through a human geographical perspective. It tries to examine the backwater reclamations as a part of urbanization process that has happened in the area from 1920's to the recent days. Marine

Drive is a beautiful promenade located in the heart of Ernakulam, facing the backwater-the Vembanad Lake. It is one of the most popular tourist attractions of Cochin City which has a walkway- starting from Rajendra Maidan to the high court junction including open spaces, boat jetties, shopping malls and hotels, residential and commercial places etc. There are two bridges in

the walkway- the Chinese Fishing Net Bridge and the Rainbow Bridge. It is a popular hangout for tourists as well as local populace, who gather during evenings to view the sunset and feel the gentle breeze coming from the backwater. Marine Drive is constructed by the Greater Cochin Development Authority (GCDA) of Cochin Corporation in 1980's. Mr. Kuldeep Singh is the chief architect of Marine Drive who has drafted the Marine Drive Scheme with two phases of development for GCDA. The first phase has completed with the extension of Marine Drive towards the Gosree Bridge with a new walkway and a bridge- the Kettuvallam Bridge- on 28 April 2013. The second phase of development aims to the extension of Marine Drive up to Vaduthala with a ring road and also plan ning to construct an International Trade Center, Logistic park, Laser dancing centre, Dolphin park etc. Now the place is a major hub of socio- political-economic activities and an important shopping centre of Ernakulam. In early period, Marine Drive area was known as *Alumkadavu* which later transformed into modern Marine Drive as a part of large scale reclamations or expansion of human interactions over the backwater as in the form of reclamations had changed the nature of its space from 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 landscape and redefined it according to urbanization and modern commercial trends.

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 Emakulam as 'Anjikaimal' or a place under five important persons. They were Kaimals of Cheranallur, Kunnathunadu, Pulakkadu, Kurumal kuru 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 Iravivarma*'³ Kerala Mahathmyam and Keralolpathi refer 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 Kechi 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, Kechi was an important centre of spice trade. From the sixteenth century, Kechi 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, Kechi, Kanayannur, Parur and witnessed unprecedented trend of urbanization during the past four decades. 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.

In early period, *Alumkadavu* - the place where Marine Drive is now locating- was 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 Trade boats from long distances especially Kallam, 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 near Sealord 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 Emakulam 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 In 1938, Cochin State had appointed Mr. Dann, the Town Planning officer of Madras Presidency, to prepare a Town Improvement Scheme for Ernakulam town. According to him, "We may without doubt accept the view that the reclamation- for public purposes- will be a great boon to the Town, and will be worth doing even at some considerable financial outlay for which the reclamation may to some extent indirect." The bulk of reclaimed¹¹ area will be reserved for recreation grounds i.e., public building sites, garden spaces and roads.

"Amount of backwater to reclaim- this will depend on the relationship between cost of reclamation and sale value of land. Taking the area which it will be desirable to reclaim for public purposes, i.e, public building sites, recreation and garden space and roads as a fairly fixed quantity. The area to be reclaimed can be settled with reference to the above mentioned formula. An important point bearing on the question is the fact that the coast of reclamation rises in proportion to the width owing to the slope of the bottom levels of backwater."¹²

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'.¹³ Thus Shanmukham Road has regarded as the 'First Marine Drive' reclaimed from backwater.¹⁴ From 1980's the Greater Cochin Development Authority (GCDA) had drafted the Marine Drive Development plan for large scale reclamations from backwater to create a new land for constructing shopping complexes, hotels and apartments. By 1990's GCDA negotiated the Marine Drive Development Scheme for the expansion of commercial and economic activities and thereby to change the place as a major tourist centre.

Thus we can see six stages in the development of modern Marine Drive.

1st stage- there was no large land- a tiny stretch of land projecting towards the backwater- ie, Alumkadavu, a halt of trade boats lead towards the market.

2nd stage- witnessed the disappearance of Alumkadavu and its shore area for constructing Sealord hotel

3rd stage- Reclamation was made for the construction of Shanmukham Road.

4th stage- Large scale reclamations were done and new plain land was created for constructing Marine drive in 1970's.

5th stage- Developmental activities of GCDA- i.e., construction of different buildings, shopping complexes, commercial centers and walkways in the reclaimed land.

6th stage- GCDA's Marine Drive Development Scheme and beatification of Cochin -construction of new walkway upto Gosree bridge.

Spatial Transformations from waterscape to Landscape

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 Marine Drive's context, the backwater itself represented space in the form of waterscape. When the area of Marine Drive was a part of backwater we can call it as a geographical space. In those days, the space was also 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.¹⁵ The Record of administration of 1938 supports foreshore reclamations for public purposes and to create new spaces for recreation and roads. Here human needs or utility of time had played a crucial role in transforming a geographical space like back water to a land. This is the first instance on human interaction to a natural space.

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 to the rich. The old generation recollects, it was treated as a prestigious moment for 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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 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 space to a landscape. Literally the word 'landscape' includes all the visible features of an area of land.¹⁸ Geographically it includes all the landforms and how they integrate with natural and manmade features. It includes physical elements defined as landforms such as mountains, hills, water bodies such as river, lakes, ponds, sea living elements of land cover

including indigenous vegetation, human elements including different forms of land use buildings and structures and transitory elements such as lighting and water conditions. The character of landscape helps to define the self image of the people who inhabit or use it and a sense of place that differentiates one region from the other. Defining a landscape mainly depends upon the context in which it exists.

In the context of Marine Drive, the land transformed to a landscape according to urbanism or to make it a centre of economic activities. Here we can find that, spatial interaction and human behavior are begun to be influenced by economic urges. The land use pattern also changed with the construction of shopping malls, new bridges and walkways therefore within a short span the land is changed to a landscape and is used for multiple economic purposes or resulted in multiple land use that changed the landscape to urbanscape in a wider context. The name 'Marine Drive' got more importance than the past days. Projects and plans like 'Marine Drive Scheme' introduced to concentrate on the particular place. The symbolic representation of the area is different in different periods or contexts. In the past context, from old photographs- Marine drive is depicted by Shanmukham Road and seaload hotel. The memories of old generation also evoked the same picture which represented a space that will be a part of image space. In the present context this particular space has reduced to an object with least importance comparing to other spaces of interaction. Now the space became an area with different building and features and also a hub of economic activities and events. The word Marine Drive now brings the picture or image of three bridges, walkways and open spaces. We can identify the shrinking of space -as open space is sub divided by shopping malls, hotels, apartments etc. Actually the open space or public space is privatized or changed to a 'private space' with luxurious apartments and sky scrapers. Sometimes, entry to these spaces are restricted to a particular group of people- the entry to the star hotels confined to those who have a particular status, entry to luxurious apartments confined only to its owners.

(In 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 by reducing the open space. As a part of this trend, the authorities tried to beautify the walkway and surroundings to attract the populace and thereby to make it as a major tourist spot. Therefore the space is restructured by the modern consumerist mentalities of man. Eventually, the space in urbanscape is transformed to a cultural landscape that consists of material aspects of culture including buildings, recreational facilities, transportation system etc. The shopping malls, walkways and high raise apartments are the facets of cultural landscape that had changed from their early form and underwent rapid changes within short time and aesthetically became the distinctive features of the place. In the present context, spatialization or spatial representations are influenced by consumerist mentalities. Now Marine Drive is a place with different spaces, a place of different symbolic representations, which differentiates it from other region.

Conclusion

Geographically, Marine Drive is a cultural landscape that is changing according to the trends and mentalities of time. Human intervention on backwater transformed it from a geographical space to place through reclamations. We can identify different stages in the transformation of space i.e., from *Alumkadavu* to Seaload Hotel, then to Shamnukham Road, and from the road to Marine Drive and finally to the large scale developmental activities in the landscape. In the old days, the place 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, Marine Drive is not only a popular hangout 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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SEA PORTS OF ANDHRADESA: PEEP INTO THE TRAVELOGUES

J. Chalapathi Rao

Generally the sea ports are the gateways to the sea voyages from the land. The sea coast or estuary is the main source of formation of ports which used for ships to load cargo and passengers voyage. The navigation of ships through ports develops the maritime time trade and improves the economy of the hinterland. India has long coast line classified into western

and eastern coast, both coasts consisted many ports. The eastern coast further divided into Bengal coast and Coromandel Coast. **Arasaratnam mentioned that** "the term Coromandel, widely held to be derived from the classical Tamil regional name Colamandalam, when applied to the eastern coast of India has come to embrace a wider geographic area than

that for which it was originally used. The Coromandel Coast was the wide expanse of **India's eastern coast from point Calimere, where the coastline takes a sharp northerly drift, to near the 20° N Latitude or the port of Ganjam.** It was further divided into two parts, the north and the south, with the Godavari point being the dividing line between the two. In later times the Coromandel Coast proper was held to be to the south of this Godavari point and the north was known as the Gingelly coast or Golconda coast. In modern times the coast lines are addressed with present geographical names of the state like coast of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh coast.¹ In this backdrop an attempt is made to present paper and focus the light on the Ports of Andhra frequented by the Europeans and other seafarers.

Note on Travellers

The travellers from many countries of the world visited India for varied reasons especially during late medieval and early modern periods. They stayed, they saw and they recorded the typical conditions of ports in their travelogues. They described about the ports of Andhradesa that were used for navigation as well as ship building. The Foreign travellers depicted that the sea coast of Andhradesa was good-natured, most commodious for navigation and pleasant for many respects.

Marco Polo (1293- 1295)² was a merchant and celebrated Venetian traveler. Antony Schorer (1614- 1616)³ William Methwold (1616-1633)⁴ basically merchant from England spent his time at Masulipatam, the head quarter of East India Company. Francois Bernier (1658-1668)⁵ was an outstanding Physician among the French travellers. Francois Martin (1664-1694)⁶ was an employee of French East India Company, later became the first Governor of Pondicherry. Jean Thevenot (1666- 1667)⁷ was a French traveller. Thomas Bowrey (1669- 1679)⁸ seems to be an English merchant and sailing master. Jean Baptise Tavernier (1670- 1689)⁹ was a French diamond merchant and made six voyages to the East. Abbe Carre (1672- 1674)¹⁰ was a French missionary and traveller. John Fryer (1672-1681)¹¹ was an English physician. Streysham Master (1675- 1680)¹² was the chief representative of the East India Company in the Bay of Bengal from 1676 to 1681. Butler (1807-1809)¹³ ranked as Serjeant into the second

Battalion of the Royals under the East India Company.

During this period Ganjam and Pulicat were considered as an integral part of Andhra region so that from Ganjam in Orissa to Pulicat in Nellore included here as the Andhradesa ports. They were Ganjam, Chicacole, Bimlipatam, Vizagapatam, Corango (Coringa), Madapollam (Madhavayapalem), Narsapur, Masulipatam, Pettipolee (Peddapalle) or Nizampatam, Motupalle, Karedu, Kottapatnam, Ramapatnam, Kistnapatnam, Armagon (Dagarazpatnam) and Pulicat. **Bowrey remarked that "Corango (Coringa), Vizegapatam (Visakhapatnam), Bimilipatam (Bhimilipatnam), Wattara (near Pentakota in Vizagapatam district), Manichapatam" were safe coasts.**¹⁴

Ganjam, Chicacole and Bimlipatam

The northern most port of Coromandel or Gingelly coast was Ganjam, situated at the mouth of the river Rushikulya. It was better known in the records in the eighteenth century than it was in the seventeenth. It was typical of the river-mouth ports of Coromandel Coast. The surf was heavy and large vessels anchored on the roadstead. They were reached by the many local boats that operated from the river. It was an important port in the coastal trade southwards to Madras, Pulicat and other places, where rice was in demand.¹⁵ Srikakulam popularly known as Chicacole a town on the coast of the modern Ganjam district, situated about four miles from the sea on the Nagavali river¹⁶ About the Bimlipatam port, Streysham Master explicated that the Dutch had settled at Bimlipatam in the Vizagapatam District in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was four leagues from Vizagapatam a fairly good trade was carried by Dutch.¹⁷

Vizagapatam or Gingerlee

Streysham Master articulated that '**Gingerlee or Gingalee** was the seventeenth century term for the coast between the estuary of **the Godavari and the Jagannath Pagoda**' in Orissa¹⁸ Bowrey informed that Gingerlee coast was the most pleasant with vast sea coast and commodious for navigation which was pleasant in many respects. It had many good harbours and stated clearly that the Gingerlee coast was in **between the "Coromandel" and "Orissa" Coasts.** It was more commonly known to mariners as the

Golconda Coast.¹⁹ But Pringle Consultations for 1684 suggested that Gingerlee and Vizagapatam were identical. It seems that the town at first known as Gingerlee and was subsequent called by the native name of Vizagapatam.²⁰

Coringa Port

Coringa was a principal port on the eastern coast of India situated on the mouth of river Godavari and located nine miles south-west of Kakinada. Coringa was the place where large vessels were docked and repaired besides building and repairing of small crafts. But the glory of Coringa waned as it was subjected to frequent inundations of the sea and to the effects of hurricanes and storms. It was stated that the rising of the sea in 1784 A. D. was so high that vessels were actually drifted.²¹

Madapollam Port

Madapollam (Madhavayapalem) was not only a port but also flourishing ship-building and manufacturing station, as well as a health resort when Thomas Bowrey visited. An attempt was made by the English to found a factory at Madapollam early in 1662 A. D. but it was not materialized till some years that it was in full swing as a “subordinate” to Fort St George. English East Indian Company established their factory at Madapollam near Narsapur in West Godavari District. It was most commodious port in the East coast next to Gingerlee.²² At Madapollam the East India Company had a very splendid house, ware-house, out houses and gardens which were all well situated upon the side of the great river Godavari that merged into the sea.²³ Fryer wrote in 1673 A. D. that Madapollam as a sanatorium for the factors at Masulipatam and remarks that the English had a “wholesome seat there.”²⁴ The healthiness of Madapollam was the reason for its popularity with the factors on the Coromandel Coast.

Narsapur Port

Narsapur was a sea port as well as a ship building centre, situated on the western bank of the Vasishta or the most southern branch of the Godavari. It was about six miles from the sea²⁵ where the large and airy marketplace was close to the landing-place from the canal. Peter Williamson Floris, a Dutchman who was employ in the English Company transacted trade and

extracted from his voyages “there is an excellent harbour for ships of the largest size, was well known more than two centuries ago for its docks for the building and repair of large vessels.”²⁶ Streyntsham Master stated that Narsapur was a very large piece of ground divide into two large quadrangles, in one of which as many forges as three hundred smiths might worked in them and another down to the river side upon the sand dunes laid many vessels which were employed in that great rice trade.²⁷ Francois Martin, the first governor of Pondicherry, wrote that Narsapur produced enough printed cloth to be shipped to the eastern coast and Persia.²⁸ The trade of the town had steadily declined since the abolition of the company's factory in 1827 A. D.

Masulipatam Port

Probably Masulipatam was the major port of the Kingdom of Golconda and all exports and imports had been undertaken through it. Thomas Wright referring to Rennell quoted that it “is a city and port of trade, near the mouth of Krishna River; and appears to be situated within the district named Mesolia by Ptolemy.”²⁹ Bernier asserted that generally received etymology and the modern rendering of the vernacular name Masulipatam or Machhli-patnam means ‘Fish Town’.³⁰ Bowrey also explained that *Metchli* means fish and *patam* or *patanam* a town. First it was given to the reason of the abundance of fish caught there for supplying to many countries, cities and inland towns but later much merchandize increased even the fishing trade was very inconsiderable still it was called with the said name.³¹ Methwold stated that Masulipatam, “was first a poor fisher town, from whence it took the name it yet retains; afterwards the convenience of the road made it a fit residence for merchants”.³² Schorer informed that Masulipatnam, called by some ‘Bandar’³³ which was still known locally by the name. Bowrey declared that for having a reasonable good harbour and the convenience of the Krishna River that ran up to the town side, many ships and vessels travelled to lay their commodities there. Several of the merchants’ vast stocks in the goods were transported in their own ships as well as in English ships or vessels.³⁴ The town was on the sea shore and renowned of its anchorage which was the best in the Bay of Bengal. It was the sole place from which vessels sailed for Pegu, Siam, Arakan,

Bengal, Cochin China, Mecca and Hormuz and also for the islands of Madagascar, Sumatra and the Manillas.³⁵ Thevenot informs that it lies in the coast of Coromandel but it was intolerably hot from March till July.³⁶ Serjeant Butler stated that it was not only intolerably hot but when clouds of sand blew liked to be suffocated.³⁷

Divi Island

Abbe Carre informed that Divi Island was sixteen miles to the south of Masulipatam, at the mouth of the river Krishna and was joined to the mainland by the time of his visit³⁸ **'gives its name to Point Divi.'**³⁹ Arasaratanam informs it was **known to contemporaries as Devy Island 'which was not right place for a harbour or any form of outlet of trade.'**⁴⁰ The place had advantage of being defensible from attacks from the mainland and would have made them independent of the hinterland power.

Pettipolee (Nizampatam)

Pettipolee (Peddapalle) was a trading port where Portuguese, Dutch and English had established their factories and ran their business. Bowrey informed that it was one of the first places on the Coromandel Coast at which the English made a settlement that later known as Nizampatam. Streyntsham Master notified that English people called it Pettipolee but the native people refer to it as Nizampatam.⁴¹ It was a very pleasant and healthy place situated in a sandy bay called Pettipolee bay.⁴² Schorer stated that it was about forty eight leagues north of Pulicat which was under the rule of the king of Golconda.⁴³ Streyntsham Master informed that the river was deep and many vessels of 50 to 80 or even 100 tons were anchored in it.⁴⁴ He further informs that some merchants of Pettipolee had given an offer to provide goods at cheaper rates than the merchants of **Masulipatam and 'not to receive money before the delivery of the goods.'**⁴⁵ Bowrey apprised that English valued it as **"a great Place for sault and large in compass... lying commodiously for the investment of the fine cloth, ramalls and allejaes yearly produced in these parts, besides a quantity of saltpetre upon occasion."**⁴⁶

Motupalle

Motupalle was an important Andhra port during the medieval period located in the present day Prakasam district about one hundred

seventy miles north of Madras. Mackenzie informed that **"on the coast is Motupalle, now an insignificant fishing village, but identified as the port where Marco Polo landed in 1290 A.D. It was much used as a landing place for shores for the French troops a Guntur a hundred years ago."**

⁴⁷ **Motupalle was "about 8 leagues to the north, north-east of Gondegam, is a small village half a mile inland, not discernible from a ship; but with the assistance of a glass, a small pagoda is perceptible. There are about twenty detached palmyra-trees to the northward of the landing-place, and about a mile to the southward, a thick grove of trees with clump on its southern part higher than the rest."**⁴⁸ W. Hamilton said that **"Mutapali, a town situated near the south extremity of the northern circars. A considerable coasting trade is carried on from hence in the craft navigated by natives."**⁴⁹

Karedu

Karedu was one of the ancient ports of trade in Andhra.⁵⁰ Streyntsham Master informed **that it is in Kandukur, Nellore District "which is a sea port and the best town on the road hitherto. Sevrall Boates were in the River, which we boarded, and tis allmost steep to."**⁵¹ **"The river (the Manner) that runs into the sea at this town, they say, comes from a fresh spring out of the mountains (the Veligonda Hills) to leagues off, and the water is fresh but 2 miles up the river from the towne."**⁵² The customs duties were comparatively lesser than that of Masulipatam and merchants were importing and exporting goods in some quantity.⁵³ Thomas Bowrey informs that it a seaport and the best town on the road which is now of no value as a port.⁵⁴

Kottapatnam or Ramapatnam Minor Ports

There are some minor ports such as Kottapatnam and Ramapatnam which were shipping piece goods in small vessels to the larger ports of the north and south. Kottapatnam was the northernmost port in Nellore District. It is a town stands in the road and nine miles distant from Armagon. From this port the customs yielded nearly nine hundred pagodas annually.⁵⁵ There was a tradition that after a quarrel between Balija and Komati traders in the adjoining port, the Komatis migrated in a body to Kottapatnam and established their trade.⁵⁶

Kistnapatnam

Kistnapatnam, in Nellore District, has a fine backwater, with good anchorage.⁵⁷ It was a chief port for the inland district administrative and market town of Nellore and situated on the left bank of the Vuputheru river. The shallow river was navigable through small boats up to twenty-five miles. As the Nellore district was weaving area which allowed the transport of piece-goods to Kistnapatnam for shipment.⁵⁸

Armagon or Dagarzpatnam

Usually the name Armagon must denote the small port at the north end of the Pulicat lagoon, where the English Company built a fort in 1626 A.D. ⁵⁹ The true name of Armagon is Duraspatam or Dagarazpatnam.⁶⁰ It was about fifteen miles south of Kistnapatnam situated on a river and a port of some significance in the seventeenth century.⁶¹ There was good anchorage for ships near the entrance to the river and large European vessels used to call their regularly in the early seventeenth century. It was an important place for the export of textiles which were made in neighbouring hinterland villages.⁶²

Pulicat

Pulicat was a sea port situated twenty three miles north of Madras. Dutch had established their factory there in 1609 A.D.⁶³ Probably, it was one of the earliest Dutch settlements in India. Pulicat was considered as the last laying in the southern most limit of the Telugu speaking region. Pulicat was a town on the southern extreme of an island at the south end of a lake with same name. Formerly, it was a centre of trade with Penang and the Straits settlements. It was used as a sanatorium for Madras but due to malaria fever its usage was discontinued and later completely deserted. Bombay duck and prawns were the main trade goods those were exported from the town.⁶⁴ **‘The people were employed mostly in knitting cotton stockings, which they export for the use of all the European factories in India.’**⁶⁵

Conclusion

The sea ports are the gateways to the ocean voyages. They are formed at sea coast or on estuaries that uses for ships to load cargo and

passengers voyage. The navigation of ships through ports develops the maritime time trade as well as improves the economy of the hinterland. India has long coast line classified into western and eastern coast, the later further divided into Bengal coast and Coromandel Coast. **Arasaratnam mentioned that ‘the term Coromandel, widely held to be derived from the classical Tamil regional name Colamandalam’.** In modern times the coast lines are addressed with present geographical names of the state like coast of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh coast. The travellers from many countries of the world not only visited India but also Andhradesa for varied reasons especially during late medieval and early modern periods. They described about the Andhradesa ports, were good-natured, most commodious for navigation, ship building and pleasant for many respects. The northern most port of Andhra coast was Ganjam. Coringa was the place where large vessels were docked and repaired besides building and repairing of small crafts. It seems that the Vizagapatam town at first known as Gingerlee which had many harbours. The Madapollam port got popularity for its healthiness on the Coromandel Coast. Narsapur was a sea port as well as a ship building centre, situated on the western bank of the Vasishta or the most southern branch of the Godavari. Probably Masulipatam was the major port of the Kingdom of Golconda and all exports and imports had been undertaken through it. Pettipolee (Peddapalle) or Nizampatam was a trading port where Portuguese, Dutch and English had established their factories and ran their business. Motupalle was an important Andhra port during the medieval period located in the present day Prakasam district. Karedu was one of the ancient ports of trade in Andhra that situated in Nellore district. Kottapatnam and Ramapatnam were small minor ports which were shipping piece goods in small vessels to the larger ports of the north and south. Kistnapatnam was in Nellore District, has a fine backwater, with good anchorage. Armagoan or Dugarazapatam was an important place for the export of textiles which were made in neighbouring hinterland villages. Pulicat was considered as the last laying in the southern most limit of the Telugu speaking region.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF Dr. BABASAHEB. AMBEDKAR TO DALIT (SUBLTERN) HISTORIOGRAPHY

Chandrakant, N Koligudde

Introductions

Historiography, understood normally as 'history of history', is truly a discipline that examines histories written by historians. The purpose is to review the way or ways historians are looking at history, so that we can improve upon our knowledge of the past in its various dimensions and identify newer tools and paradigms of making the study of the past as objective, as comprehensive and as inclusive as possible. In the absence of historiographic studies our knowledge of past is likely to remain stagnant, may become stereotype and disinteresting, and even disgusting. As a machine requires overhauling, so also historical enquiry needs overhauling to keep satisfying to the requirements of the changing a time and demanding society.

In the context of Indian historiography, one is well aware of the way in which approaches to the study of Indian history have changed through time. There was a time when Indians were accused of lack of historical sense. But later on when the study of Indian history assumed the proper path, it became clearer and clearer that Indians did not lack in historical sense. What they lacked was a *regular* tradition of recording objective history. Indian epigraphs, over a lakh in

number according to an estimate, are ample proofs of historical sense of the Indian, and, to an extent, even of keeping reliable record of events. Ever since the attempts to understand and **reconstruct India's past began, the perception of her ancient past has been undergoing change. And this changing perception of India's ancient past has been perceived well by modern scholars.** The change of perception of the past in Indian context may be attributed to certain principal factors which may be listed as follows:

1. Discovery and accumulation of fresh historical data from variety of sources
2. Attitude of the historian using these data for historical reconstruction
3. The historical environment in which the historian belongs
4. Changing perceptions about the use of history It may be postulated that these factors may collectively affect the

Nature and course of historiography as well as **historiography's multiple strands in a particular period.** Romila Thapar has provided an excellent account of the course of developments in the writing and understanding of Early Indian history and culture

Ambedkar's contributions are not only significant in writing Indian history but in evolving a Method which is more relevant even for contemporary historians of different schools. Ambedkar came to forefront in Indian academics from the decade of nineties with the intensified struggles of Dalits. The struggles of the ordinary people forced the centers of power and knowledge to consider the importance of Ambedkar and his ideas in social reconstruction of the nation. With Ambedkar as the source of inspiration, Dalits are struggling to write their own history by interrogating the dominant Brahminical traditions. The relevance of Ambedkar has to be read with the fifty years developments of Post-Ambedkar of post independent India. His approach to Indian society and history are crucial in understanding contemporary India and the struggles of the oppressed. **Ambedkar's notion of history is identified with 'moral community' imbued with the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity.** His historical method borrows tools from Marxism in understanding the ancient history. Rather than mechanically applying Marxism, he had creatively used it in keeping the specific context of Indian society. He approached Indian society from the point of religion and finds the religion as source for the different ideological position. For instance, Buddhism is considered as revolutionary and Hinduism as counter revolutionary. **'Rationality' is the guiding principle in evaluating the principles and practices of religion. For the claims of religion he applied rationalistic principle. He brings the religion as a focal point in reference to caste system. To construct the Indian history in proper perspective, he availed of all the convincing ideas of his times, from liberal to Marxist. This may go in tune of pragmatism, especially John Dewey the pragmatism of Ambedkar differs from the context of Western societies. The pragmatic method of Ambedkar came out of his social responsibility and in presenting the history from the victim's point of view. In essence he made a serious attempt in constructing the Indian history in which one finds dignified place for 'Sudras' and 'untouchable communities'. Ambedkar is a source of inspiration for contemporary Dalit movement and so for constructing history from Dalit point of view. Dalit historiography establishes its own method by challenging the**

Colonial, Nationalist, Marxists and Subaltern approaches of Indian historiography.

HIS WORK'S

Administration and finance of the east india company, Ancient Indian Commerce Annihilation Of Caste, Buddha Or Karl Marx , Buddha And His Dhamma, Castes In India Commercial Relations of India in the Middle Ages, Communal Deadlock And a Way to Solve it, Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability- 1, Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability- 2, Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability- 3, Evidence Before The Royal Commission On Indian Currency And Finance, Federation versus Freedom, Frustration, India and The Pre-requisites of Communism, India on the eve of the crown government, Lectures on the English Constitution, Maharashtra as a Linguistic Province, Manu and the Shudras, Mr. Gandhi And The Emancipation Of The Untouchables, Need for Checks and Balances, Notes on Acts and Laws, Notes on History of India, Notes on Parliamentary Procedure, Pakistan or the Partition of India , Paramount and the claim of the Indian states to be independent, Philosophy of Hinduism, Plea to the Foreigner, Preservation of Social Order, Ranade Gandhi & Jinnah, Review : Currency & Exchange, Review : Report of the Taxation Inquiry Committee, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Ancient India, Riddle in Hinduism, Small Holdings in India and their Remedies, Statement of Evidence to the Royal Commission on Indian Currency, States and Minorities, The Constitution of British India, The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, The Present Problem in Indian Currency, The Present Problem in Indian Currency , The Problem of Political Suppression, The Problem of the Rupee, The Untouchables and the Pax Britannica, The Untouchables, Who were they and why they became Untouchables, Thoughts on Linguistic States, Untouchables or the Children of India, Waiting for a Visa, What Congress and Gandhi have, done to the Untouchables?, Which is worse? Who were the Shudras?, With the Hindus. Dr. Babasaheb above mentioned vast writing will be act as the light house to the coming every generation. On 31st January 1920 he started his first weekly 'Mook Nayak', envisaged as a medium to articulate the voice of the untouchables' in their struggle against the age-old system of caste.

His fourth book- Provincial De-centralization of Imperial Finance in British India, published in June 1921, attempts to unravel the economic situation of India during British rule.

The fifth book- The Problem of a Rupee - Its Origin & Its Solution, published in March 1923, talks about the History of Indian Currency and Banking and how the Indian banking system functioned in order to sustain the Indian economy.

His sixth book- The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, published in 1925 **brings out Ambedkar's Economic Ideas**, Decentralization of provincial finance in British India, Public Finance, Economic History of India and Indian Economic Thought. His second weekly 'Bahishkrit Bharat', was started on 13th April 1927, aimed at debating morality and advancing the material progress of the untouchables. Another weekly 'Janata', began publishing on December 19307.

His seventh and most read- Annihilation of Caste was published in December 1935, was a speech of Dr. Ambedkar that has become a historic document, dwelling on the ideas of the annihilation of caste in India. Commenting on **such huge Babasahe's writing is really beyond** the scope of this work, while summarising about his individual writings one must consider his way of annihilating strategy of casteism, Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal, Lahor who have so very kindly invited him to preside over this Conference, under the theme Annihilation of Caste in 1936 as Annual Conference, at that time he was invited as the president to preside over the session. It is not possible to break Caste without annihilating the religious notions on which it, the Caste system, is founded it was the opinion of Babasaheb. The Conference was to meet in Easter but was subsequently postponed to the middle of May 1936. The Reception Committee of the Mandal has cancelled the Conference. At the start, a dispute arose over the printing of the address. Babasaheb desired that the address should be printed in Bombay. The Mandal wished that it should be printed in Lahore on the ground of economy. He published thousands of copies of the speech which was prepared by him as the part of diagnosis of caste Hindu. He thought that —Hindus must realize that they are the sick men of India and that their sickness is

causing danger to the health and happiness of other Indians.

The eight book- Federation Vs Freedom, published in January 1939, lays down the birth and growth of Indian federation, its structure and the character of the federation. The ninth book- Thoughts on Pakistan, published in December 1940, engages with the politics of partition and communal politics arguing for minority protection under the new constitution in India

His tenth book- Mr. Gandhi & the Emancipation of the Untouchables published in December 1942, argued how the untouchables have been cheated by Mr. Gandhi and points out the hollowness of programs that were implemented for their development. In the comparative analysis of- Ranade, Gandhi & Jinnah, published in January 1943, he problematise the three historic personalities and does a comparative analysis of these personalities and the social impact they have made in India.

His eleventh publication- What Congress & Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, published in June 1945, analyses through historical facts and figures about what the Congress and Gandhi have done unravelling their hypocrisy and double standards when it comes to _untouchables.

His twelfth book- Who Were the Shudras?, published in October 1946 brought to light how they came to occupy the Fourth Varna in the Indo-Aryan Society.

His thirteenth book- States & Minorities, published in March 1947, explains how the minorities should be protected and how their rights and development should be planned by the state.

His fourteenth book- The Untouchable, published in October 1948 talks about the history of untouchables and how untouchables became so in India.

His fifteenth book- Maharashtra as Linguistic Province, October 1948, showed the difficulties arising out of Linguistic Provinces, its advantages and the solution for its problems. This was followed by his sixteenth book- Thoughts on Linguistic States, published in December 1955, arguing about the creation of

linguistic state, the advantageous and disadvantageous and the solution for the same. His last and most popular book- Buddha & His Dhamma, was published in 1957. The book was **a treatise on Buddha's life and on the basic tenets** of Buddhism. Currently this book is revered by Buddhists all over the world. Finally it must be noted that in each of his books, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar lays down the most sophisticated ideas of a critical and an emancipatory politics which none can disregard if they are to seriously engage with the Indian reality

In his comparative writings of Buddha and Karl Marks he excavated lot of teaching of Buddha hardly anyone knows that what the Buddha taught is something very vast: far beyond Ahimsa⁸. The tenets of Buddha are very vast, he had understood them from reading of the Tripitaka : Man and morality must be the centre of religion. If not, Religion is a cruel superstition; it is not enough for Morality to be the ideal of life. Since there is no God it must become the law of life. The function of Religion is to reconstruct the world and to make it happy and not to explain its origin or its end. The above stated lines as he wrote itself shows that how **the Buddha's** teaching is the only teaching depends upon the reality not the myths? Such pure teaching of Buddha he was used to destroy the superstitious belief on non existing things.

Dr. Ambedkar had a visionary conception of democracy, which needs to be —rediscovered⁹ today. But going beyond that, we must also enlarge this vision in the light of recent developments⁹. While Dr. Ambedkar was far ahead of his time in stressing the link between political and economic democracy, perhaps he failed to anticipate the full possibilities of political democracy itself. He thought that in the absence of economic democracy, ordinary people would be powerless. Also, he thought of political democracy mainly in terms of electoral and parliamentary processes. In both respects, his assessment was highly relevant at that time. Today, however, we are constantly discovering new forms of democratic practice, in which people are often able to participate even if economic democracy is nowhere near being realised.

In his most research oriented book of Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Ancient India, he was not only written that the Buddha

was revolution, but also the first Social Reformer and the greatest of them all is Gautama Buddha. Any history of Social Reform must begin with him and no history of Social Reform in India will be complete which omits to take account of his great achievements

In his book of Riddle in Hinduism after doing in detail study and research on it he has strongly recommended that "The Veda has no authority, since it has the defects of falsehood, self-contradiction, and tautology. That verbal evidence, which is distinct from such as relates to visible objects, i.e., the Veda, has no authority. Why? Because it has the defects of falsehood etc

The introspective, logical and thoughtfully **expression of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's** writings on not only on the issue like Riddles in Hinduism, but also in all writings very pure and scientific investigation has come into exist. In **retrospect, Dr. Ambedkar's vision** of the Dhamma as a universal code of ethics was perhaps a little naive. Personally, I doubt that there will ever be a universal code of ethics. Diversity, including the diversity of ethical codes, is an intrinsic and welcome feature of social living. **Dr. Ambedkar's devotion to the Buddha's teachings** occasionally jarred with his commitment to critical enquiry and independence of mind. Having said this, his recognition of social ethics as an essential ingredient of democracy has not lost its relevance. If democracy is just political competition between self-interested individuals (as in the —median voter¹ model and other theories that pass for —political economy¹ today), it will never succeed in bringing about liberty, equality and fraternity. In Particular, it will never do justice to minority interests.

The untouchable occupy the lowest rank of Hindu caste system and thereby the fateful destiny of being regulated as the outcastes¹⁰. Through the writing of Indian constitution he has not only raised the status of outcaste but also the status of all strata of women by the provision of many fundamental rights such as article no 14 strongly speaking on the equality before the law and equal protection of the law with irrespective of the caste, gender and place of birth. One of the most important contributions of **Dr.BR Ambedkar's life and his achievements in those** dark ages towards lifting the spirits of his fellow caste brethren is to inspire, to liberate their mind that has, for many millennia, come to accept

manacles and servitude impressed on them. Believed that, they are born to serve the 'twice born' and their existence is only as slaves. But Ambedkar thought that historical evidence was overwhelmingly against the hope of internally saving Hinduism, and therefore the structurally unchangeable Hinduism had to be discarded. For him it was not merely a question of saving the Untouchables, but it was saving India as a nation through saving Untouchables.

Dr. Ambedkar held that there were two qualitatively different groups which had not only been historically central, but continued to be central, to social organization and social dynamics. Contemporary Constitutional authority, Granville Austin has described the Constitution of India as 'first and foremost a social document with three broad objectives-ensuing unity, democracy and creating a social revolution'¹³. The Constitution of India bears the impression of **Dr. Ambedkar's thought as a key instrument for National Reconstruction**. He was the lone speaker at the Constituent Assembly of 1946, which discussed the framework of future Constitution to underline the need to build up a cohesive society¹³. —Our difficulty is how to make the heterogeneous mass that we have today take a decision in common and march on the way which leads us to unity. Our difficulty is not with regard to the ultimate; our difficulty is with regard to the beginning. Ambedkar felt that the 'untouchables' had lost their individuality for centuries; it was impossible to wake up such people through speeches and slogans. He decided to revolt against the blind beliefs of the Hindus. The Chowdar Tank Satyagraha was a result of this decision.

MAJOR THRUSTS OF DALIT HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the present intellectual and cultural climate in India, a major desideratum is the historiography of resistance, both the articulate and hidden forms of resistance. The implicit and silent forms of resistance have not attracted the

same scholarly treatment. This is to a large measure, due to the relatively underdeveloped state of cultural history, as silent resistance generally manifests itself in the domain of culture. Recovering the meaning of silence, along with the articulate, and contextualizing it in relation to the social forces should therefore form the agenda of new alternative historiographies, especially of the Dalit Historiography, as distinct from the textual analyses that currently crowd the cultural studies. The following sections deal with the main philosophical and hermeneutical thrusts and signposts, which would make of the Dalit Alternative Historiography, grounded, contextualized and related to the flesh and blood concerns of the marginalized of the society.

GENEALOGY AS A TOOL OF DALIT HISTORIOGRAPHY

Genealogy is a tool of investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are thinking and doing. It is contrasted with the Historical Schools of the Dominant Historiography. Genealogy looks at history from below, from the bottom to top and not from top to bottom. Foucauldian genealogy is indeed a Dalit historiographical tool for recording the histories of Dalit everydayness. Genealogical method helps to overcoming the privileging of time as a metaphor of history and progress, to privileging space. This, in turn, helps us to overcome the gap between history and memory, especially in the context of the everydayness of the Subalterns.

Conclusion

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is known for his versatility. His interpretation of the Philosophy and his historical analysis throws new light on the thoughts. He believes Human Values are based on liberty, Equality and on Fraternity. Babasaheb Ambedkar was straight forward and realistic; he was above bias and Prejudice.

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HEROIC STONES IN ATTAR TALUK AT SALEM DISTRICT – A STUDY

S. Deepalakshmi

INTRODUCTION:

Salem city in the fifth biggest city of the state is located in the northern central Zone of Tamilnadu. In the ancient times the Salem District was part of the kingdom of kongu and before which it was a part of the region under the region of king adhiyaman, Cholas, Nayakkas, Tipu sultan and the British. A lot of heroic stones were found in the Salem region the custom of people living as caste or region specific group washing practice since, old ages in Tamil Nadu Salem region was predominantly of the type of red soil of karisal soil and the cattle war consider the only source of income for the people who lived in those ages nothing the capitals which belongs to one set buy the other set was the point of conflict between these groups or sects of two oldest Tamil people who lived in the Kongu region. The height of valor by the soldier of the sect and it has brought laurels to their group. The soldiers who succumbed during those fights while recovering the cattle were laid to rest without most respect and dignity by erecting heroic stones in memory of their valor. A good number of Heroic Stones found in the Attur Taluk at Salem District of Tamil Nadu

ATTUR HEROIC STONES :

Attur in a first grade town ship in Salem District, situated in the south of Vashishtariver on 4th January 1965, it was up graded to township from municipality According to lebon an Englishman,¹ Who made the Salem District hand book, it was originally Aattrur. Later it because Attur. As the city in situated on the river side it is called Attur². The Memorial stones were

found in this famous Attur, like Oorkathankal, Prison rescue stone, Saint stone, Puli kuthipattaa kal (Tiger stone). Pandri kuthi pattaa kal (pig stone), satikal, There are many different types of stones.

VEDUKATHANPATTI VEERAKAL

Here, stone depicting war heroes were sculptured. In this two soldiers are in land, one horse fighting soldier and one separate horse also there. Being the soldier supper on the hand is not known. Small knife is seen the waist the hair of soldier on the horse. Rival in holding the hair of soldier and his right hand sword seems to be piercing the heart. Near the two soldiers the third soldier holds spear head on left hand and the horse on the left showing that he is be ready for race. One horse was found without the soldier. Probably he could have died “Kettimudali dynasty ruled their area in 16th century. During 1659 B.C and 1667 BC they fought war favoring Madurai nayaks. So the above inscription were in the remembrance of them.⁴

KOTTAI KAVUNDANPATTI SATHI STONE:

Sathi stone and square type stone sculpture were found here. It had, The soldier having structured kondai lace on left side jewels on ear knife on right hand with pointed edge facing ground on left side of the soldier. It also his wife with folded hands, her ear with jewels, bangles in wrist shows her as sumangali.

DEVIKURICHI NADUKARKAL:

This was found in the agricultural land of sculptor situated on the south bank of vasistariver. Structured kondai and decimated

face, gives an impression that sculptor could have been repaired with cement. It shows the soldier rings Dhusha panga posture wearing neck shoulder rings,Vaguvalayam,armed chest with an arrow on right hand and bow on the left hand.⁵

ATTUR PULIKUTHIPATTAN STONE:

This is kept in Selliamman temple, Attur fort it has a soldier sitting on the top of tiger with structured kondai with tilted head posture. Aaram around neck bracelet on hand left hand holding tiger tightly and his right hand piercing the tiger neck with sword. It is shown as if the tiger is biting his hand. This heroic stone was laid for the deceased soldier who saved public and animals from tiger.⁶

AARAGALUR NADUKARKAL:

Aaragalur is a village Situated 6 km away from Thalaivasal, Attur Taluk Salem District since it was Surrounded by six trenches it got its name Aaragalur. Aaragalur Navakandam heroic stone is situated in faming land in vellipalayam. It has a hero with broad moustache, his hair dressed in the back and ear rings are seen sword on the right hand is shown as if he himself is piercing his own head also sarabali in neck with decimated right hand are present no written inscriptions on that.⁷

AARAGALUR AYYANAR KOIL SATHI STONE:

It is found under Ayyanar temple tree. Head and face are decimated neck jewels are faded. Vaagivalayam, bracelet left hand rested on thigh is shown waist dress is beautifully sculptured with a small sword, Right hand is shown with a sword.⁸

THULUKANUR PAMBATTAN KAL:

It was found on the outskirts of Thulakanur. Sun and moon are shown. It has a

hero on a standing posture, Holding snake on his left hand in waist dress. This heroic Stone could have been laid for a hero who died while trying to save people from snake.⁹

YELUPULI HEROIC STONE:

It is situated on the Kariakoil river bed Hero shown in Thiribanga or body in a bend position well structured kondai in his right side neck lace shoulder rings bracelet in wrist showed hero in exemplary way. The type of weapon holding in his right hand its not shown clearly near to hero, A woman in bust size with Ear rings necklace and holding flower in her right hand is seen Both are buried in the earth .This Heroic stone of the hero was erected either for winning the war or hunting. After the demise of husband wife also dies So it may be Sathikal.

CONCLUSION:

After finishing this paper we came to a conclusion about the brave man is the hero stones. Inspective of their position from the king to bottom level ordinary citizen the heroic stones were. In Attur Taluk the hero stones erected for the brave man who fought and died during the rescuing the calf from the tiger are found. Fighting with the powerful tiger and died in really appreciable. Fighting for the calf is not because of the small but to redeem the loss of its hild from the mother cow Brave men honoured who killed the pigs which destroyed the paddy field and people. We found the hero stone in Salem area of who killed the pigs and protected their field has much evidence some hero stones leveled that women also kidnapped and raped in the later period. The hero stones raised for the bravery activities of the man who lose their life during the protection of women when they kidnapped the brave man are in unprotected condition from their enimies is also revealed from the hero stone. Taken into consideration the Attur Taluk heroic stones were spoken about the bravery of the braveman.

End Notes

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HISTORICITY OF VEMBATTUR

R. Devisri

Introduction

Vembattur, a famous village is located on the way to Manamadurai in Sivaganga district, on the northern bank of river Vaigai. Vembattur has its history from 2000 years ago. In the ancient period, Vembattur is known as Vembarrur and also called as Nimbai.¹

During the reign of Cholas in Pandya country, it was given to the Brahmanas and called as "Uttamachola Chaturvedimangalam".² After Chola's rule during the reign of later Pandyas, during the period of Jatavarman Kulasekara I, it came to be known as "Kulasekara Chaturvedimangalam".³ During the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekara he invited 2008 Vedic Brahmanas from Vembarrur near Kumbakonam in Chola country and were settled at Vembattur alias Kulasekara Chaturvedimangalam.⁴

These 2008 Vedic Brahmanas from Chola country were called "Vembarrur Choliya Smarta Brahmanas" They were also settled in different places upto Thirunelveli, Tenkasi and other villages.⁵ These Brahmanas were contributed a lot to the Tamil language and literature. From Sangam age to present day, Vembattur is known for its academic excellence and it has given large number of poets to the Tamil language and literature.

History of Vembattur gleaned as from Inscriptions

In Vembattur, large number of Pandya, Chola and Vijayanagar Inscriptions have been found. During the reign of Pandyas, large number of Pandya inscriptions were found especially, furnish information about Jatavarman Kulasekara and his contributions to the temples which are located in Vembattur.

The inscriptions found at Vembattur furnish information about the temples which were located in Vembattur during the ancient times, viz., Naduvirkoyil alias Rajendra Vinnagar.⁶ Tirumerkoyil alias Puravuari Vinnagar.⁷ Sri Kailasamudaiyar Naduvirkoyil, Rajendra Vinnagar and Vijayamanikka Vinnagar.⁸

These inscriptions recorded lot of informations about the donations, gifts and taxfree lands etc. During the age of Chola, The undated, damaged Chola inscription of Rajakesarivarmankulottunga I (1071 - 1122 C.E) seems to record a sale of land by the Mahasabha of Sri Uttamasola Chaturvedimangalam as Tiruvilakkupuram for two lamps to god Alvar at Naduvirkoyil alias Rajendrasolavinnagaram.⁹

The inscriptions of Parakesari Vikramachola (1120 - 1187 CE) were found at Vembattur. These inscriptions record about the foundation of a colony named "Vikramachola Chaturvedimangalam"¹⁰ and also refers to some arrangements made for food offerings. Another inscription of his is dated Saka era of 1043 is records the grant of land as Tirumadaipallipuram by the Mahasabha of a Chaturvedimangalam.¹¹

Large number of inscriptions reveal details about the offerings and donations of Pandya Jatavarman Kulasekara I (1190 - 1216 CE). During his fifth regnal year, the sabha of Vembarrur purchased and gifted as tax free for the temple as Thirunanda Vilakkupuram to God Emberuman.¹² They also assigned some lands Seliyaneri for various offerings to the god at Tirumerkoyil alias Puruvavarivinnagar.¹³

During his eighteenth regnal year, another Tamil inscription has recorded the gift of lands as Valinadaittiruvidaiyattam for perpetual and holy light lamps to the deities at Puravuarivinnagar and Vijayamanikavinnagar in Kulasekara Chaturvedimangalam.¹⁴

The land measurements were revised and fresh assessments were made from his nineteenth regnal year.¹⁵ Another inscription, records the lands which were formerly by the standard measuring rod Kuditangi were now measured by a standard measuring rod increased by one fourth of its length and the lands were reassessed and taxes were refixed.¹⁶

During the third regnal year of Jatavarman Srivallabha Pandya (1291 - 1296 CE) records the grant of land as Madaipallipuram.¹⁷ The inscription of Maravarman Parakrama Pandya (1335 - 1337 CE) refers the old names of

Vembattur, They are Uttamasola Chaturvedimangalam and Vembarrur alias Vikramapandya Chaturvedimangalam.¹⁸

Another Inscription of Jatavarman Vikrama Pandya (1401 - 1422 CE) records the gift of coins for expenditure in connection with a procession on the day of Hasta in the month of Panguni, in the temple of Emberuman at Rajendra vinnagar.¹⁹ The inscription of Vijayanagara is dated Saka era of 1445 on the Karpagavinayagar temple of Vembattur, records the information that vembattur was constituted as a agaram and renamed Krishnarayapuram²⁰ by the name king Krishnadevaraya.

According to the study of inscription found at Vembattur, the name of Vembattur has been changed dynasty by dynasty. During the Chola period it was to be known as Uttamasola Chaturvedimangalam and Vikramasola Chaturvedimangalam. During the second pandyanempire it came to be called as **"Kulasekara Chaturvedimangalam"** by the name of Jatavarman Kulasekara and also known as **"Krishnarayapuram"** at period of Vijayanagara. The Inscriptions traced the information about temples, which located at Vembattur in the ancient period. The Vaishnavite temples were, Rajendra Vinnagar (Naduvirkovil), Vinnagar and Vijayamanikavinnagar. KailasamudaiyarNaduvirkovil dedicated to lord Shiva.

Vembattur as a cultural centre

Vembattur is the soil closely associated with the life of illustrious Tamil scholars. Vembattur has the pride of being the birth place of renowned Tamil scholars belonging to the Sangam Age.

During the Pandya period, **"Vembarrur Choliya Smarta Brahmanas'** were great Vedic scholars who look great interest in Tamil language and literature. Over the centuries, a galaxy of scholars of these families, took up well known Sanskrit texts and translated them into excellent Tamil poetry.

Vembattur poets and scholars

From the Sangam age, Vembattur is famous for its Vedic scholars. The VedicCholiya Brahmanas were settled in different villages in Pandyacourtries like Viracholam also called

Virai, Tenkasi, Kilappavur, Vallanadu, Illuppaiyur, Karivadlamvantanallur, Karkulam, Panaiyur, Kurungavanam and others. Many of these Brahmins were called Nambis.²¹

During the 11th century CE The poet sevvaisuduvur translated Srimad Bhagavatam in 5000 verses into Tamil language for the first time. The most celebrated work of another poet **"Peruparrap -puliurnambi"** also called Tillainambi translated the 64 sports of Sivam, the presiding deity of Madurai. This work was called **"ThiruAlavay Puranam"** from a Sanskrit text called **"Sara Samuccayam"**. This work has been edited by Dr. U.V. SwaminathaAyyar, who has paid encomiums on his families contribution in general and TillaiNambi in particular. He has shown that this work written sometime before 1220 CE, in the time of Pandya ruler MaravarmanSundara Pandya, who was the first to check the greatness of the Imperial Chola dynasty.²²

One among the Vembattur scholars, **"Viraikavirajapanditar"** who settled at Viracholam, also called **"Virai"** translated the famous poem, Soundarya lahari of Sankaracharyainto Tamil. He translated another work Anandalahari from Sanskrit to Tamil. He wrote many Tamil works, viz., Aanandha Nayakimalai, VarahiMalai, Sri Buvanambigai KalaiGnanadeepam, Gnana Ula of Melakodu Malurkumaram.²³

Another poet SriPattar translated the Bahavatgeetha into Tamil and Gnana Vasishtam translated by the poet Alavantan Madava Bhattar into Tamil. Some other famous works and poets who belonged to the Vembattur are, Tatvaraya wrote 'Paduturai', Ambikapati wrote 'Paraparamalai', Thirunelveli Perumal Ayyar wrote 'Nellaivargakovai', Alagarkalambagam and Alagar Pillai Tamil were written by Kavi Kunjara Barathi and Sami KavikalaRuddhisar respectively.²⁴

Periya Sama Ayyar wrote Chandrakala malai, KavirayarSankara Subbu Sasthrigal wrote Thiruvananthapuram Maharavannam and Vasaikummi, Madurai Kovai were written by Narayana Ayyar, Kavisankara Narayana Ayyar respectively. Another work namely TiruvilaiyadalKummi wrote by AlavaiSubbayyar. Muthu Venkata subbhaAyyar also called as 'Siledaipuli Pitchu Ayyar' wrote

Prabandhadipika. Mambalakavisinganavalar sung about Vembattur and regarding Inscription were found at Utchipillayar temple at Trichy.²⁵

Madurai Thiruppanimalai gave the information about, the people from Vembattur, contributed lot to the Meenakshi Temple, Madurai and one of the tower of Meenakshi Temple which is located in front of Shrine of MukkuruniVinayagar called as “Vembatthurar Gopuram”. Dr. U.V. SwaminathaAyyar was here in his uphill task of collecting and editing ancient famous Tamil works by gifted authors.

Conclusion

Vembattur is one of the famous village located on the banks of the river Vaigai. It has its own history from 2000 years ago. According to

the inscriptions have been found at Vembattur, the name of the village has been changed dynasty by dynasty, viz., called as Uttamasolachaturvedimangalam, Vikramasolachaturvedimangalam, Kulasekarachaturvedimangalam and Krishna rayapuram called at the period of Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagara respectively. From the Sangam age, it is famous for its vedic scholars and also till now it is well known for its academic excellence. The ancient Shiva and Perumal temple are located in the vembattur, Now a days they lost their architectural heritage and the inscriptions were lost due to the renovation works have been done at these temples. But the pride of vembattur has continued by the renowned Tamil scholars and their contributions to the Tamil literature.

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STUDIES ON PERUMUKKAL INSCRIPTIONS

M. Gandhi

Introduction: Many sources play important part in construction of history of a nation or a region. Inscriptions took part a main role as a source of history. Inscriptions bear source of political history, social history, cultural history, economical history and other histories. Hence, this paper aims to focus on inscriptions of Perumukkal. Perumukkal has a few lithic records are to inform the history of a particular period, political history, cultural history and economical history.

Location of Perumukkal: Perumukkal is situated on the highway to Marakkanam in the Tindivanam taluk of Villupuram district in Tamilnadu. Perumukkal is a small agricultural village which is located on the base of a small hillock so this village is named as Perumukkal.

Establishment of Thiruvanmigai Isvara temple: In the 3rd regnal year of Vikrama Chola king Vikrama Perumangalam chieftain Udaiyan Thiruvan alias Siruthondar established a granite shrine. Further he endowed Thirumadaivilakam

of this God, garden, Agazhippakkam alias Vikrama Chola nallur and Kakunayakan villages to the God. Siruthondar caused for the sake of chieftain of Konur who was called Araiyan Kaku nayakan alias Kanakarayan.¹

Twelve stone steps had been constructed on the hillock towards the Thiruvanmigai Isvara temple². This inscription was scribed during the 12 - 13th century A. D.

Installation of Images of Gods In this temple: Perumal stone icon was installed by one Brahmarayan. His details were not known from this inscription.³ One person named Andamai Thiruvudaiyan who was a resident of Kurrur in Cholamandalam erected an image of Pasupati in this temple. Further he purchased 250 *kuzhi* land and endowed to meet the expenses of Thiruppadi marru of Pasupati.⁴ Vijyalaya Kakku Nayakan by name a resident of Velur of Vandalai Velur Kurrum of Chola mandalam installed a Pillayar image in this temple. This Nayakan purchased 516 *kuzhi* land and gifted to this Pillaiyar for offerings during the reign of Kulothunga I in his 47th regnal year (1117 AD).⁵ Kothaiyazhvi alias Puravari Nangai daughter of a devaradiyar of this shrine installed a Vinayaka Pillaiyar. She further endowed 6 *kasus* to offer two *nazhi* of rice in the 8th regnal year of Kulothunga Chola II (1141 A. D.).⁶ A devotee called Karuppulan Velan Adaikkalapporulanar of Mosukulattur in Kulothunga Chola nallur alias Ozhukarai in Mathur nadu a subdivision of Jayangkonda Cholamandalam installed an icon of Subrahmanya in this temple. This inscription may be ascertained to the 12-13th century A.D.⁷ An inscription was carved on a small pilaster of Dakshimurti devakoshta with a portrait. According to this record, an acharayan by name Athreyan Thiruchchirabalam Udayan Anbarkkarasu Bhattan was appointed to this temple, his image was carved here in relief.⁸ In other small pilaster of above niche a relief image of Periyar Thiruvan alias Siruthondar of Peithalai Perumangalam in Tenkarainadu.⁹

Land reclamations and donations: During the 8th regnal year of Vikrama Chola villagers of Perumukkal alias Gangaikonda nallur of Oyma nadu alias Vijaya Rajendra Valanadu a sub division of Jayangkonda Chola mandalam auctioned land in which weeds had grown due to overflow of lake water. Araisur Udayan Uyyavandan Azhagiya Devan of Araisur in

Nittavinodha valanadu a sub division of Chola mandalam had purchased above land 500 *kuzhi* for good *kasus* of daily use. He endowed the land to Thiruvanmigai Isvara of Perumukkal.¹⁰ This transaction also occurred in the 8th regnal year of Vikrama Chola (1126 A.D). The same person mentioned above Azhagiya Devan purchased 500 *kuzhi* land from Perumukkal village and donated to the temple to apply sandal paste to Kuthadum Devan during the festival time and other expenses.¹¹ In the 8th regnal year of Vikrama Chola Nolambur villagers auctioned a land which was fallow due to breach of lake. The same person Azhagiya Devan of Araisur purchased and gifted as capital fund to use at the **time of Thiruvanmigai Isvara's arrival to cot and Thiruppadi marru function.**¹² In the same year (1126 A. D.) during Vikrama Chola's regime Araisur Udayan purchased 520 *kuzhi* on auction from the villagers of Perumukkal for three *kasus* and endowed to the God.¹³ Uyyavandan Azhagiya Devan purchased land for six *kasus* through auction from the villagers of Perumukkal and donated to the temple for Thirumandira Pongam an offering.¹⁴

Donations of perpetual lamps to the temple:

(a). Headman of Mambakkam village Narayanan Adavallan donated a perpetual lamp to the temple and his *kani* field also for lighting lamp daily. This donation occurred in the 13th regnal year of Vikrama Chola (1131 A. D.)¹⁵ (b). An unknown person donated *vilakkupatti* a land in the 10th regnal year (1127 A. D.) to the temple.¹⁶ (c). In the 9th regnal year (1126 A. D.) of Vikrama Chola Thiraiya devadigal Gangaikondan Rajadhiraja Valavadaraiyan purchased 500 *kuzhi* of land for daily usable good *kasus* and gifted as *Thirununda vilakkupuram* to the God.¹⁷ (d). In the 15th regnal year (1162 A. D.) of Kulothunga Chola II Ilvalapakkam alias Puravarinallur residents sold 500 *kuzhi* (*one ma*) land to Adittan Pakavan of Adhirajamangalapuram of Naduvil nadu for burning a *Nundavilakku* in the temple.¹⁸

Cow donations for lamps: (a). In the 16th regnal year (1162 A. D.) of Rajaraja Chola II the **study temple's devaradiyar** Andamai whose daughter Kulothunga Chola Manikkam and whose daughter Sivan Bhagan Kondal alias Virabhadra Nangai donated a lamp with 32 cows and a bull.¹⁹ (b). In the 5th regnal year (1171 A. D.) of Rajadhiraja Chola II Uppadu

Kudikuthuvan Padalikomani alias Ammaippa kon of Vahur in Naduvil nadu donated 32 cows and an ox.²⁰ During Rajadhiraja Chola II's 5th regnal year (1171 A. D.) one person Kuththu uganthal d/o of Nachchi was a servant maid of Kurrur temple located in Thiru Idaikkazhi nadu. Kuththu uganthal gave away a lamp along with 32 cows and a bull for burning in the Isvara temple of Perumukkal.²¹ (d). In the 7th regnal year (1152 A. D.) of Rajaraja Chola II Ilakkichal's daughter from Cheyyur alias Jayangkonda Chola Nallur in Cheyyur nadu endowed a lamp with 32 cows and an ox to the temple.²² (e). Three persons from the Cholamandalam gifted each one perpetual lamp along with 30 cows each gentleman to the temple. Two persons from Jayangkonda Cholamandalam donated one *sandhi* lamp along with twelve sheep by each man. Brahmanas of this temple endowed three *sandhi* lamps and three perpetual lamps to Thiruvanmigai Isvara shrine in the 45th regnal year (1115 A. D.) Kulothunga Chola I.

Kasu for lamp burning: In the 16th regnal year (1129 A. D.) of Vikrama Chola a person (name not known) gifted 6 *kasus* for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple.²³ An individual named Ponnai alias Vikrama Chola Muvenda Velan from Kadavayil donated a perpetual lamp to the hill shrine of Perumukkal.²⁴ In the 39th regnal year (1108 A. D.) of Kulothunga Chola I Madavan the headman of Mambakkam donated a lamp with sheep to be burned in the temple.²⁵ Gift of a village Kuttappakkam in Inkarai *parru* of Oymanadu to God's offering and restoration work to Thirumalaimel Aludaiyar shrine at Perumukkal in Oymanadu which contained Kidangil *parru*. Donation was made in the 4th regnal year of Raja Narayanan Sambuvarayan.²⁶

Offerings and renovations: In the 13th regnal year of Rajadhiraja Chola II's records donation of taxes of *antharayam*, *karthikai kasu* etc., as capital towards the spending of offering to the God by Sengeni Siyan Pallavan alias Rajanarayanan Sambuvarayan.²⁷ In the 4th

regnal year of Krishna Devaraya of Vijayanagar empire, his feudatory Eththappa Nayaka's son Thirumalai Nayaka from Chandragiri gifted three villages from Tindivanam *simai* to Thirumalai Udaya Nayanar for offering and renovation.²⁸ In the 6th regnal year (14th C.A.D.) of Maravarman Virapandian gifted 25 good coins to celebrate *Puratachi* festival, Aramiranka nadu offerings and renovation in the Aludaiya Nayanar shrine. The money might be considered as tax free from devadana lands and other taxes.²⁹ In the 17th regnal year of Sadaya varman Sundara Pandian (1278 A.D.) one *kani* (750 *kuzh*) land was bestowed towards Nayanar's midnight offering. Thirukkamakkottam Periya Nachchiyar for her bed chamber offerings. Items of offerings were vegetable food offerings and oil lamps. These gifts were donated by Nemmalai chieftain Arayan Achiriyamazhakiyan Chedirayan in Vijaya Rajendra valanadu of Oyma nadu in the sub division of Jayangkonda Chola mandalam.³⁰ In the 16th regnal year of Rajaraja Chola II Sengeni Siyan Pallavan alias Raja Narayanan donated *siru padikaval* tax from some wet land and dry land for food offerings to the God.³¹ During the regime of Kulothunga Chola II a Munnuru Kudipalli Sengeni Nalayiravan Ammaiappan alias Sambuvarayan gifted the paddy from *siru padi kaval* and *peru padi kaval* tax to the God.³² During Vijayanagar ruler Sadasiva raya (1546 A. D.) Manikka Nayakar of Vettavalam had endowed for offering to *kalasandhi* in the temple.³³ In the year 1568 A. D. Koppa nayaka, treasury officers of the temple, the Sengunthar granted *kani* land to Ponnambala Nayakar to repair the temple.³⁴

Conclusion: This study of Thiruvanmigai Isvara mudaiyar temple at Perumukkal highlights 12 century AD to 17 century AD duration period history, religion, society, economy, agriculture, irrigation systems and donations. Inscriptions in every class have to be saved to write our history.

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CYCLONE HAZARDS AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE IN COASTAL TAMIL NADU: AN ANDHROPO- HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

P. Girija & A. Gughan Babu

Introduction

Tamil Nadu is vulnerable to the high level of the cyclone, its physiographical features responsible to occur, the frequency of cyclone hazards in the region.¹ Hydrometeorological hazards of cyclone started as low-pressure weather the system, then from moderate to high level. Depending upon the wind speed, cyclones are divided into several categories into depression, deep depression, cyclonic storm, severe cyclonic storm, very severe cyclonic storm, extremely very severe cyclonic storm and super cyclonic storm. Since 1891, cyclonic activities are increased in the eastern Coromandal coastal region of Tamil Nadu. The Cyclones of 1964 and the Tsunami of 26th December 2004 had a devastating shock along the coastal region. The heavy damages are occurred in the coast due to the past cyclones in Thane (2011), Nilam (2012) and Vardah, Nada (2016) and Ockhi (2017) and Gaja cyclone (2018) is very huge level. Government of Tamil Nadu is taking measures to reduce the hazards in all intensity.²

Study Area

The coastal zone of Tamil Nadu is about 1076 kilometres which are about 15% of the State.³ The area is consists of 10 coastal districts, 25 coastal blocks and 561 fishing villages, 15 major ports, harbours, sandy beaches, lakes and river estuaries.⁴ More than 40% of the fisher population lives within 1 km of coast and 50% of them live within 2 km of the coast.⁵ About 8% of the State is affected by five to six cyclones every year, of which two to three are severe than on the West coast, and occur mainly between April-May and October-November. Tamil Nadu is also subjected to annual flooding, including flash floods, cloud burst floods, monsoon floods of single and multiple events, cyclonic floods, and those due to dam burst or failure.⁶ The Tamil Nadu coastal comprises the Coromandel Coast from Pulicat Lake in the north to Point Calimere in southernmost, and the Gulf of Mannar, which extended up to the tip of Kanyakumari, which is the southernmost point of the Indian Peninsula.⁷

Cyclone Hazards

The fury of cyclone wind caused widespread destruction to the livelihoods, houses and trees. The destructive potentials of the cyclone had their impact on the coastal sites. The vulnerability of coastal people of Tamil Nadu continues to increase because of the progressive occupational of still more hazardous. Even today apart from the loss of life and collapse of buildings, damage agriculture, defoliate trees and plantation of the crop by cyclone winds and wash away food crops and heavy rains due to high wind velocities. The coastal residents refuse to migrate in a different place except they are forced or rendered completely homeless.⁸ Cyclones take heavy human tolls, blow off shanties, damage even masonry houses, destroy crop and forests, wash away protective embankments, inundate considerable coastal regions with saline water.⁹ Eastern Coromandel Coastal thus is the most vulnerable area of the Bay of Bengal with millions of people exposed to cyclone hazards, especially in the densely populated rural communities along the fertile regions at the confined head of the Bay of Bengal, and this area average over two or three cyclonic storms per year.¹⁰

Buildings Damaged

Due to the torrential wind pressure and offensive occurrence of the buildings to the footings, it can be blown away. Public building damages are based on a wider scale, usually most relevant in terms of damage to houses, more than other buildings. Damage to house property is the estimation in terms of the number of households affected, reporting percentage damage, and probable repair cost per household. This estimation is common for all houses Kutcha Houses, Pucca houses and Semi-Pucca houses. Besides, the house structure damage, there is also an aspect of household asset damage, which has to be taken into account. Damage of house structure can result in house goods damages, people assets and other productive assets stored in the houses. These notable damages are to be accounted for in terms of the average value of damages also

occurred due to the increased density of houses, construction of houses in vulnerable areas, use of poor quality materials as substitutes and the like which followed by leads to major building collapse which disappear much collateral damage. Cyclone Thane (2011) and Ockhi (2017) have extensive damages and destruction to the property such as Thane resulted in an aggregated loss amounting to more than 10,000 of houses fully destroyed.

Loss of Human Lives

The loss of human lives is expected to depend on cyclone intensity, landfall, and warnings. Among the cyclones listed, a comparison between the 1964 to 2018 cyclones is valid as they hit the same area and that of about the same intensity. The coastal area of Tamil Nadu was affected every year due to the cyclone. Human loss and injuries due to cyclones, often associated with floods, are one of the major problems in Tamil Nadu. Although, the number of fatalities caused by very severe cyclonic storms in Rameshwaram cyclone in 1964, Cuddalore cyclone in 1977, Jal cyclone in 2010, Thane Cyclone in 2011, Nilam Cyclone in 2012, Nada and Vardah cyclone in 2016, Ockhi cyclone in 2017 and Gaja cyclone in 2018. Injuries are the common impact of a cyclone on human lives and cattle. And also the primary cause of morbidity for these cyclones. The cyclone-related injuries are lacerations, blunt trauma and puncture wounds. Prominent causes of death and injury are electrocutions from downed power lines, flying debris, motor vehicle fatalities, and other related accidents.

Community response during the Cyclone¹¹

There is the dire need for food to sustain affected families who are displaced and lost everything due to cyclone. Fisherfolk communities living in the areas of the coastal belt bore the brunt of the cyclone.¹² They have been warned not to go out to sea for the next few days. Hence, their immediate livelihood has been severely affected. They will need food and household needs. People are suffering in lack of food supply, clothes, Milk for the children, candles, napkins, medicines and other essential supplies.¹³

Public Health

Diseases are commonly spread due to the cyclone and floods. Poor people access to basic needs such as drinking water and sanitation, adequate shelter, primary health care services. These conditions are most favourable for disease transmission, it must be addressed immediately with the rapid reinstatement of basic services. Disease easily associated with the sudden crowding of large numbers of survivors in Marriage Hall (Mandapam), cyclone shelters, schools, colleges, and public buildings. Often with inadequate access to safe water and sanitation facilities, will require planning for both therapeutic and preventive interventions, such as the rapid delivery of safe water and the provision of rehydration materials, antimicrobial agents and measles vaccination materials. After the Cyclone, it affects the public health, especially infectious out the breaker, has been documented compared with a flood. Gastroenteritis, cholera, typhoid, and other water-borne disease are common. Bacteria diseases attack the digestive system of the victim. Occasionally, for those stranded in the floodwater, availability of clean drinking water is also in issue waterborne infections can be avoided. Drinking water, clean sanitation, and self-cleanliness in the absence of purification methods such as boiling water, simple chlorine tablets can be used to disinfect water. Surveillance in areas affected by disasters is fundamental to understand the impact of natural disasters on communicable disease illness and death.¹⁴

Sanitation Crucial

After the cyclone, important issue and immediate concern is the sanitation. In Tamil Nadu, sanitation is non-existent in rural areas, even in the normal times, the issue is not given much more importance in cyclone and flood situations. However, the neglecting sanitation during a cyclone when people are crowded into temporary shelters, school, colleges and Marriage Hall (Mandapam) can lead to diseases and widespread epidemics. Each shelter is accommodated with 1500 people in varying cyclone-affected districts. 10 toilets are used for 1500 people in a crucial situation. During these times, women face several health issues and the notable problem is anaemia, leucorrhoea, infertility, and irregular menstruation and urinary infection will spread. It also leads to other problems.¹⁵

Therefore, the health department provides temporary toilet facilities in urban areas. However, temporary toilets were not entirely successful. Even though, women and children staying in the cyclone shelter were provided with sufficient food and drinking water are leads to health problems. Privacy, the separate place not for pregnant women, sufficient air and separate washrooms was not provided. Heavy rainfall resulting in the districts of Cuddalore, Kancheepuram, Thanjavur, Nagapattinam, Thiruvallur, and Chennai has rendered many poor people homeless during the cyclone times. Their shelter is made of mud and thatched houses which have been fully damaged¹⁶

Diseases

The impact of cyclones causes the spread of communicable diseases in a limited level then again, the risk for waterborne disease and vector-transmitted disease can be exacerbated. Human exposure to disease vectors can be increased due to changes in the physical environment. The impact on the health infrastructures and all lifeline systems is massive and can result in food shortages and interruption of basic public health services (water, food, sanitary napkins, and other needed things). In the case of flood and sea surges, risk of drowning and waterborne and vector-borne will lead to an increase in diseases. In the stormwater drains in all the 200 divisions, anti-adult activity is carried out using a hand-operated fogging machine. To prevent mosquito bite and thereby diseases spread through mosquitoes. During the Thane cyclone (2011) moreover, 5.90 lakhs mosquito nets had been distributed to people residing near waterways. 17 lakh houses are divided into 2035 sectors and one labour is engaged per sector to inspect and prevent mosquito breeding weekly. Crowded areas like parks, hotels, theatres and shopping complexes are inspected for mosquito breeding areas and preventive measures carried out periodically. All schools, colleges, students' hostels are inspected. Particularly, mosquito breeding areas instructed to clean regularly and proper action will be taken against them. Power cuts related to disasters may be disrupting water treatment and supply plants, thereby increasing the risk for waterborne disease. Lack of power may also affect the proper functioning of health facilities, including preservation of the vaccine cold chain. Although post-cyclone surveillance

systems are designed to rapidly detect cases of the prone disease. Deaths in Cuddalore occurred mainly due to electrocution, falling of trees, the collapse of house and walls. A large number of cows, goats, and buffaloes were killed in many villages. Trees, lamp posts and electro poles were uprooted, hand-pumps and bore-wells have been damaged that lead to water scarcity and lack of safe drinking water.

In cyclonic situation, the immediate requirements of food, water, shelter, sanitation and health care should be provided. Making unpolluted drinking water available to the people was, therefore, a priority concern. Unless this is done, diarrhoea diseases, including cholera could be widespread. In normal times, drinking water is made safe by chlorinating water sources with bleaching powder. The aftermath of the cyclone, three kinds of epidemics would be possible.

- Diarrhoea (cholera, basically dysentery, and gastroenteritis)
- Measles (among young children)
- Malaria

Of this diarrhoea was the most spread one, since it was bound to occur almost immediately, due to the large scale contamination of drinking water, the disruption of sanitation, and the displacement of thousands of people. Action taken to control diarrhoea consisted of disinfection of water sources and distribution of water purification tablets among the public. The fear of cholera was ever-present. When stool and water samples were tested positive for cholera the department's problems multiplied.

However, at the time of situation, the large tracts of the coastal area were underwater, and all drinking water sources in these areas were open wells, tube wells, ponds, water supply systems were partly submerged, this was an extremely difficult position. Nevertheless, disinfection was taken up in all accessible villages, by dissolving required quantities of bleaching powder in open wells. This had to be repeated every few days so that the level of chlorination did not go down. Also, water purification tablets were distributed to the public through health workers, Anganwadi workers, NGOs, panchayat members, and others. However in inaccessible villages, which means

village which remained marooned for several days after the cyclone, ensuring the safe drinking water remained the problem. The only thing that could be done in these villages was to airdrop halogen tablets along with food packets.

Government Response to cyclone hazards

The Government of Tamil Nadu and Disaster Management cooperatively was very effectively utilized the recent technologies such as remote sensing, Geographic Information system (GIS) to warning to the people and mitigate the impacts. Numerous technological information inputs are needed to take protective measures through the disaster analysis, cyclone hazard zonation and earlier risk assessment at all the levels. Satellite communication is used for early warning besides creating awareness in the cyclone-prone areas. The early warning system was developed in the centre of the Digital Cyclone Warning Dissemination System (DCWDS). Disaster Management uses familiar technical information for monitoring the cyclones and also gives timely warnings about the cyclones to reduce the causality and to safeguard lives stocks. These systems are well-planned and organized in the Indian Meteorological Department and also in other vulnerable coastal areas. Simultaneously, audio alarms can be sent out to choose prone areas

using digital sound broadcasting purposes. The Remote sensing application has been used to trace the cloud cover combined with cyclones and also subsequent flooding.¹⁷ National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) to create the response between national, regional and local emergency plans.¹⁸

Conclusion

Tamil Nadu is one of the most disaster-prone States, with extremely limited resources, its real development is not possible without the integration of disaster mitigation programme. After the Tsunami, the State has established the Disaster Management to mitigate the effects of natural hazards. The early warning system was implemented by the Indian Meteorological Department with the help of Remote sensing Technology. Further, the human impact of cyclones can be assessed mainly in terms of socio and economic losses. But in truth, the impact goes far beyond just fatalities and collapse of buildings. These to one side, cyclones destroy the crop, disrupt water supply system and interfere with telecommunications. Thus, the severity of the cyclone impact-related here more to the level of human exploitation than to the stress imposed by nature.

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PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT ALONG THE COROMANDEL COAST: AN OVERVIEW

B. Hameed Basha

Introduction

The courageous, incessant, cognitive effort of Portuguese with an ultimate aim to finding the sea route for India, to contrive the trade activates before the other Europeans conceive it. Because King D. Manuel, ruled Portugal from 1495 to 1521, had been desired to stimulate foster trade and future expeditions.¹ Fortunately, he got bravery sailor named Vasco da Gama and his successful journey, Portuguese anchored their ships in India to reach via sea-route on 20th may 1498 in Calicut², the western coast of India. Earlier Portuguese were focused in the western coast of India instead of eastern coast. Portuguese sailed to India for the purpose of search of Christians and trade. Portuguese ultimate aim was not in gaining powers in India but rather in spreading the Catholic missionary. Thus they concentrated to build churches, basilicas and seminaries, not on defensive structures.³ **In the words of W.H, Moreland, "in the sixteenth century, the Indian ocean was a Portuguese lake in which the absence of any serious opposition made it possible to control the seas".⁴** Portuguese had been developed their settlement on the Coromandel Coast three prominent places viz., Nagapattinam, Sao Thome and Pulicat. Perhaps Porguese were first placed the word **"Coromandel" in their map.**⁵ The Portuguese became the masters and monopolist of spices trade in India. Indian rulers for monopoly over trade in Indian Ocean; they extended all facilities to the Portuguese to attract them to their ports. The diversion of the maritime trade of India to the hands of the Portuguese destroyed the trade of the Arabs and the native Muslims and also delivered a mighty blow against Islam. This study has mainly focused on the Portuguese settlements, trade, and causes for downfall in Coromandel Coast.

Coromandel Coast

The European accounts of the seventeenth century used the name **'Coromandel Coast'** somewhat loosely. In its widest sense, it embraced the entire east coast of the Indian peninsula. More specifically it was taken to mean the part of the coast lying to the south of the Godavari river and extending as far as Nagapatnam or even to the island of Manar, **'which marked the limit of ordinary coastal navigation'. The coast to the north of the Godavari was known as the Gingelly coast, a name at times used as synonymous with the Orissa coast.⁶ Coromandel vastly covered "the land of Tamil people"and the Andra Pradesh and Telengana.**

Attempt to reach Coromandel

During 1510-1520 Portuguese private traders made contact with the Coromandel Coast.⁷ The official presence in the Bay of Bengal was very limited in comparison with the Arabian Sea, and especially western India. the only major base was Malacca, and even this was hardly effective. Later, Gujaratis were trading in spices in the Bay, and later the rise of Aceh. There were some attempts to establish other official presences in the area. Viceroy Almeida sent out the primary expedition to Coromandel as early as 1507, the purpose being to investigate the general situation, especially relating to trade, and to look for the tomb of st.Thomas the Apostle. There were later investigations of the possibility of establishing an official presence, completed with forts and fleets, in Bengal; these came to nothing. By 1517 at least purported tomb of St Thomas had been found in Meliapur, from 1545 renamed Sao Thome and today a suburb of Madras. This port and Nagapatnam were the two main Portuguese settlements in Coromandel. Both had captains, but while in theory these were

appointed by the king, in practice they emerged from the local Portuguese inhabitants and then were recognized no salaries. At times there were no captains at all. This then was a very different Portuguese presence, one totally dominated by private trade and the church, more comparable with, say, the Gujarati merchants in Calicut before de Gama than with the official sixteenth-century Portuguese presence in western India, in 1538 the captain of Sao Thome was able to collect as many as 400 Portuguese for an expedition. At this time there were 50 *Casados* in San Thome, mostly traders and some who wanted to spend their retirement near the tomb of St Thomas. By 154 there were over 100 *casados* there.⁸

Portuguese

The Portuguese settled at San Thome and Nagapatnam and active all along the coast were the first rivals that the Dutch encountered in Coromandel. The Coromandel Portuguese was no representatives of any chartered company nor even of the Spanish-**Portuguese's state**. Their hostility to the Dutch derived primarily from a desperate struggle for survival of a sorely pressed trading community in an alien background. Through the mother country had little direct interest in the coast settlements, the latter had benefited from the Portuguese hegemony in the Asian waters and long enjoyed **a position of advantages in Coromandel's** overseas trade. Their commercial interests were similar to those of the local merchants in so far they sought profit from both import and export, and unlike the Dutch, were not primarily concerned with securing commodities for export on advantageous terms. The reason why as the local traders appears to be two-fold. The long established political enmity was a barrier to any such development and the active instigation of the Spanish state made it even more so. The question of the local Portuguese seeking secure **and profitable trade as the company's** middlemen and suppliers hence could not arise, besides in the early years of the seventeenth century, the Coromandel Portuguese apparently had a much greater share in the trade with the Indies than was available to the local merchants, the decline of Portuguese apparently had a much greater share in the trade with the Indies than was available to the local merchants. The decline of Portugal and the advent of the Dutch

threatened this lucrative commerce. The coast Portuguese had to fight the new comers for the security of their livelihood. Lacking in adequate economic power, they used the weapon of diplomacy, intrigue and adventurist action to thwart the hated rival.

From the earliest days of the company's contact with the coast, the Portuguese did their best to secure the expulsion of their arch enemies from the Golconda ports. In Coromandel the Dutch, in fact, had fired the first shot, for the yacht Delft on its second voyage to the coast in 1606 had burnt three Portuguese ships anchored off San Thome. The conflict between the rising power of the Dutch Company and the decadent Portuguese settlements in Coromandel was an unequal one, and by the middle of 1608 the local populations of Masulipatnam and Petapuli had been definitely won over to the side of the newcomers. That year the Portuguese captain at Masulipatnam was taken prisoner by order of the Mir Jumla, as a reprisal for Portuguese piracy against muslim ships in the Bay and such misfortunes of their arch-enemy further strengthened the Dutch position in the Coromandel kingdom.

Nagapatinam

Nagapattinam lies on the Coromandel coast to the south of Cuddalore district and another part of the district lies the south of Karaikkal and Tiruvarur districts. This peninsular delta district is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, Palk Strait on the south, Tiruvarur and Thanjavur districts on the west, and Cuddalore district on the north. The geographical extent of the district is 2569 sq kms and covers 1.97% of the total area of Tamil Nadu. The district lies on the shores of the Bay of Bengal between **northern latitude 10.10' and 11.20' and eastern longitude 79.15' and 79.15'**. it has a **187.9 km** long coastline, stretching from a Kodiyampalayam in the north to Kodiyakarai in the south, which constitute about 15 percent of the coastline of Tamil Nadu.⁹ Available Evidence show that the Portuguese made their way to Coromandel only after 1505. Lodovico de Varthama who visited Nagapattinam in 1505 mentions the presence of Christians but not the Portuguese.¹⁰ As early as 1506, some of the Portuguese during their trip to investigate their prospects in Malacca had landed purely by accident in the vicinity of Nagapattinam where

they received a hostile reception from the Muslim traders¹¹. Sewel points out that the governance of the seas east of Cape Comorin was also in the hands of the Portuguese by 1509. From that time onwards the Portuguese made Pulicat an import trading centre since there was good hope for the collection of hinterland textiles of the area, these textiles were exported to Malacca. After Pulicat and Sao Thome, Nagapatnam was a primary trading center of Portuguese. Nagapatnam was a busy coastal commercial centre in rice trade to Ceylon and other southern ports and Malabar bringing back areca, timber, cinnamon and pepper.

Sao Thome

The origin of the San Thomas, who is believed to be buried at Mylapur gradually led to the emergence of San Thome as an important trading post for the Portuguese in the Coromandel Coast.¹² Christian presence in India, the land of religions, can be traced back to the first century A.D. St. Thomas, the apostle of Jesus Christ had come to India, labored in Mylapore in the Tamil Country and laid down his life-a witness to the faith.¹³ San Thome shortly after the establishment of the fort were welcomed by the English, for it was believed that their presence would attract more Indians. In fact, in partition of 1679 the Portuguese claimed that their presence drew painters, weavers, workmen and other inhabitants. During the course of the century, however, the Portuguese came to be regarded much more warily, especially as they made frequent attempts to regain San Thome. Orders were sent out that the Portuguese should not be allowed to settle quietly at St. Thoma, but such interruption and molestations were to be given as shall render that place too hot for them. Eventually the Portuguese did succeed in getting the grant of San Thome from the Mughals, but by that time, the town had already become more or less what it is today, suburb of Chennai. Many of the Portuguese continued to live at Black town, for in 1706, when the Company was trying to recover the expense it had incurred in fortifying Black town, the Portuguese were required to pay 3,300 pagodas¹⁴, the highest sum.

Pulicat

Portuguese were the first to establish their settlement in the history of Pulicat in 1502 A.D. they built new churches, cemeteries and the fort after their settlements. However, Dutch were followed by the Portuguese in 1602 A.D, and made vestiges of their history and culture, later British landed in 1610 A.D. Pulicat was a textile centre, by about 1530 Nagapattanam became an important trading centre with the outside world. It is noteworthy that in essence, the Portuguese settlers, operated side by side with the other principal groups in Nagapattanam, the Marakkayars; both typically functioning with small profit margins and small individual consignment in the trade, the trading activities of the Portuguese at Pulicat decline by 1580. But trade from Nagapattanam was on the rise.¹⁵

Conclusion

Europeans imaging of India's Malabar and Coromandel coasts and Ceylon as rich in trade goods, including cloths, ivory, pearls, coconuts, spices and stuffed tigers, and seemingly as much populated by Africans as Indians. On this concern, Portuguese were the progenitor for the geographical discoveries and maritime trade. This adventurous steps followed by other European countries like Dutch, Danish, French and the British. Portuguese efforts came to success, reached India by sea-route which already dreamed Bartholomew Diaz. Many European countries came to India for the purpose of trade and commerce; they never wanted to establish their territory for its own. Moreover, Portuguese had been sailed to India for finding Christians and trade. Geographically, they desire to make settlement in the western coast of India and its hinterland. Later, they were concentrating on Eastern coast of India, which **had been called as "Coromandel" or Tamil Coast.** Finally Portuguese established their settlement in the Coromandel Coast three places viz., Sao Thome, Nagapattinam and Pulicat. However, Portuguese might be the great traders, but they cannot control other Europeans overcome to dominate them. Thus, the British occupied all over India and dominated for three hundred years. If Portuguese maintain their control in Coastal India, they might be ruled in India instead of the British.

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UNDERSTANDING ABDUL QADIRBADAUNI: A NEW METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Ikramul Haque

The intellectual history of the sixteenth century Mughal India is overwhelmed in modern historical writings by examination and exploration of ideas of Abul Fazl and his patron, Akbar. It is strikingly strange that Badauni, **Akbar's courtier and friend and arch rival of Abul Fazl**, has not received enough critical attention as far as his practice of history writing and his position on several questions of intellectual importance are concerned. Modern scholars portray these two contemporary scholars as opposites of each other, especially in their notions of politics and religion.¹ It needs to be underlined that such a binary and polarized portrayal is untenable, given their socio-political milieu and historical context. Clearly, some scholars in recent decades have recognized this problematic and have attempted to re-examine Badauni and his ideas.² What follows in this paper in an attempt to propose a new methodology that will perhaps help us understand Badauni and his ideas in a different way and will also lead us to have a more holistic sense of the sixteenth century intellectual milieu.

Part of the reasons why Badauni has been perceived as the opposite of AbulFazl is that modern scholars of medieval India focused only on his book of history, *Muntakhab-utTawarikh*, which he wrote secretly hiding it from everyone

including his progeny.³ Scholars found it distasteful because it was highly critical of **Akbar's religious and administrative policies**. While it was argued that the book gives an alternative view of **Akbar's court in particular and an expression of the sixteenth century political development in general**, historians did not strive to dig deep into **Badauni's ideas per se**. His critique of Akbar was treated as an expression of religious bigotry, which militated against the liberal pursuits of Akbar and AbulFazl. It is understandable since Akbar had been recognized in the nationalist historiography as the pre-modern liberal monarch who was idealized, and rightly so, for his religious tolerance and communitarian coexistence. Therefore, any opposition to Akbar was perceived as an opposition to the principles of religious tolerance, coexistence and accommodation. What was missing, though, in this scholarship was an objective evaluation of **Badauni's views on politics and religion**. Besides, he was not studied as a historiographer, first and foremost.

Another reason why he was depicted as an orthodox was the partial reading of his writings. Apart from *Muntakhab*, Badauni wrote another book called *Najat-ur Rashid*, an ethical treatise for Muslims to attain salvation.⁴ The book is a

complete guidebook that tells Muslims everything, which they need to know and practice to live a pious living in this world. Much of what Badauni believes in terms of principles of religion and politics is discussed in the treatise, some in detail and some in piece meal. The book, therefore, gives a sense of what would have been **Badauni's religious views on a number of things** that were practiced widely in the sixteenth century. Similarly, his views on different aspects of politics in general and of sixteenth century Mughal India in particular do illustrate and elaborate further his ideals of kingship and state. This is why it is important to study and evaluate the content of Badauni ethical treatise along with his book of history in order to get a better understanding of his intellectual formulations. Below I will provide a brief introduction of the book, *Najat-ur Rashid*, highlighting the historical significance that it deserves.

***Najat-ur Rashid*: Context and Meaning:**

The *Najat-al-Rashid* is one of the two texts written by Abdul Qadir Badauni (d. 1596), Akbar's courtier, theologian, historian and AbulFazl's (d. 1602) contemporary; the other being a secret chronicle called *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh* (comp. 1595-6). The text constitutes an important source of information, still untapped fully, on **Akbar's reign as far as the socio-religious milieu of the sixteenth century is concerned**. In this book Badauni, who was very critical of Akbar's socio-religious worldview, aims at guiding towards the ideals of Islamic society through highlighting serious social, political, religious and moral problems facing Muslim society at the end of the sixteenth century. The text helps us **understand Badauni's perspective on the socio-religious transformation in Mughal India during Akbar's reign**.

The book was written in 1591-92 during a journey when Badauni was returning from Badaun to Lahore, where the royal court was camped, after overstaying his leave over a year at home.⁵ It is also attested by the name of the book, *Najat-al-Rashid*, which is a chronogram corresponding to 1591-92. The book is largely **based on Badauni's memory as he himself claims of not having relevant books at his disposal while writing**.⁶ The book was originally conceived by Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Harwi, a sixteenth century historian in Akbar's court, who had begun collecting materials on this topic

but left it in midway. Badauni says that Nizamuddin Ahmad, his close friend and the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, gave him a bunch of papers (*tumar*) dealing with misdemeanours and sins and requested him to expand them into a book discussing all kinds of crimes and sins in full light of evidence so that it might serve as a guide for common people.⁷ It has been **suggested that Nizamuddin Ahmad's official responsibility as army paymaster (*Mir Bakhsh*) and simultaneously his preoccupation with the book of history he was writing, he found it nearly impossible to realize his dream project**.⁸ Besides, his proximity to Akbar might have discouraged him to write a book against beliefs and practices of the imperial court.⁹ He, therefore, had to assign it to somebody else and Badauni was the most obvious choice because of his deep knowledge of Islamic sciences and his writing skills manifested in the translation project. Thus, it seems that the *Najat-ur Rashid* was written to cater to the needs of the Muslim society as a book of advice/guidance on Islamic legal and moral injunctions covering many aspects but in a simple language.

The *Najat-al-Rashid* primarily deals with sins and misdemeanors of both kinds, venial and mortal (*saghirah* and *kabirah*). The text is written in such a literary format, which highlights the **severe negative effects of sins on Muslims' beliefs and their practices and thus urges them to refrain from committing such crimes**. Badauni's purpose was to expose the fallacy of un-Islamic practices in general and non-permissible customs promoted by Akbar in particular, hence establishing the pristine ideals of Islamic society in the process. The significance of the text lies in the fact that it gives an insight into the socio-religious milieu of the sixteenth century Mughal India. Although Badauni does not mention Akbar directly, but he definitely refers to his court and its key players.

A New Methodological Approach:

Given the content and nature of the book, it is certain that an exhaustive study of the *Najat-ur Rashid* can help us in re-visiting Badauni and his ideas in two major ways. Firstly, the book provides us with theoretical concepts that Badauni has formulated of kingship, state and politics. Secondly, it allows us to get into **Badauni's mind as he reflects upon issues prevalent in both Muslim and non-Muslim**

societies, thus giving us an opportunity to read his observations of Muslim society and his commentary on the Hindus. It would be surprising for scholars to know that Badauni is at some points critical of some of the practices followed by Indian Muslims, while on the other hand, appreciative of some customs prevalent among Hindus. **In the process of describing 'un-Islamic' practices, he reconstitutes and represents his own ideas on politics, society and religiosity.** The *Najat-al-Rashid*, therefore, is an important source of information, not just about **Akbar's reign, but also about Badauni's dynamic and interesting personality and multiple layers of his political, social and religious thoughts.**

Secondly, it is also important to recognize Badauni as an intellectual who conceptualizes and articulates his own ideas on society, politics and religion that are scattered in this book. What has been missing from the scholarly writing so far is any attempt by historians to systematically identify, classify and interpret the processes of making of his ideas. Let me illustrate it further. For instance, in order to know why Badauni has a certain ideal of state and kingship, it is equally pertinent to understand the sources wherefrom he is deriving his inspiration. For this to ascertain, scholars need to put more attention to his teaching curriculum and the plethora of books and treatises that he claims to have read or commented upon. An extensive study of the contents of such works will enable us to see the process of becoming of Badauni in what he was. It is well known that Badauni actively participated in the *ibadatkhana* established by Akbar in 1575 to discuss religion and its ultimate truth in which the emperor invited religious scholars including Muslims, Hindus, Jains and Christians to explain beliefs, philosophy and teachings of their respective religions. In such discussions, Badauni battled against the orthodox *ulama* (Muslims religious scholars) and refuted their understanding of some of the fundamental teachings of Islam.¹⁰ **Naturally, Akbar was very happy with Badauni's argumentative skill and in-depth knowledge of Islam.** As mentioned above, unpacking **Badauni's mental and conceptual framework** would require an analysis of religious and non-religious writings that he read which certainly would have shaped his mind and scholarship later on. Therefore, an intellectual biography of Badaun is not possible without looking into the

intellectual environment he was surrounded with and intellectual scholarship he was engaged with.

Badauni's secret chronicle, *Muntakhab*, needs to be examined in its totality. The *Muntakhab* is divided into three volumes, of which only the second volume is about **Akbar's** reign. The first volume gives the historical narrative of the Sultans of Delhi from Mahmud of Ghazni up to the reign of Humayun, while the third volume is a biographical account of the leading Sufis, *ulama*, poets and physicians of **Akbar's period.** **Sadly, modern scholars' attention** has been exclusively on the second volume to reconstruct history of the sixteenth century Mughal India. It is understandable why they paid more attention to the second volume, because it provided them information about the greatest of the Mughal emperor. However, they did not bother to analyze the other two volumes, which were equally rich and informative. This brings up the question as to how feasible would it be to develop a comprehensive understanding of Badauni if all the three volumes are put together and analyzed historically. There are two ways in **which a holistic reading of Badauni's chronicle** in its totality will help us reconstruct his life and make sense of his intellectual acumen as a historian.

Firstly, it is not required to distinguish the three volumes and read them separately. What is more befitting is to read the entire chronicle as a single statement cohesively structured and articulated by Badauni. This totality will enable us to realize inter-connections between different parts of his book. It will also help us to find reasons for why he wrote what he wrote. As a matter of fact, it is known that Badauni wrote the history of Sultans of Delhi on the basis of materials drawn from two other sources, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad and *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* of Yahya Sirhindi, claiming that he has only summarized what the other two **had written with 'some additions' here and there.**¹¹ The question, which was never asked by scholars, is why he simply re-narrated what was already in the public domain in the first place. The answer to this question lies in the fact that **Badauni's purpose was not simply to reproduce** what had already been written about but to **"reconstruct" the history of the pre-Mughal India** in accordance with the narrative that was follow

in the second part. Consequently, Badauni was **not summarizing but actually “writing afresh”** the account of the Sultans of Delhi by adding and **deleting some parts from his “sources”**. It is evident that the true meaning of his book can only be discovered if it is read in its totality as one work wherein his ideas are scattered but follow a certain and cohesive pattern throughout.

From this follows the second aspect of the new methodological approach that I have proposed. Any comprehensive reading of **Badauni’s whole chronicle must adopt what is called “source criticism”, an approach adopted by Marilyn Waldman.** In her book, *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography*, Waldman has **emphasized the importance of “textual criticism”** for understanding the meaning conveyed by historical narratives. She cautions, however, that the textual criticism is not to be seen only in the context of the historical setting, though the latter is **important for ascertaining the author’s response**.¹² It should rather be more attentive to **the structure of the text because “it is the structure of the work that often bears the brunt of communicating the author’s values. Elements of structure -organization, pace, arrangement, focus, selection, repetition, juxtaposition, omission, and emphasis- can convey the attitudes of the author”**.¹³ Adopting this methodology in the case of Badauni is very valuable. It proposes that meaning is not generated only through explicitly stated declarations. But it is also expressed in an implicit way; the meaning is, thus, embedded within the structure of the text and can be

ascertained through an analysis of its structural features.

I therefore argue that Badauni’s chronicle should not be looked into as merely a ‘mine of facts’ that need to be collected and put together as the final evidence. Instead, it is absolutely necessary to examine why certain issues have been discussed in a way, and not otherwise. For example, why certain couplets or anecdotes have been inserted in a story or what purpose do they serve in the overall narrative structure or how do they create or shape the reconstruction of the historical past? Questions like these require a deeper examination of not only the context of the book but also the structure of the narrative and its style of presentation, which engender a particular meaning in the minds of readers. Since history writing was a means to tell a story, it is meaningless if the story is not creating the impression that the author wants to generate.

To conclude, I propose that Badauni should not to be reduced to the binary of liberal and orthodox because these categories are armed with modern religious sensibilities and they do not help us in understanding him primarily as a historian and intellectual of the sixteenth century Mughal India. It is important to go beyond these subjectivities and adopt a methodology that gives equal weightage to all of his writings and reads him in his totality. His secret chronicle is to be subjected to a structural analysis where equal attention is given to his style and techniques of presentation, which shape the meaning of his narrative.

End Notes

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 5. Badauni, *Najat*, pp. 318, 320-21; Badauni, *Muntakhab*, vol. II, tr. Low, 1884, pp. 389-97.
 6. Badauni, *Najat*, p.2.
 7. Ibid, pp. 2-3.
 8. In 1580 Akbar issued a decree asking the nobles, members of the royal family and the commoners to document the events of the past since the establishment of the Mughal rule in India up to his age. Those documents were meant to provide the source materials for AbulFazl who was commissioned to write an official **history of Akbar's reign, which included the accounts of his ancestors. Nizamuddin Ahmad's Tabaqat-iAkbari** was one such work in that series.
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HISTORICAL WRITINGS AND MAPPING ON SWADESHI STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LTD, 1906-1909

T. Jadayan

The paper aims at focusing the writings on the newspapers of *Swadesamitran* and *India* and the scholarly writings A.R.Venkatachalapathy, J.B.P. More A.Sivasubramanian, N.Rajendran, V.Venkatraman and R.A. Padmanthan about the mapping of the Swadeshi Navigation Company Ltd and its role in spreading swadeshi activities in Nationalist Movement.V.O. Chidambaram involved in vigorous swadeshi activities. He aspired to found a swadeshi steam navigation company with the aim to run steamers between Tuticorin and Colombo.

When the Si. Va. Co. had come to a grinding halt, a modest pleader from a local court in Tirunelveli district, who had come under the influence of the swadeshi movement was fired with the desire of starting a new steam navigation company. According to R.A.Padmanabhan, his full name was Vallinayagam Olganathan Chidambaram or V.O.Chidambaram. He was born on 5th September 1872 at Vandanam village, near Ottapidaram in Tirunelveli District. His father, Olganathan was himself a lawyer. The son followed his father's occupation and became a lawyer. When his first wife passed away in 1901, he remarried Meenakshi Ammmal.¹

During the first half of the year 1906 V.O.Chidambaram came to Madras where the

swadeshi movement was being activated by Mandayam Srinivasachari and Subramania Bharati, a young patriotic poet from Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli. The latter who had started his journalistic career as sub-editor of *Swadesamitran* in Madras in 1905, was presently editing '*India*'; a radical Tamil journal, started by the Mandayam brothers in April 1906.

V.O.Chidambaram came to Madras to meet Subramania Bharati, who had already made a name for himself as a nationalist poet and writer. Chidambaram was imbued highly with swadeshi sentiments, he used only swadeshi goods and avoided using British goods. During his talks with Mandayam and Bharati, V.O.C. expressed his desire to start national industries. He insisted that resourceful individual Indians should get together to start their own industries in order to check the domination of British-owned industries and businesses in India.²

On his return back to Tirunelveli, V.O.C. actively involved in vigorous swadeshi activities. At the same time he started to mobilise influential wealthy Indians in the area with the objective of founding a steam navigation company to run steamers between Tuticorin and Colombo. His the aim was to counter and challenge the monopoly held by the BISN Co. in

this sector, after the debacle of the Si. Va. Co. He toured extensively in some districts of Tamil region as well as in Ceylon in order to mobilize the necessary fund for the foundation of the company. It was an attempt to defeat British capital by raising Indian capital. He had to rely on the zamindars or landlords and the merchants in order to attain his objective because it was they who had accumulated capital during British period. Besides, V.O.C. himself belonged to the professional class, which again was the creation of the British. The zamindars, merchants and the professionals were the elite classes of British India. V.O.C. reached out to the zamindars and merchants in order to start and promote the steam navigation company. Besides, he induced the nationalist feelings of the people to acquire support for his business project. In this attempt, he had the support of Subramania Bharati, editor of *India* and G.Subramania Iyer, proprietor of *Swadesamitran* who had toured Tirunelveli earlier to spread swadeshi ideals.³

His constant work resulted in the establishment of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. It was registered under the Indian Companies Act on 16th October 1906. Its office was based in Tuticorin at 85, Periacattan Road. The Company's nominal capital was 10, 00000. The total number of shares available was 40000 and the price of one share was fixed at Rs.25.⁴

P.Pandi Thurai Thevar, the zamindar of Palavanattam was chosen as the President of the Company. Among the directors were Si.Va. Nallaperumal Pillai, A.M.M. Arunasalam Pillai, C.S.V. Krishna Pillai, P.V.Naidu, C.T.A Arumuga Pillai, A.S.V.V.Pillai, Adi Narayana Chettiar, A.V.S. Venkatachallam, A.C.Chettiar, V.Thiruchikanbala Chettiar, A.A.A.Arumugam Chettiar, Deivanayagam Pillai, M.V.Maya Nadar, Ismail Haji Abdul Rahman Sait and H. Solaimalai Thevar. They were essentially zamindars, wealthy merchants, bankers and money-lenders.⁵

The honorary secretaries were H.A.R. Haji Fakir Muhammad Sait & Sons. V.O.C. was appointed as the assistant secretary of the company.⁶ The four law advisers of the company were C.Vijayaraghavachariar (lawyer of Salem), K.R.Gurusamy Iyer (high court lawyer of Tirunelveli), M.Krishnan Nayar (high court lawyer

of Calicut and B.N.Vengu Iyer (district court lawyer at Tuticorin), Tuticorin's National Bank of India was among the treasurers of the company.⁷

Indeed, the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company's objects were quite vast and varied. Another particularity of this company was that the shares in the company were exclusively reserved for Indians, Ceylonese, Burmese and other peoples of the East like the Japanese. The white Europeans were not given any right to buy shares in the company. Besides there also a racial motivation in the starting of the company apart from the swadeshi motivation.⁸ J.B. P.More in his work, *Indian Steamship Ventures*, observed that it was naturally done with the objective of keeping the white Europeans out of the company, in spite of the fact that India was still ruled by the British. The British Indian government did not object to this particularity.⁹

The company's honorary secretaries, Haji Fakir Mohammad Sait and Sons alone bought 8000 shares of the company i.e. one-fifth of the shares of the company. This showed that Haji Fakir Mohammad Sait had played a great role in the establishment of this company. It was he engaged V.O.C. to act as assistant secretary because the prime initiator of the company. The latter in his turn convinced Haji & Sons to throw in their lot in founding the company. The President Pandi Thurai Thevar and the other directors bought another 2000 shares on the whole, leaving the remaining 30000 shares for other buyers. The participation in the company of the directors including Pandi Thurai Thevar, the zamindar, was considerably less when compared to Haji & Sons, who risked a good amount of their wealth in floating this swadeshi company. Haji & Sons were no doubt the foremost swadeshi shareholders of the company based at Tuticorin, which thenceforth came to be known as the 'Barisal' of south India, given that Barisal in Bengal was the place from where the Roys of Bhagyakul operated their steamers since 1897.¹⁰

Though the company was registered on 16th October 1906, there prevailed some difficulties in procuring the required steamers for the company. V.O.C. himself, like his predecessors of the Si.Va. Co. went to Bombay to buy the steamers, when 10000 shares were sold out. He thought that by buying one steamer he could get the others invest in the company.

On 22nd December 1906, he actually procured a steamer. But the steamer was in a European dock and it had to undergo some repairs before it could be delivered to the company. Later, it appeared that when more shares were sold out, a second steamer was bought on 24th January 1907. Two steam launches were also to be bought subsequently. All these steamers were expected to reach Tuticorin by the end of February 1907 according to a report by V.O.C. himself.¹¹

However the steamers did not reach Tuticorin in February 1907. After a gap of another two months, i.e. in May 1907, the first steamer known as 'Gaelia' reached Tuticorin. It was almost immediately pressed into service between Tuticorin and Colombo. The second steamer called 'Lavoe' arrived at Tuticorin in June 1907 and was also operated into service. Lavoe was fitted with electric bulbs and other comforts. There was space in it for 44 first class travellers, 24 second class travellers and 1300 third class travellers. There were also facilities to load 2000 tons of goods and cattle. Lavoe was operated on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 6 p.m from Tuticorin and reach Colombo at morning 6 a.m. and from Colombo every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 5.30p.m and reach Tuticorin at 6 a.m.¹²

The old European names for the ships 'S.S.Gaelia' and 'S.S.Lavoe' were retained by the Company. A steam launch which eventually came was also known by its European name 'Miranda'. They did not deem it necessary to change the names into purely Indian swadeshi names. This was pointed out by none other than Subramania Bharati himself, one of the prime propagandists for the company. But V.O.C. seemed to have not taken note of it.

Bharati suggested four Indian names for the ships: Shivaji, Dadabhai, Balagangadhar, Tilak or Gaekwar. Of these, Bharati thought that two could be chosen for the two steamers while the other two might be used for the two steam launches. But neither V.O.C. nor the company directors seemed to have taken note of Bharati's suggestion.¹³ They were contented in calling the ships as 'Gaelia' and 'Lavoe', in spite of the fact that many BISN Co ships bore Indian names and all ships of the European-owned Asiatic Steam Navigation Company bore typical Indian names.

V.O.C. had reached out to the zamindars and merchants in order to set up the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. At the same time, fired by swadeshi sentiments, he also engaged himself in swadeshi political activities. Hardly a month or two after the launching of the two steamers G.Subramania Iyer of the *Swadesamitran* toured Tirunelveli delivering public speeches in favour of swadeshi. Now that the steamers were operating regularly to and fro between Tuticorin and Colombo, the officials of the BISN Co felt threatened. But with the goodwill of the businessmen of Tuticorin, the steamers ran successfully. BISN Company even advertised that they will carry goods freely for the businessmen. But V.O.C. convinced the businessmen that the intention of the BISN Company was to destroy the swadeshi company and that once this was done the businessmen would be at their mercy for they would increase the rate of their steamers as much as they wanted and make huge profits. Hence BISN company officials complained to the colonial authorities like the Governor of Madras and the Collectors who had shares in the company. The colonial authorities and the BISN Company officials found it right time and opportunity to strike at the fledgling swadeshi company.¹⁴ However, due to the vigilance of V.O.C. the swadeshi company run somewhat profitably in the initial stages.

Under these circumstances, V.O.C. thought that there would be no risk to the company's fortunes if he absents himself for some time from the service of the company. So in November 1907, hardly five months after the launching of the steamers, heeding to the request of Bharati, V.O.C. made his way to Madras, with the intention of attending the annual conference of the Congress party which was to be held at Surat towards the end of December 1907, with about hundred delegates from the Madras Presidency.¹⁵

There was a violent showdown between the extremists led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aravinda Ghosh and others and the moderates led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, V.Krishnasamy Iyer and others. The extremists met separately and selected Tilak and Aravinda Ghosh as secretaries of Bombay and Bengal respectively, while V.O.C. was selected as the secretary of the Madras Presidency.¹⁶

After this the Madras delegates returned to Madras. V.O.C. participated and spoke in some swadeshi meetings held in Madras. The *Chennai Jana Sangam* was established on 11th January 1908 under the presidentship of Mandayam Srinivasachariar to promote swadeshism in Madras City. Very soon V.O.C. made his way to Tirunelveli to carry on with the swadeshi activities there and also to look after once again the activities of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. But this time as secretary of the extremist faction of the Madras Presidency, V.O.C. very much like Tilak and Aurobindo came under the scrutiny of the government. V.O.C. himself had admitted this fact in his autobiography, *Suya Saarithai*.¹⁷

However, when the extremists lost support mostly in Madras Presidency, there were some agitations in Tirunelveli District alone. Since January 1908, another extremist leader, Subramania Siva came to Tirunelveli from Madurai to promote swadeshi activities. He along with V.O.C. organised public meetings favouring swadeshi, especially at Tuticorin beach. V.O.C. had presided many of these meetings.

By February, they were appealing to the workers. Subramaniam Siva declared that if the coolies stood out for extra wages European mills in India would cease to exist. All such extremist activities of V.O.C. and his colleagues were taken note of by the government.¹⁸ V.O.C. Chidambaram, fired by nationalist sentiments, was quite oblivious to the fact that all his activities encouraging extremism would have an impact on the fortunes of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company of which he was still the Assistant Secretary and in which many Tamil businessmen and zamindars had heavily invested.

Besides, V.O.C. in his capacity as a lawyer and also Subramaniam Siva began to involve themselves in the strike of workers. Sumit Sarkar viewed that that it was due to the fiery speeches especially in favour of the workers and Communism which emboldened the workers of the Coral Mills, managed by the Harveys, to ask for higher wages and other concessions. The strike started on 24th February 1908. V.O.C. mediated between the workers and the directors of the Mill. Due to his efforts, a settlement was arrived at, favourable to the workers. In fact, a

50% rise in the wages was obtained. This was not at all to the liking of the directors of the company, but it somehow put an end to the strike and on 7th March 1908 the workers resumed work.¹⁹ Besides, V.O.C., in pursuit of his swadeshi aims, had started the 'Dharma Sangha Weaving Mill' and was asking the people to support it.²⁰

The Coral Mills strike and the starting of the weaving mill had come at a time when swadeshi sentiments were running high in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli district. V.O.C. involved in various activities related to swadeshi in the Tirunelveli district, other than being just the paid secretary of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. Though he was instrumental in setting up the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company of the capitalist type, he was also sympathetic towards the workers and Communism. In fact, he never opposed the fiery speeches in favour of Communism during some of the swadeshi meetings. This was possible because V.O.C. himself was a professional who never possessed any capital that could be invested in business. But the government was on the look out for him as he was the prime mover of swadeshism in the district and was also the secretary of the extremist faction since the Surat Congress split. V.O.C. seemed not to have been fully aware of the implications of all his swadeshi activities and the impact it could have on the fortunes of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company.

Foreign goods were regularly boycotted in Tuticorin since 1907. After the end of the Coral Mill strike, the swadeshists decided to celebrate the release of another extremist leader of Bengal, Bepin Chandra Pal at Tuticorin. The Collector, L.M. Wynch banned this meeting, thinking that it will create law and order problems. The meeting was nevertheless held on 10th March. It was then that the Collector decided to arrest V.O.C. Subramania Siva and few other leaders. They were duly arrested on 12th March 1930 and imprisoned in the Palayamkottai jail.²¹

The very next day riots broke out at Tuticorin and Tirunelveli Town. The workers of Coral Mills and also Best Mills, both owned by the British went on strike. All shops were closed. Europeans and European businesses as well as schools were attacked. Herbert Champion, the Principal of Hindu College sought refuge in the offices of Parry & Co, along with Parry

Company's agent Cameron. Public buildings and properties were set on fire. In Tirunelveli, the sub-collector and assistant magistrate Robert William Ashe ordered to shoot at the rioters. This resulted in the death of four rioters. Within a couple of days, the riots were brought under control both in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli, with the help of the loyal police.²²

By the way, towards the end of April 1908, there was an attempt to kill Magistrate Kingsford of Muzaffarpur District in Bengal. Kingsford escaped, but the wife and daughter of Pringle Kennedy, a lawyer in the Muzaffarpur court were killed. Barindra Kumar Ghosh and his brother Aravinda Ghosh were arrested in connection with this assassination. The Tirunelveli riots directed against the British and the Kennedy murders had contributed a lot to create a great sense of insecurity in the minds of the British colonialists in India. Bharati himself condemned these cold-blooded murders of two white women as a great mistake which had the potential to discredit the whole swadeshi movement. The British wanted to crush all such activities which threatened the security of the British and their rule. As a result all extremist leaders were dealt with severely.²³

In Tirunelveli itself V.O.C. pleaded that he or his speeches were not responsible for the riots and if there were riots it was due to the activities of some 'misguided rowdies'.²⁴ But under the prevailing tense situation at the all India level due to extremist activities, the British judge Pinhey thought it judicious to sentence V.O.C. to transportation for life twice. However the Madras High Court reduced the sentence on 4th November 1908 to just six years imprisonment. With the consent of V.O.C., his wife Meenakshi Ammal even appealed to the Privy Council in London to cancel the sentence on the ground that V.O.C. never indulged in seditious activities. Rs.1 0000 was required for the appeal. Meenakshi Ammal and Bharati solicited the financial support of the public for pursuing the appeal case in London. In the north, Aravinda Ghosh impressed by the activities and courage of V.O.C., declared him as "the first complete example of an Aryan reborn".²⁵

Bharati vehemently proclaimed that V.O.C.'s speeches were not seditious. He accused the British of wreaking vengeance on V.O.C. for challenging British business interests though the

Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and for his role in the Coral Mills strike. He put the blame on the Madras Government for the riots as according to him British rulers were half businessmen and half rulers or rather three-quarter businessmen and one-quarter rulers.²⁶

The turn of events in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli which ended in the arrest of V.O.C. and other nationalists was a needed boost for British business in the region. Meanwhile, the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was subjected to rate wars by the BISN Company. With V.O.C. in jail, there was nobody to counter the rate wars imposed by the BISN Company. Besides, the BISN Co officials were also on the lookout to hinder the functioning of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company by using the patronage of the colonial authorities in the region. The local agent of the BISN Company reminded the district magistrate of the default of the Swadeshi Company in the matter of publishing the half-yearly balance-sheet of the company. Thereupon, the sub-Collector, Ashe went to the Swadeshi Company's office after the close of the business for the day, along with the civil surgeon, as a witness, and demanded of some of the Company's servants present to show the shareholders' list, offering one rupee out of his own pocket. But on being told that the request could not be complied with out of office hours and in the absence of responsible officers, Ashe retraced his steps. But very soon the steamer 'Gaelia', the principal vessel of the Swadeshi Company was prevented from being put at sea on the plea that the complement of officers was incomplete. Besides, among the persons arrested apart from V.O.C., there were also some shareholders and pleaders of the Swadeshi Company.²⁷

On the whole, the riots and the repression and intimidations that followed were not at all conducive to the commercial interests of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. The absence of V.O.C. to steer the company on the right course did not augur well for the future of the company. Businessmen and people, fearing the colonial authorities began to abandon the Swadeshi ships. Bharati wrote that the shareholders of the company should invest more and save the company. Through his press organ he implored the people to support V.O.C. and the company.²⁸ But it was of no avail.

However since the arrest of V.O.C. in March 1908 until March 1909, the total loss incurred by the company amounted to about Rs.4,60,000.²⁹ 'Gaelia' had been already confiscated by the creditors. It was recovered later by paying of the debts.³⁰ 'Lavoe' was under repair. A Charitable Fund was created to come to the help of the Swadeshi Company. Two lakhs rupees were needed in two or three months in order to save the company. But the funds were not forthcoming adequately and the company went bankrupt by 1909. A certain Krishna Iyengar was the secretary of the company then as V.O.C. was in prison. Though there was some hope that the company would be revived through Iyengar's efforts, by the year 1911, it was simply liquidated. When V.O.C. was released from jail on 12th December 1912 from the Cannanore Central jail, as an impoverished man with nobody even to welcome him, there was no trace or talk of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company of Tuticorin.³¹ He remained a Congressman till his death. After leading a precarious existence since he was released from prison, he finally died on 18th November 1936 at Tuticorin.

To conclude V.O.Chidambaram posed a great challenge to the economic activities of the British in Tuticorin by initiating swadeshi

activities. He mobilized fund for swadeshi activities. According to P.B. Gopalakrishnan, due to the indefatigable efforts made by V.O.C. the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was inaugurated and was registered under the Indian Companies Act on 16th October 1906.³² In May 1907, the first steamer known as 'Galeia' reached Tuticorin. The second steamer called 'Lavoe' arrived at Tuticorin in June 1907, Bharathi suggested four names for the ships. G.Subramania Iyer supported the swadeshi endeavour of V.O. Chidambaram. Foreign goods were regularly boycotted in Tuticorin since 1907. The turn of events in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli ended in the arrest of V.O. Chidambaram and other nationalists. The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was subjected to suppression by the British authority. Fearing punishment from the British, people and businessmen began to abandon the swadeshi ships. Arrest of Chidambaram led a great loss to the swadeshi Company. V.O.Chidambaram was released on 12th December 1912 from the Cannanore Jail. He came out of the jail as an impoverished man with nobody even to welcome him. These historical events connected with the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company were gleaned from the information given by the nationalist newspapers and from the writings of the nationalist historians.

End Notes

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THE ROLE OF THE BASEL MISSION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIIYYA COMMUNITY IN MALABAR-NINETEENTH CENTURY

P.J. Jasna

The word Malabar is of a semi foreign origin 'mala' the Dravidian word means a hill or a mountain and 'bar' probably a Persian word [bar] means country.

The social system of Malabar in the nineteenth century was well entrenched in the principle of caste and kinship. Caste system as an institution created separation and segmentation in the part of each and every section of Malabar society. The fourfold classification of Varna system leaves a gap in Kerala as there is no counterpart of the vaishyas in the Kerala social order. At the top of the social hierarchy was placed the Namboodharies. The Kshathriyas came next in the order. Ambalavasis were placed below the Kshathriyas.

Then there were Nairs who formed the militia of the country. The low castes like Kammalars, Thiyyas, and Mukkuvans came below them and the lowest were the slaves, Cherumar or Pulayar, Parayar and others. The upper castes like Namboodharies, Kshathriyas, Ambalavasis and Nairs enjoyed several immunities and privileges. The principles of social freedom and equality found no place in the Hindu social organization. The polluting castes like Thiyyas, Kammalars, Mukkuvans, Cherumar or Pulayas, Parayas and several other castes were subjected to gross social and economic disabilities. All the domestic concerns of the lower castes, all their social

activities and all their liberty of thought and actions were regulated by the arbitrary will of the upper castes. Among the lower caste groups in Malabar, the most prominent was the community of Thiyyas. Their traditional occupation was tending and tapping of coconut trees, but many of them were agriculturalists, traders, shopkeepers, private servants etc...economically they were safes and in some cases even slaves in villages and towns they were segregated from the caste Hindu. The Thiyyas were not allowed to use public tanks, wells, roads and bridges than ran near the upper castes houses and temples. J.H. Hutton stated that, in south India, many castes regarded as polluting by proximity and are not allowed to approach within a certain distance of Hindu temple; so much of this the case that common expressions of spatial measurement are, or were, Thiyapad, Cherumapad, etc... indicating a distance equivalent to that with in which a thiyya or a cheruman, as the case may be of course, may not approach a man of high caste. The offence committed by an ezhava against a member of an upper caste was severely punished an offence against a Brahmin was punishable to death. The ezhavas were denied admission to the schools and were kept aloof from the administrative jobs in Travancore. They were prevented from dressing caste Hindu style and wearing certain ornaments. They were required to uncover above the waist.¹

The thiyya women were not allowed to use any upper garments to cover their breasts. They were also forbidden to wear any footwear. The holding of umbrella was also prohibited to them. They were not allowed to construct double storey- buildings. In the pre British days, for the most part of the thiyya slaves of the Nairs and Namboodharies lived in a one roomed thatched hut. Beside the house it was called by different names according to the occupations caste. The ezhavas were required to call the house and which they lived in ' pura' and 'kudi', were as Nairs called their houses 'vidu' and the Namboodharies ' illam'. The ezhavas are not only the majority of the backward classes but also a dominant caste in Kerala, William Logan stated that the thiyar or ezhavas are the strongest section of the Hindu population.

Those days education was the monopoly of the upper caste. They restricted this facility to lower caste in order to protect their interest. By denying education to the lower caste, they could easily suppressed them and exploit their service for the benefit of upper caste. They also believed that education of lower caste would be disturb the caste structure in which they enjoyed supremacy. *ezhuthupallokoodam* or the village school for the education of non Brahmin children functioned in each village under an *ezhuthachan* or teacher.ⁱⁱ The school functioned either in the house of the teacher or in the house of some important persons in the locality. The thiyas also used to run *ezhuthupallikoodams*, but such institutions were less in number.

The advent of Protestant Christian missionaries in the beginning of the 19th century marked a turning point in the history of Kerala. In their zeal for spreading education, abolishing slavery and forced labour, fight for women's liberation and eradication of caste difference and untouchability they became precursors of social reform movements in Kerala. The Basel Evangelical Mission played a significant role to bring social change in the 19th century Malabar.

The beginning of western education in Kerala was associated with the work of Christian missionaries. A German missionary group called Basel evangelical mission gave the leadership in spreading English education in Malabar area. They started centers at Cannanore, Tellicherry, Calicut, Palghat and opened education institution also, simultaneously the missionaries like

London missionary society took the cause of education in Travancore. The principle of equality preached by the Europeans and the emancipation of the down trodden advocated by the Christian missionaries attracted those communities to the field of education. Some of them were also converted to Christianity.

At the time of the arrival of Christian missionaries the social system of Malabar was well entrenched in the principle of caste hierarchy and differentiation. The status of the individual in society was determined by the norms of caste.³ The traditional institution of caste system, feudalistic land ownership and various the social evils like untouchability and unapproachability etc., were prevalent in the society. The higher castes enjoyed all the rights and privileges, while the lower castes were deprived of them. The lower castes had no freedom to enter into the temples. They were not allowed to walk through the public spaces and education was almost denied to them. The degraded condition of the lower caste people invited the attention of the early missionaries.

The Basel Missionaries approach towards the people attracted many low castes and they felt that conversion to Christianity could liberate them from the then existing social bondages and discriminations. Therefore, many low caste people were converted to Christianity: The conversion made them independent of caste restrictions and untouchability. Now they could not only walk along the road without the fear of polluting the upper castes, but also could go near to the brahmanic temples, both were otherwise restricted. Also, newly emerging public places like post offices and schools were made open to the converted. The freedom enjoyed by the converted people attracted many low caste people into Christianity.⁴

To attract more people to Christianity, the missionaries of Basel Mission thought that, social changes need to be brought about by extending educational facilities to the low caste people. With this objective they started educational institutions in different parts of Malabar. The pioneers in thought in Malabar were the missionaries like Dr. Hermen Gundert, Rev. Samuel Hebbik, Rev. J. Hermelink and Rev. John Michael Frists. They paid great attention to the educational efflorescence of Malabar. Dr. Herman Gundert was the outstanding figure

among them and he was considered as the founder of the Basel Evangelical Mission Church and its educational institutions in Malabar.⁵

Although the activities of Christian missionaries aimed primarily at either the protection of the interests of European capitalists or at the proselytization of the members of the backward community to Christianity, their activities did spread enlightenment among certain sections of society. It had also resulted in dispelling, to an extent, superstitions among the people of Malabar and engendering in them a feeling of self-respect and equality⁶. Overall, the Basel Mission did the pioneering effort to the modernization of the Malabar society. The educational activities of Basel Mission served as a model for the British government to follow. The school buildings were solid, airy and spacious where children sat on benches and wrote on slates and paper. There were textbooks to learn.⁷ The Basel Mission gave attention to elementary education. Dr. Herman Gundert was instrumental in initiating this activities. He established an elementary vernacular school at Tellicherry on 14 May 1839.⁸

The Thiyyas were able to take advantage of the missionary activities. In 1841 a missionary by name Rev. Habik came to Cannanore and at place called Vamasserri, established an English school. He appoints a popular man among the Thiyyas called Anbu Panikkar, as Malayalam teacher in that new school and it helped to promote education among the thiyyas of Kannur and nearby areas.⁹ The English education in Cannanore and premises was easily popularized. As early as 1845 the Basel mission established another English primary school in Kallai near

Calicut. Eight years later in 1856 they established one more school in Tellicherry. The Basel records on the education activities provide information that in these schools, almost every community was represented but bulk of the students came from the thiyya caste.¹⁰

The contribution of the Basel Mission in the field of education in Malabar is praiseworthy. Their involvement brought about changes in the educational and socio- economic realms of Malabar society.¹¹ The English education helped the people to improve their knowledge of the world and imbibe modern western ideas. The spread of educational facilities made the lower caste peoples rapid advancement in social scale.

The thiyyas of Malabar were a prominent group who best made use of the facilities provided by the Mission. By enrolling themselves into mission schools the thiyya boys and girls acquired new skills required to survive in the age of colonialism and after. They got employment in colonial bureaucratic structure which also resulted in the improvement of their social and economic positions. Colonial document shows that by the end of the 19th century several bureaucratic positions became a sort of monopoly for the thiyya community. The highest post that a native could reach in those days of British administration was that of a Deputy Collector. It was a thiyya of Tellicherry named Churayi Kanaran who first became a Deputy Collector.^{xii} Thiyya men were also appointed as Tahasi Idars, subjudges, doctors, lawyers, teachers and other employees in the colonial governmental service.

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SACRED GEOGRAPHY: A CONCEPT TO STUDY THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA

S. Jeevanandam & M.L. Rajesh

Introduction

Sacred geography is a cognitive landscape that generated a powerful sense of land, location, and belongingness to the particular society. It is an important cultural element of the religious and spiritual tradition of the world. It constructs an idea of cultural homogeneity on the basis of religion. **The concept of 'holy' land is an agency** and gives a sense of association and pride towards the particular land and society. This is a universal phenomenon. This could be witnessed by the conflict over the geographical terrains of Palestine, Ayodhya etc. In this context, the particular paper is trying to understand the conceptual framework of the idea called sacred geography and giving its special reference to Medieval India.

Sacred Geography is the study of qualities of the sacred and related cultural activities that imposed on certain places and expressed in a spatial context. It examines the cultural superimposition of the spirituality over the reality, which means the geography. Usually, civilization revolves around the three factors such as nature (geography), human (history) and human experiences (cultures born of contacts).¹ The conception of sacred geography connects the above mentioned three elements. It is a complex relationship between the existing physical features and human activities.

In the Indian context, the conceptual framework of sacred geography played a key role in the unification of the culturally diverse vast territories of the Indian sub-continent. Pithawalla stated that geography as an aid of the **unification of India's cultures**.² It unified the cultures of different regions and could construct the path for the common heritage.³ It becomes essential for inter-provincial and inter-communal relations. Diana L. Eck pointed out that the confluences go beyond physical geography to create a virtual geography of interconnectedness, which binds all India together and facilitates the rich tradition of religious pilgrimage between key sacred sites in the landscape.⁴

The term 'Sacred Geography'

Sacred Geography is an evolutionary child of geographical school. The study emerged in the end of the eighteenth century. Alexander Von Ham Bolt and Karl Ritter introduced two new principles in geographical studies such as physical and social geography.⁵ This precise approach widened the study area of geography into regional particularities with concepts of physical and social aspects. The physical geography studies the world surface such as the distribution of land and sea, its position, its shape and etc.⁶ On the other hand, the social geography, otherwise, known as geography that studies human relationship with their physical settings and environment, as well as their conscious activities and continues progressing in adapting itself and in transforming it to its needs.

Richard F. Townsend mentioned that a deeply rooted aspect of human behavior, the ordering of space is an activity that consists of between places in terms of varied functions degrees of meaning.⁷ Social geography was subdivided into many sub-groups in a course of a period, such as economic geography, political geography, cultural geography etc.⁸ John Pinkerton,⁹ nineteenth-century geographer, stated that these divisions are instead small segments of the field each of which is of interest to different groups of specialists who need not even be geographers.¹⁰ The method was adopted by various disciplines such as history, sociology, and anthropology to understand their study area. He further pointed out that the new approaches in the field can be divided into general, sacred, ecclesiastical and physical.¹¹

The term 'sacred geography' is unique itself. It is a compound of two words, obviously sacred and geography. The understanding is that spirituality over reality. Scientifically, there is no place(s) could name as sacred geography in the earth. It is merely a **cognitive**. **The idea, 'Sacred'** is an embedded, intrinsic attribute lying behind the external, empirical aspect of all things.¹² It provided a system of meanings. Durkheimian explained the distinction between sacred and profane. In general, symbolism plays a primary

role in the recognition of sacredness and it differentiates the particular object from others. Their shapes possess the power of what they symbolize. Mircea Eliade, the veteran historian on religion, argued that sacredness is a feature of the place.¹³ Emile Durkheim, the French sociologist, stressed humanity's role in attributing sacredness.¹⁴ The sacred always manifests itself as a reality of a wholly different order from "natural" realities.¹⁵ Therefore, the concept of sacred geography is a cognitive region. It differentiates sacred place(s) or centre(s) from others. In general, it is a study of religious network or¹⁶ a study of the religious geography of any religious order.

Sacred geography as a term was first used by Thomas Tucker Smiley in 1824.¹⁷ He wrote twelve pages pamphlet to explain to students of the Bible about the relationship between the scriptures, their Biblical place-names, and their geography.¹⁸ However, he did not attempt to explain or elaborate it further than a plain adjectival use of the word sacred.¹⁹ As the geography of the Holy Land, this was most simply: a new branch of geography, called *geomorphology*. According to Anthony Thorley, sacred geography is part of the important post-enlightenment academic rediscovery of an animistic worldview relevant to Western Culture.²⁰ Mai Looatah referred sacred geography as a powerful agent in the science of cartography.²¹

Sacred geography varies from religion to religion. These differences result in specific cultural and historical facts as well as geographical conditions. The circumstances of a wandering life in an isolated region; the need to form or unify a state organization; the pattern of an early chain of missions on military conquests; the lasting prestige and sacred quality of ancient civil and religious centers. These and countless other factors may determine how sacred geographies are shaped. It has the functions of creating a sense of place and a certain order in the world.

Sacred geography is a cultural construction of the particular place and space. Sacred places have multiple levels of meaning in Indigenous cultures. Sacred places are defined as one and distinguished from other places. Manifesting the sacred, any object becomes something else, yet it continues to remain itself for it continues to

participate in its surrounding cosmic milieu.²² They are no longer being the ordinary places like other.²³ It provides existential insideness, the feeling that one belongs to a particular place, **characterizes peoples' relationships with their homeland.** Mircea Eliade referred it as Hierophanies.²⁴ Every religion has its own association with the particular space such as Mecca (Mohammedans), Jerusalem (Jews and Christians), Rome (Christians), Srirangam²⁵ (Vaishnavite Hindu sects) and Kashi²⁶ (Saivite Hindu sects). The medieval churches helped to construct the Holy Roman Empire to counter the Arabs intervention in the Europe.

The sacred places are acts of creation, usually designed by a World Maker. Through the use of symbols, networks of meaning are imposed upon the land; such spatial orders clarify the differences between places. Such difference is intensified with the special spiritual presences and qualities that set certain locales apart from advisory profane space. Those places well charged with the supernatural power. An ordinary place could make as sacred through mythology and it is continually consecrated by rituals. There are patterns of religious meaning have traditionally been constructed on the mythic presuppositions of divine plurality and plenitude.²⁷ Richard Townsend mentioned that in the passage of time, sacred places became invested with the accumulations of mythical and historical meanings in complex layers of cultural memory.²⁸ In general, people used to perform their ritual practice either at that place or direct towards it like Mecca.

The places are revealed through the **society's mythology (sacred truth), thereby** becoming the physical manifestations of the mythological system. These networks form the sacred geographies, and religious meanings imposed upon it. Those lands must contain in the form of natural features and human-made symbols that establish communication between the earthly and the spiritual, embodying, collecting values and shared norms of conduct. It forms a unifying ground and develops the culture, for it stems from the marking, exploitation and defense of territories that helps to join the humankind.

The sacred geography is primarily associated with the places of pilgrimage which bring the traditions of the gods and goddesses,

heroes, heroines and sages to the living embodiment in the geography. In many occasions, the sacred places are identified with the elements of water, tree (*stala virutcam*), mountains, hero-stones, structures, and idols. In Indian religious traditions of rituals, reverence is linked primarily to the place of hills and rock outcroppings, to the headwaters and confluences of rivers, to the pools and groves of the forests and to the boundaries of towns and villages.²⁹ The river is an ancient and complex cultural symbol in India.³⁰ To find the earthly manifestation of a mystical sacred mountain, we must instead rely on qualitative assessments of landform shape, relative location, inter-visibility (line of sight views of one sacred mountain from another), folklore, place names, ceremonial use, and previous explorations.³¹

Conclusion

The study of an idea of sacred geography could establish some of the relevance of historicity of the particular historical past. The medieval sacred geography explained the social transition of the primitive to an agrarian society. The Saivite and Vaishnavite *bhakti* saints propagate the *bhakti* tradition and temple centred religious activities. The temples that were eulogized by the Saivite and Vaishnavite saints were called as *padal petra thalam* and *mangala sasanam thalam*. The *bhakti* movement became a strong base for orthodox religion and created an antagonism towards heterodox regions of Buddhism and Jainism. They popularized the Brahminical religion and caste consolidation of the Tamil society.

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NAGAPATTINAM – A STRATEGIC PORT FOR MARITIME TRADE DURING EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

D. Julius Vijayakumar

Nagapattinam was referred as “the City of Coromandel” by the early writers. Portuguese established a commercial centre at Nagapattinam in 1554.¹ An unpublished manuscript preserved at the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* mentions that a team of Portuguese merchants came to trade with the flourishing port of Nagore on 25 May 1524 from the Western coast of India and they were arrested by the *Marakayyars* of Nagore for no reason and all of them were put in prison. After a few days this message reached Manuel da Gama, the Portuguese captain and factor appointed by the King of Portugal who resided at the port of Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast. He made a secret plan and sent a confidential letter to the captives through an individual hailing from the native soil. It is reported that this messenger had successfully handed over the letter and he received remuneration which is found mention in the account books of the Portuguese captain and factor of the Coromandel Coast. The prisoners were later released through negotiations and this incidence clearly shows that the Tamil Muslim *Marakayyar* traders wanted to keep the monopoly of overseas trade in Nagore- Nagapattinam complex in the Bay of Bengal and so they discouraged the Portuguese who attempted to trade there.²

Portuguese sources describe that Nagore had flourishing trade in rice and textiles with Aceh, Pasai and Sri Lanka and we find that Nagapattinam was not prominent at that time.³ The trade and commerce possibly attracted the Portuguese and permission to trade and settle down at Nagapattinam was granted by Chinnappa Nayaka (1514-1532) the ruler of Thanjavur in the year 1525 when approached. It is reported that the Portuguese were immediately successful in the export of twenty-six *kottai* of rice to Melaka from Nagapattinam in the same year. They also procured butter, salt and oil for their own use.

The port of Pasai in Sumatra was a famous trading centre of raw silk brought by the Chinese ships and it had direct trade contacts with Nagore. The *Marakkayar* merchants supplied rice since food provisions were scarce there.

They exchanged it for raw silk that was in great demand for textile manufacture by the weavers in the hinterland of the Coromandel Coast. Paddy cultivated in the Cauvery delta region and surplus of rice availability greatly facilitated the export of rice from Nagore to Pasai in this period.⁴

The coastal settlement of Nagapattinam under the political control of the *nayaka* ruler of Thanjavur brought him enhanced revenue from maritime trade. The ruler raided the Portuguese settlement in 1577 when the activities of the Portuguese came to be regarded as undesirable by the Hindu merchants. The Portuguese in turn were asked to pay to the *nayak* in Thanjavur an annual tribute (exact amount not known) out of the revenue collected by them. All ships which were washed to the shores of Nagapattinam after wreckage in the sea were declared as belonging to the Portuguese as they were the masters of the Sea.⁵ Regarding extradition of fugitives of law, those merchants and other individuals belonging to the Portuguese trading factory, having misappropriated cash and other properties of the factory (who took shelter in the villages of the *nayak*) were handed over to the Portuguese together with their properties.⁶

It was essential to acquire such huge revenue since the *nayak* had to pay annual tribute to the king of Vijayangar residing at Vellore till the death of the last emperor of the Aravidu dynasty in 1642.⁷ The eye-witness of Fr. B. Coutinho who observed the tribute sent by the *Nayak* of Thanjavur to the king of Vijayanagar stationed at Vellore may be worth mentioning in this regard. He described in his letter dated 11 October 1608, that the *Nayak* sent his revenue which consisted of 500 thousand *cruzados* and many presents.⁸ Therefore it is construed that concentration on the collection of revenue by the *Nayak* in his kingdom of Thanjavur was a significant feature as he had to pay an increased amount of six to ten million *pardaus* fixed by the king of Vijayangar and paid the same in 1611.⁹ Under these circumstances when the amount of revenue due not paid by his subjects to the royal treasury the *Nayak* himself came in person to Nagapattinam and entered the houses of the

residents who failed to pay it. Further, when the *adhikari* demanded unreasonable levies from the Portuguese in 1632, they sent an embassy to Thanjavur court and the matter was settled by the Nayak.¹¹

The administration of the port of Nagapattinam which remained under the control of the nayak of Thanjavur slowly passed into the hands of the Portuguese. Some factors such as economic and political were responsible for this situation.

Raghunatha Nayak (1580-1630) and Vijaya Raghunatha Nayak (1630-1673) who ruled from Thanjavur found it difficult the control the maritime affairs. During this period, Nagapattinam emerged as the main port of rice trade in the Cauvery delta. *Trigo de Almeida*, captain of Nagapattinam, procured rice from the hinterland areas. Merchants like *Diogo Fernandez Pereira* supplied rice regularly from Nagapattinam in 1586. The domination of Nagapattinam-based Portuguese and Kunimedu Marakayars in rice trade is clear from contemporary records. *Boccaro* narrates that with the enormous profits derived from rice trade conducted from Nagapattinam with various ports in 1594 the Portuguese built houses of stone. As part of country trade in rice between the eastern and western coast of India, Portuguese ships carried more than 20,000 measures of rice (equivalent to 470000 bushels) annually from Nagapattinam. There is an instance to show that Raghunatha Nayak was annoyed at the way the Portuguese acted in issuing *cartazes* (Naval trade license or pass) by capturing a ship at Nagapattinam on 27 January 1625. Although he intervened in the matter but still was forced to obtain a *cartaz* from the Portuguese for the security of ships and merchandise leaving the port of Nagapattinam.

In 1645 the King of Portugal framed the regulations of the customs house in the port of Nagapattinam and this shows that he had taken over the complete control of the place. It was accepted by the Portuguese settlers and the traders of Nagapattinam on 31 January 1645. The regulations were reconfirmed and they were notified for the purpose of information to the public by the Municipality of Nagapattinam on 20 August 1645.¹² The new order of the customs house of Nagapattinam prohibited

private traders to trade with the English, the Dutch and the Danes after 15 November 1646.

The Dutch was the second European nation to come to the shores of India. They emerged as a prominent commercial power in South India during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and established several settlements along the Coromandel Coast.¹³ Initially the Dutch East India Company showed its interest on the lines of the Portuguese, the first country who reached East Indies for trading purposes. Later the increasing demand for Indian textiles in the markets of East Indies which were cheap and available on the Coromandel Coast attracted the attention of the Dutch company for expansion into the region.

The Dutch, having conquered maritime Ceylon from the Portuguese, crossed the Palk straits and intended to conquer the two Portuguese strongholds of Nagapattinam and Tuticorin. The Dutch conquered Nagapattinam fort from the Portuguese in 1658 with the help of Nayak of Thanjavur.¹⁴

In 1658, the Dutch tried to evict there under an agreement they had reached between King Vijaya Nayakker of Thanjavur and the Dutch in 1662, ten villages adjoining Nagapattinam Port-Puthur, Muttam, Poruvalancheri, Anthonipettai, Karureppankadu, Azhinji mangalam, Sangamangalam, Thiruthuramanagalam, Manjakollai, Nariyankudi were transferred from Portuguese to the Dutch.

Nagapattinam was a place of strategic importance for the trade of Southern India and Ceylon and an outlet for the rich Thanjavur hinterland. It had traditional trading ties with Southeast Asia and the Malay Peninsula.¹⁵ The conquest of this place led to the total destruction of Portuguese power on the south-eastern coast of India. The Dutch made an agreement with the king Vijaya Raghava Nayak (1634-1673) of Thanjavur on January 5, 1662, by which ten villages were transferred from the Portuguese to the Dutch.¹⁶ Later, the agreement between the first Maratha king Egoji (1675-1679) of Thanjavur and the Dutch, confirmed all the concessions the Dutch previously enjoyed in Nagapattinam and surrounding villages on December 30, 1676.¹⁷

The Maratha ruler of Thanjavur gave them freedom from all port customs and confirmed their right to mint coins in Nagapattinam and charged them half the mint duty.²¹ The king had developed a healthy respect for the Dutch power and accepted their naval dominance. In 1666, he leased them the port of Tirumalapatnam, about ten miles north of Nagapattinam and four neighbouring villages for an annual sum of 2800 pardao or about 1500 pagodas.¹⁸

The Dutch rebuilt the fort of Nagapattinam into a large impregnable structure with five points at a cost of million florins (170,000 pagodas).¹⁹ The seat of government of the Dutch Coromandel was shifted from Pulicat to Nagapattinam in 1690 when their fort Vijf Sinnen was completed.²⁰ The manufacture of cloth for export was the sole occupation of several indigenous groups of this area and the hinterland to the Southeast Asian markets. The trade prospects encouraged the Dutch to shift the headquarters to Nagapattinam and earned huge profits.

In 1657, the Dutch occupied the town, taking it from the Portuguese to become their chief possession in India. The Dutch conquered Nagapattinam fort from the Portuguese in 1658 with the help of Nayak of Thanjavur.²¹

In 1676, when the Maratha Prince Venkaji had established at Thanjavur, the grant of Nagapattinam to the Dutch was confirmed. During their stay at Nagapattinam, the Dutch built ten churches and a hospital. They also struck coins with the name Nagapattinam engraved in Tamil letters. During the course of Dutch occupation of Nagapattinam, two naval battles between British and French fleets were fought off the coast of Nagapattinam – first in 1758 as part of Seven Year War of Independence. The town fell into the hands of the British in 1781 after prolonged battles. 277 villages with Nagur as headquarters were handed over to the British East India company in 1779 itself when the Dutch and British reached a peace agreement in 1784, Nagapattinam was formally ceded to the British from 1799 to 1845, it was the headquarter of Thanjavur district.

The successful business of spices by the Dutch East India Company in the Southeast Asian region from the Coromandel Coast of

India encouraged the English to expand their trading operations from the west coast to the eastern coast of India. The Coromandel Coast became the scene of intense rivalry between Dutch and English for the control of Indian trade especially with East Indies. The British established themselves at Masulipatnam (1611) and Fort St. George (1640) and tried to control the trade with Southeast Asian countries. This had resulted into conflict between Dutch and British. The Dutch settlement of Nagapattinam fell into the hands of the British in 1781 after the two naval battles between the British and the French fleets were fought, off the coast of Nagapattinam. The first one was in the course of Seven Years War (1756-1763) and the second was in 1781, the American War of Independence. The heavily armed fort proved useless in 1781 siege and the British captured the fort. The town was taken by the British from the Dutch in 1781.²² The Treaty of Paris signed in 1784 ended the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784), formally ceding Nagapattinam to British by Dutch. A total of 277 villages with Nagore as headquarters were handed over to British. The headquarters of Dutch Coromandel was shifted back to Pulicat and later relinquished to British according to the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824.

At present, the traces of the existence of European powers – Portuguese, Dutch, and British from 1554 to 1947 at Nagapattinam has been found in rare numbers. These traces are still available in churches, grave-yards, public and private buildings. But these monumental evidences are gradually disappearing from day to day. The Archaeological, Inscriptional, Architectural and Epigraphical evidences in these monuments can be helpful to substantiate the historical knowledge on the colonial rule in this town. There are more than 130 graves belong to Europeans which are hidden in the dense bushes are having a lot of information about the Europeans who came here for trade, military and missionary purpose, their trading companies, their position in their companies, reason for their death and also about the royal seal under which he conducted his expedition. It is also interesting to note that many number of trading companies had undertaken trade at Nagapattinam from each country. In the churches adjacent the sea are having

inscriptions and the Royal emblems which also provided more historical information. The architecture of the church and the various building tell about the European excellence of architecture. It is also known that most of the records of the ancient churches were transferred to Ecclesiastical Archives at Madras and the respective European countries.

It well known from the above monuments and literary evidence that Nagapattinam, as a strategic port, has played a very vital role in maritime trade. It is also evident that on account of the presence of Europeans for almost 200 years, the society in and around Nagapattinam witnessed great impact in religion and education apart from trade activities.

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GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY PALLAVAS OF KANCHI AS GLEANED FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

V. Kalai & V. Thirumurugan

The Pallavas kings ruled over the whole of the kingdom of Kanchi. It is however probable that some one of the princes of the Pallava house of Kanchi, who was originally made a viceroy of the northern part of the Pallava kingdom by the king of Kanchi, carved out a separate principality in that part, independent of his overlord. If this suggestion is to be believed, the kings of the main line of the Pallava appear to have been ruling at Kanchi side by side with the branch line that was ruling in the northern part of the old

kingdom of Kanchi. Here shall the researcher try to see what we know about the history of Kanchi after the time of the Pallava kings of the Prakrit grants.

We have seen that Kanchi was under a Pallava king about the fourth quarter of the third century C.E., That king was succeeded by his son Sivaskandavarman who ruled about the first quarter of the fourth century C.E., He was possibly succeeded by a king named Sivaskandavarman. In the British Museum grant

of the time of this king, there is mention of the Pallava Yuva Maharaja Buddhavarman and of **the Yuva Maharaja's son whose name has been doubtfully read as Buddhayankura**. It is not known whether this crown-prince Buddhavarman and his son ever ascended the Pallava throne of Kanchi. In an attempt to fix the date of the early Pallava kings of Kanchi, we are fortunate to have at least three points whereon we can stand with confidence.

(i) The first of these points is supplied by the Jain work, *Lokavibhaga* where the precise date of the completion of the work is given as the 22nd year of Simhavarman, lord of the Pallavas, as 80 beyond 300 years of the Saka era. The 22nd year of a Pallava king named Simhavarman therefore comes to be equivalent to Saka 380, i.e. C.E., 458. According to S. Jha the date given in the *Lokavibhaga* corresponds to the 1st of March; but another record says that the 25th of August, 485. Anyway, the 22nd year of the Pallava king Simhavarman corresponds to 485 C.E. He therefore began to reign in (458-22=), 436 C.E.¹

(ii) The second point of importance is furnished by the Penukonda plates of the Ganga king Madhava² which, are to be assigned, on paleographical grounds, to about 475 C.E. It may be noticed here that the characters of this epigraph are remarkably similar to that of the epigraphs of the Salankayana king Nandivarman II. The Penukonda grant was issued by the Ganga king Madhava Simhavarman, son of Ayyavarman, grandson of Madhava and great grandson of Konkanivarman. But the greatest point of historical importance in this inscription is that it tells us of Madhava Simhavarman being installed on the throne by the Pallava king Skandavarman and of his father Ayyavarman being installed by the Pallava king Simhavarman. We have seen that Fleet ascribes the Penukonda plates to circa 475 C.E.; it is therefore almost certain that Pallava king Simhavarman who installed Ayyavarman, father of the Ganga king Madhava Simhavarman of the Penukonda plates, is identical with the Pallava king Simhavarman who began to rule in C.E., 436.

(iii) The third point of importance is supplied by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, which refers to the Gupta king's conflict with a certain *Kanceyaka* Vishnugopa. This "Vishnugopa of Kanchi" has been taken by all

scholars to have belonged to the family of the Pallavas. Samudra Gupta is believed to have reigned from circa 330 to 375 C.E., This dating appears possible from the facts that his father Chandragupta I began to rule in C.E., 320 and that the earliest date of his son Chandragupta II, according to the Mathura inscription⁵ is (Gupta 61+320=) 381 C.E., Since it is proved from the Prakrit records that Pallavas were master of the kingdom of Kanchi during the first half of the fourth century C.E., it is almost certain that the *Kanceyaka* Vishnugopa of the Allahabad pillar inscription was a Pallava king who ruled in the middle of that century which is the time of **Samudra Gupta's South India campaign**.

Let us now see whether these three Pallava kings - Simhavarman, Skandavarman and Vishnugopa, whose date is fairly correct- which can be found in the epigraphs of the Pallavas themselves. The evidence of the Penukonda plates recording the installation of two consecutive Ganga kings- Ayyavarman, and his son Madhava Simhavarman who seems to have **named after his fathers' overlord by the Pallava** king, Simhavarman and Skandavarman, renders it most likely that the Pallava king Simhavarman was the father and immediate predecessor of Skandavarman. It is very interesting in this connection to note that the Udayendiran grant (no. 1) of Nandivarman⁶ issued from Kanchipura, is the only known Pallava record, where we find a Pallava king named Singhavarman (Simhavarman) succeeded by his son Skandavarman. The genealogy given in this record is:

1. Skandavarman I; his son
2. Singhavarman; his son
3. Skandavarman II, his son
4. Nandivarman

These four kings are mentioned erectly in the same order in the Vyalor of Rajasimha⁷ though the relation of the others is not specified there we are therefore inclined to identify the Prakrit king Simhavarman of the *Logavibhaga* and the *Penukonda plates* and Skandavarman of the latter, with respectively the second and third king of the above list.

Beside the Udayandran plates there is another Sanskrit grant belonging early Pallava

rulers of Kanchi. This is the **Chendalur grant of Kumaravishnu II God VII, 233ff** issued from Kanchipura in the king's second regnal year. The grant plies us with the following line of kings:

1. Maharaja Skandavarman; his son
2. Maharaja Kumaravishnu I; his son
3. Maharaja Buddhavarman; his son
4. Maharaja Kumaravishnu; 2nd year.

The ° alphabet of the Chendalur plates more archaic than those of the Kuram and Kasakudi plates, but resembles those of the Pikira, Mangalur and Uruvupalli grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamps it as more modern is the fact that *r.k.* and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the Pikira, Mangalur and Uruvupalli grants the line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalur plates ruled in the interval between Simhavarman and Simhavishnu.

We have already seen that Simhavishnu, the second of the four kings mentioned in the Udayendiram grant, ruled from C.E., 436 to not earlier than C.E., 458. Thus his father Skandavarman I appears to have ruled at Kanchi about the first quarter of the fifth century, and his grandson Nandivarman seems to have ended his about the beginning of the sixth century C.E. The accession of Mahendravarman I to the throne of Kanchi is supposed to have taken place about the end of the same century, owing to his being an older contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Pulakesin II (C.E., 608-642). Mahendravarman I was preceded by his father Simhavishnu and grandfather Simhavarman⁹ between Nandivarman, the issuer of the Udayendiram grant, who seems to have ruled up to the beginning of the sixth century and Simhavarman, grandfather of Mahendravarman I, the Vayalur record place three kings named (1) Simhavarman, (2) Simhavarman and (3) Vishnugopa. The Vayalur grant thus places five kings between Nandivarman and Mahendravarman I, i.e. in the sixth century C.E., roughly. Since the rule of the five kings covering

about a century does not appear impossible, since the existence of four earlier kings (Nos. 41-44 of the Vayalur list) has been proved by the Udayendiram grant and since it is possible that the greater Pallavas of the line of Mahendravarman I did not forget even their immediate predecessors, the three kings placed by the Vayalur record between Nandivarman and Mahendravarman grandfather may be historical persons, though we have as yet no corroborative proof of their existence. We therefore think that the four kings of Kanchi mentioned in the Chendalur record however appear to have ruled before kings of the Udayendiram grant. The kings of the Chandler record however appear to have ruled after Vishnugopa who came in conflict with Samudargupta in the middle of the fourth century C.E. We have already seen that in the first half of the fourth century Kanchi was occupied by the Pallava kings who issued the Prakrit charters.

There are some references to Pallava rulers of Kanchi in the inscriptions of the Kadambas. An epigraph of the Kadamba king Ravivarman¹⁰ mentions Candadanda, the lord of Kanchi. Who was defeated by the Kadamba monarch? We do not definitely know whether Candadanda is the name or a *biruda* of the ruler of Kanchi who fought with Ravivarman. He cannot be satisfactorily identified with any king of the traditional list of early Pallava kings. His contemporary, the Kadamba king Ravivarman appears to have ruled about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century (497-557 C.E., according to *Kadamba – kula* by Moraes). According to Moraes, Krisnavarman I ruled from 475 to 480. C.E., Another Pallava king named Santivarman or Santivaravarman has been mentioned in the Hebbata plates¹² of the Kadamba king Vishuvarman. This Pallava king is possibly also mentioned in the Birur plates¹³. But he cannot be satisfactorily identified with any of the Pallava kings known from the traditional list. It must also be noticed that excepting Candadanda none of these kings is expressly said to have ruled at Kanchi¹⁴.

We thus come to know of the early Pallava kings who appear to have ruled at Kanchi before the rise of the Greater Pallava of Mahendarvarman's line: ¹⁵

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DRAVIDIAN IDENTITY OF ADI-DRAVIDAS AND NON-BRAHMINS : SOURCES GLEANED FROM THE WRITINGS OF IYOTHEE THASS AND E.V.RAMASAMI

P. Nagoorkani

The paper aims to highlight the notions of the Adi-Dravidas and the Non-Brahmins towards Dravidian identity based on the Buddhist tenets exposed by Iyothee Thass and Dravidian elements propagated by E.V.Ramsami based on the Caldwell work on Dravidian languages and the works of the elite Vellalas of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Iyothee Thass in his works asserted that the Adi-Dravidas were belonged to the Dravidian ethnicity. While E.V.Ramasami, promoted Dravidian culture and identity among the non-Brahmins by starting Self-Respect Movement and Dravidar Kazhagam. He brought a numerous non-Brahmin castes into the Dravidian fold.

De- Sanskritisation.

By the end of the Nineteenth Century, the associations of the lower castes in Tamil Nadu emancipated themselves from the Sanskritisation ethos more quickly than possibly anywhere else in India.¹ This de-Sanskritisation process was well exemplified by the case of the Nadars. This impure but not Untouchable caste of toddy-tappers met with some socio-economic success in the early Nineteenth Century when Nadar middlemen and money-lenders began to acquire wealth.² These Nadars started to claim high Kshatriya status. Around 24,000 of them returned themselves as Kshatriyas in the 1891 Census. They also began to get Sanskritised, adopting, for instance, the sacred thread of the twice-born.³ However, this emulation of their manner of life was very much resented by castes ranked above the Nadars, such as the Maravars (warriors). Indeed, the Nadars, by Sanskritising

themselves did not display any compliance with the values of the caste system but tried to challenge it. Revisiting the notion of Sanskritisation, Srinivas emphasises that it may embody 'a strong element of protest against the high castes: "We dare you to stop us emulating you" seems to be the spirit underlying emulation'.⁴ That was precisely the attitude of the Nadars who even fight physically and killed Maravars and Brahmins in the context of growing hostility between them and upper castes in the late Nineteenth Century.⁵ At the same time, the Nadars began to shun this aggressive variant of Sanskritisation to acquire a separate identity. Their caste association, the Kshatriya Mahajana Sangam, founded in 1895 and significantly renamed Nadar Mahajana Sangam in 1910, aimed to promote the general welfare of the Nadars, the interests and rights of the community, to start schools and to encourage the industriousness of the community.⁶ These objectives were purely secular and showed that the association largely ignored Sanskritisation. In 1916 they clamoured for recognition as 'Kshatriyas'.⁷ In 1921 it called upon the Nadars to return their caste as Kshatriya in the census but it changed its mind soon after under the aegis of W.P.A. Soundrapandian, their main leader in the 1920s-1930s. He urged the Nadars to discard the sacred thread and to boycott the Brahmin priests, including for marriages. He advocated the adoption of the self-respect form of marriage which was performed without the use of Brahmin priests and inter-caste dinnings.⁸ In fact, Soundrapandian had become a disciple of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, the chief of the non-

Brahmin Dravidian movement in the 1920s-1940s. Naicker selected him as the president of the first Self-Respect Conference in 1929 and in his speech the Nadar leader showed that he had imbibed most of his mentor's doctrine. He declared, for instance, that 'From the time when the Aryans came to our land from the north and strengthened and consolidated their position in our land, a great calamity overtook the country. The foundations of our society were shaken'.⁹

This discourse reflects a process of ethnicisation along Dravidian lines. This was to be the next step, after the rejection of Sanskritisation, for the Nadars: first they emancipated themselves from the dominant, hierarchical value system, then they adopted an alternative, egalitarian and ethnic identity. Soon after, in 1935, the Nadar Mahajana Sangam requested the government of Madras Presidency to include the Nadars in the list of the backward classes so that fee concessions might be given to Nadars students.¹⁰ This caste thus epitomises the way low castes of Tamil Nadu simultaneously internalised the Orientalist discourse on Dravidian identity and British social categories of positive discrimination. An attempt was made towards the making of the non-Brahmin Dravidianism in a larger perspective.

Dravidian Identity of Adi-Dravidas

The British Orientalists emphasised the cultural specificity of southern Indians as Dravidians in the Nineteenth Century. Robert Caldwell (1819-91) was especially successful in familiarising Tamil Nadu with the idea that Sanskrit had been brought to South India by Aryan, Brahmin, colonists and that the original inhabitants were Dravidians speaking Tamil, Telugu etc.¹¹ Tamil thinkers assimilated these views very promptly. In the 1890s, P. Sundaram Pillai considered that India south of the Vindhyas, the Peninsular India, still continues to be India proper¹², because of its pre-Aryan culture. However, Dravidian identity was especially articulated by low caste leaders in their fight against Brahmins.

In the first decade of the Twentieth Century Iyothee Thass, a Pariah converted to Buddhism¹³ pointed out that ancient India had been prosperous and most humanely governed under Buddhist kings but that they had been dislodged from power by Brahmin invaders who

imposed the caste system on them. The Buddhists were then marginalised and considered as unclean and base.¹⁴ Their religion had endowed them with a specific culture that eschewed violence, forbade alcohol and so on.¹⁵ Iyothee Thass even maintained that in the past India was called 'Indirar Desam', the land of Indirar, Indirar being the name of the Buddha after he succeeded in controlling his five senses (*Indriyams*).¹⁶ This original civilisation was none other than the Dravidian civilization and Thass therefore chose to call its castemates, the Pariahs, 'Dravidas'.¹⁷ Thus, as early as the late Nineteenth Century, Non-Brahmin leaders claimed that the lower castes were the original inhabitants of India.¹⁸

Gradually, the non-Brahmin South Indian associations adopted the name 'Dravida' and the suffix 'Adi' - meaning initial, primordial- in their titles. The Pariah Mahajan Sabha, which had been founded in 1890, became the Adi-Dravida Mahajan Sabha, and in 1918 it appealed to the government to replace the derogatory word Pariah by Adi-Dravida, denoting the original inhabitants of Dravida land.¹⁹ In 1917 an Adi-Andhra Mahajana Sabha had come into existence the same way. In fact, this association was initially called Andhra Panchama Conference but the chairman of its 1917 session, M. V. Bhagya Reddy (1888-1939), in his presidential address, declared that the so-called Panchamas (the fifth caste, the Untouchables) were the original sons of the soil and they were the rulers of the country.²⁰ Hence the change of name of the Sabha. In the 1931 census about one-third of the Malas and Madhigas (Untouchables) gave their Identity as Adi-Andhras.²¹

One of the most influential proponents of the Dravidian ideology was M.C. Rajah (1883-1947), a Pariah who became secretary of the Adi-Dravida Mahajan Sabha in 1916 and who had presided over the All India Depressed Classes Association since 1928. As a nominated member of the Madras Legislative Council since 1920, Rajah in 1922 moved a resolution recommending that the terms 'Pancharna' and 'Parya' be deleted from the government records and the terms Adi- Dravida and Adi-Andhra substituted instead.²²

Dravidian Identity of the Non-Brahmins

However, the main architect of non-Brahmin Dravidianism was E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, a social crusader who had been completely disillusioned by the Congress and Gandhi while taking part in the Vaikom *satyagraha*.²³ He left Congress in 1925 after the Tamil Nadu Congress rejected two of his resolutions in favour of reservations for non-Brahmins. If Phule drew some of his egalitarian inspiration from Thomas Paine, E.V.R. was more impressed by Robert Ingersoll. Like Phule and Ambedkar, he was egalitarian in a western, individualist vein.²⁴ The notion of human dignity was so central to his thinking that after quitting Congress in the mid-1920s, he launched the Self-Respect Movement, whose key word was *Samadharmam*, equality. But Periyar regarded it as much as a Buddhist as a Western notion.²⁵ Like Iyothey Thass, he argued that the lower castes were descendants of the first Buddhists and endowed them with a Dravidian identity. E.V.R. argued that the Dravidian-Buddhists were ill-treated by the Aryan-Hindus because they opposed caste hierarchy.²⁶ He eschewed the Orientalist view that interpreted the conflict between the former and the latter in terms of race but emphasised this cleavage by referring to **ethnic categories anyway**: “The Dravidians have a distinct origin in society, their languages are independent and belong to separate classes. The terms 'Aryan' and 'Dravidian' are not my inventions. They are historical realities. They can be found in any school boy's textbook that the *Ramayana* is an allegoric representation of the invading Aryans and the domiciled Dravidians has been accepted by all historians including Pandit Nehru and all reformers including Swami Vivekananda.”²⁷

E.V.R. established an equation between the Brahmins and the Aryan invaders. Himself the son of an affluent merchant from the Balija Naidu caste (whose members had often turned to trade), he presented the lower castes as the Dravidians and used Dravidianism against the Brahminical elite. One of the resolutions of the first Provincial Self-Respect Conference in 1929 concerned the boycott of Brahmin priests - especially for weddings. E.V.R. initiated 'Self-Respect

weddings', celebrated without such priests. Another resolution condemned the *varnashrama dharma*. Moreover, in the late 1920s, the movement had the *Manu Smriti* (the Laws of Manu) burnt on several occasions.²⁸ E.V.R.'s hostility to the caste system was spelled out in terms of a return to the sources of the Dravidian culture: '*Samadharmam* came to stand in for a cultural and civilizational alternative: a social order based on radically different principles from the present, which needed to rest on premises derived from a non-Aryan, non-Sanskritic ethos.’²⁹

E.V.R. had an openly ethnic conception of the low caste identity, which he compared to the situation to the blacks in South Africa.³⁰ He conceived of the Dravidian community primarily in terms of a coalition of mega castes - the non-Brahmin Hindu castes of Tamil Nadu.³¹ The Non-Brahmins who all shared a Dravidian identity therefore had to unite. Such a rapprochement did indeed occur since the Nadar followers of W.P.D. Soundrapandian and Adi Dravidas (Untouchables) were the mainstays of the Self-Respect movement. But the Self-Respect movement attracted also Balaji Naidus (like Naicker himself), Vellalas like S. Ramanathan, the second most important leader of the movement, Sengunthars (weavers-like C.N. Annadurai, Naicker's successor), Agamudaiyars (a cultivating caste), Minavars (fishermen), Mukkulathavar and even Chettis (merchants).³²

The scope and strength of this social coalition must not be exaggerated since old lines of cleavage persisted. As in Maharashtra, the '**non-Aryans**' did not form a solid block. All non-Brahmins did not back the Self-Respect Movement, nor were all the castes which were represented among its supporters fully behind it.³³ There were many Nadars in the Congress ranks for instance. However, the ethnic basis of the Non-Brahmin discourse which, from Thass to E.V.R. combined Buddhist and Dravidian references, helped its leaders to unite the low castes and mobilise them. As in Maharashtra, this process could only materialise because of the simultaneous implementation of policies of positive discrimination by the British.

End Notes

1. This development was largely due to the fact that the Sanskritic-categories had been super imposed on local society in a superficial way by the British administration. In pre-colonial Tamil Nadu, most of the avenues to social mobility did not involve the adoption of Sanskritic practices. (Subramanian, Narendra, *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization, Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy in South India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 17).
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24. Mohan Ram, 'Ramaswami Naicker and the Dravidian Movement' in *Economic and Political Weekly*, February, 1974, p. 219. Periyar organised *satyagrahas* before the Mahadevar Temple in Vaikkom, which gained him two jail terms and the concerned the honorific "Vaikkom Veerar" (Hero of Vaikkom) title. (Pandian, M.S.S., 'De-nationalising' the Past. "Nation" in E.V. Ramaswamy's Political Discourse', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay: 16 October 1993, p. 2282); Venkatachalapathy, A.R., 'Periyar, the hero of Vaikkom' in *The Hindu*, 24 December 2019, p.9. E.V.R. said that a sense of self-respect and fraternity must arise within human society. Notions of high and low amongst men should disappear. (Geetha, V., and Rajadurai, S.V., *op.cit.*, 283)
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LOCATING LAND SCAPE: A STUDY ON NALLURDESHAM

V. Neenu

Local history is generally understood as a range of historical writings focusing on specific, geographically small areas, usually by non professional historians for popular reading. These local histories helped to bring more light on the hitherto unknown, ignored or neglected aspects of human life in small locales and enabled the critical reading of the mainstream histories and necessitated change in them. This effort is aimed to study the history of a particular region of the south Malabar entitled as 'Nallur' in

Kozhikode district at the mouth of Chaliyar river and the role of Nallur Siva temple in social formation of the region. Nallur is very ancient settlement, surrounded water in its four sides. Chaliyar River flowed in its west and north side, Kadalundi River in its eastern parts and Vadakkumbadu River in its south. It has flourished from very ancient time with rich traditions in art, culture and religion and has registered prosperity in agriculture and trade.

The Sangam text says that Nallur was a part of Poozhinadu¹, which was under the control of early Cheras. Earlier the chera rulers and people were hunters later they turned into different occupations like cattle rearing, agriculture, black smeltery, fishing, salt production, oil production, carpentry etc. During those days Nallur was a part of Neithal Tinai here paddy, salt and fish were exchanged. The archaeological remains obtained from Nallur including urn burrials, iron tools and most significantly the remains of hook itself proves the agrarian and costal characteristics of the region². The presence of costal belt might have been forced people to engaged fishing activities along with agriculture.

Nallur was a very fertile region. The place names around the area like kottappadam, Madathilpadam, Pandippadam, Puthukazhipadam, Chalipadam, Mannarpadam³ etc shows the extensive paddy cultivation in the region. Each agrarian settlement formed as a part of village with its proprietors, intermediaries, necessary occupational groups like tillers, artisans, craftsmen, physician and astrologers. In short, an agrarian village of those times was a relatively self-sufficient settlement of people with various specialized occupational group of hereditary character as their name suggest. In Kerala context these settlements are called Desam⁴. In NallurDesam plot names like Kollarukandi (Blacksmith portion), Asarikandi (Carpenters portion), Thunnarukandi (Weavers portion), Chakkungalthodi (Oil producers plot), Parayathodi (Parayars plot), Mannankanti⁵ (Washermens portion) etc. indicates the existence of various occupational group in this Desam. In short, all these occupational groups became a necessary part of Desam.

A society with agrarian surplus would show off its wealth in the form of monumental buildings like huge temple⁶. In Nallur it is Nallur Siva temple. The period between the ninth and eleventh centuries witnessed large scale temple constructions in Kerala. Nallur inscription indicates the temple here during the perumal period itself. Most probably during the eleventh century. Though was constructed as a part of religious worship in the village, course of time it developed as the socio economic and cultural centre of society in Medieval Nallur. The temple transformed itself to fully developed institutions

which controlled the social life of the people and new socio economic relationships emerged centering the temple.

By that time the Brahmins in Nallur had acquired dominance in the society and his dominance was spread over the administration of temple also. The agrarian society of Nallur gradually became close with Nallur Siva temple. Most of the cultivatable land was under Nallur Devaswam⁷. Hence the rent received in the temple in the form of paddy and other products was much more than what was actually needed in the temple. It is said that Nallur temple had received 6000 *para* paddy per annually⁸.

No concrete evidence are available to prove that king was the absolute owner of this temple. However conventionally the king was the owner of the land⁹. Nallur inscription mentioned the perumal ruler Athichankota in its inscription. It shows the loyalty of temple to the king¹⁰. Theoretically the owner of Devaswam land was the diety of the temple, but practically the proprietors of the land was the Brahmin uralers, they leased out the Devaswam land to the Karalors for cultivation. The rent received from the Karalers were utilized for the daily expenses of the temple.

Many number of people made their livelihood through their relationship with the temple. Being this temple transformed as the principle centre for the consolidation and redistribution of goods produced people from various levels in the society were related to the temple. The perumals, koyiladhikarikal, Naduvazis were related to the temple in one way or the other way¹¹. The next important persons connected with the temples were the temple officials like the *Tantri*, *Melshanthi* and *Keezhsanthi*. Normally these people received the *viruthy land*¹² which was given to them as reward for their service rendered to the temple.

The others who made livelihood from the temple were mainly the Devadasis drummers, lthihasa reders, garland makers, sweepers etc. Devadasis were temple dancers and they are mentioned in the inscription obtained from Nallur temple¹³. The inscription says that there were given food grains as reward. Drummers were yet another functional group who had made their livelihood from temple. They were called kottikal in early days and Marar in the later

period. Once the rythem became an important part of the daily worship in the temple the importance of the drummers also increased. **When the drummers were also given 'Viruthi'** land they also became hereditary functional. The plot name Marathu around the Nallur temple shows the existence of drummers and they enjoyed *Viruthi* right.

Vedic school attached to the temple was known as 'Salas'. The vedic students known as *Chattirar* and the vedic teachers called the *Battas* were also given food and shelter from temple income. Apart from the salas, social education was also provided for the common public at the premise of the temple. This type of education was centred around the reading of *puranas and ithihasas* and interpreting them. The most famous among this type of social education was the '**Mahabharatham pattathanam**'. The Sanskrit scholars called Mahabharatha Bhattanmar were

specialist scholar of epic Mahabharatha¹⁴. Who recited and interpreted to the common public at the temple premises. Nallur temple performed this social function very well. Nallur inscription says that granting paddy to the the Bharatham Readers.

Some land was kept under the direct control of the king himself and this type of land was known as the Cherikkal land. In Nallur Desam they was a plot name '**Ramanadu Vaka Cherikkal**' indicate the existence of cherikkal land¹⁵. Ramanadu was one of the earlier nadus under the perumal period who ruled the areas around Nallur Desam¹⁶.

Concludingly the social formation of the period was based upon this power structure. Thus Nallur Siva temple had already become the socio economic and cultural institution of Medieval Nallur Desam.

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KAYALPATNAM - AN ANCIENT PORT

G. Packianathan

Kayalpatnam is an ancient historical Coastal South Indian city which lies in the southeast part of Indian peninsula, on the shore off the Bay of Bengal. Kayal which means lagoons opening to the sea, was a celebrated Port during the medieval period in the Tamiraparani Delta of coromandal coast. It is a Muslim dominant town situated in Thoothukudi district and formally it was in Tirunelveli district. Kayalpatnam was an important trade emporium even before the advent of Islam. Kayalpatnam is also distinctly identified with Islam from 8th

century. Islam entered Kayalpatnam through Arab traders and Muslim missionaries during the reign of the first Caliph Hazarth Abu Bakar Siddeeq (Rali) and Kadal Karai Palli was the first mosque and the saints who ever visited Kayalpatnam never missed to pray in this mosque. Kayalpatnam was an important trade emporium even before the advent of Islam and it is generally believes that the port was identical with the famous ancient port and trading centre of Korkai. Once it was a famous port being only next to Korkai in 12th and 13th centuries. This

small place is mostly inhabited by Muslims who, it is said, originally came from Arabia and worked for Pandiya kings and settled down here more than thousands years ago. Kayalpatnam was known as Sonagarpattinam.

The port was came into prominence under the second Pandiyas and served as their chief emporium. In the beginning of fourteen century these region was conquered by Delhi Sultanate which followed the establishment of an independent Madurai Sultanate. The Port was first referred by Marco polo in his accounts as Cail and then frequently mentioned by the later travellers in various names such as Kabil, Kabal, Cahila, Chayal, Cael and so on. In this paper an attempt has been made to locate the Muslim traders in general, which devoted to Muslim merchants under the rulers of Kayalpatnam in the pre colonial period.

Settlements in Kayalpatnam:

The first settlement in Kayalpatnam occurred in 633 A.D. The first settlers were from Mecca and - who landed here during the reign of the first caliph, the successor of our Prophet Muhammad (Sal), Ameerul Momeneen Hazarat Seyedna Abubakar Siddeeq (Rali). Medina According to eminent Historians, *Greeks, Romans and Arabs* visited Kayal even before the advent of Muslim missionaries of Arabia. **Through our ancient saintly scholars' records, we** can make out that the first Muslim settlement in Kayalpatnam happened during the lifetime of Hazarath Abu Bakar Siddeeq (Rali).

The second settlement took place in 842 A.D. (Hijiri 227). They came from Cairo in Egypt during the tyrannical rule of Abbasid caliph Al-Multhazim (841 A.D.) and the beginning of Caliph Al-Wadiq's rule, (842 A.D.). They came under the leadership of Muhammad Khalji (Rah). Big Jamiah mosque (Kuthba Periya Palli) was built by Muhammad Khalji in 843 A.D. (Hijiri 228). Kayal was the name of the place till the advent of Muhammad Khalji. After his arrival, the southern part of Kayal was named Kahirfathan (after Khalji's home town town "Kahira" in Egypt). Kahirfathan, which is Arabic, slowly changed to Kayalpatnam. The northern part of Kayal is called Palaiya Kayal and Punna Kayal. The third batch of Arabs came from Arabia in 1284 A.D under the leadership of Sultan Jamaluddin (a descendant of holy prophet Muhammad (Sal)

and also a business magnate, statesman and famous ruler of Pandiyan kingdom. His descendants are still living in Kayalpatnam and they have their genealogical table from Sultan Jamaluddin. Kayalpatnam had a complementary relationship with each other. Christian centuries Arabs were also used to ride at Malabar and later Kayalpatnam (Kayal) emerged as early Islamic settlements in the Coromandal coast.

Marco polo whom the first reference about the name of Kayal came in 1292 AD revealsthat the active role of traders from the different parts of the world particularly from Arabia. He characterize that, at Kayal ships as far as from the west, Hormus, Kis, Aden and all Arabia came with horses and other things for sale and great business was done in this Harbour.⁵ Along with Rashid- al-din as contemporary of Marco polo records that Chinese merchandise were brought by junks to this ports where they exchanged their goods with the Islamic world. The horse trade carried by Arabs at Kayal is worth mentioning. The Pandiyan rulers had a high demand in good quality or war horses due to their continuous struggle with the neighbouring states and the Arab merchants remained as the chief importers of these war horses. As a result Pandiyas emerged as the supreme military power at south India during the second half of the thirteenth century and extended their empire even in the Northern side of Sri Lanka too. Wassaf another contemporary of Marco Polo narrates thousands of horses annually bordered at Malabar in a great some of money, even died horse also paid by the ruler while importing to his country.

Pearl Trade

Kayal was also famous for its rich outlet of pearl trade. The perfectly rounded pearls of Kayal had a great demand in the east as well as in the west and later emerged as the head quarters of pearl fishery in the Gulf of Mannar. The Arabs also played an important role in pearl fishery. It is worthy being mentioned that, the Pandiyan Arabs sometimes entrusted the charge to look after the pearl trade by the ruler. Even in colonial period the Muslim counterparts of these Arab traders at Kayalpatnam become wealthy engaged in pearl diving and many of them turned gem and pearl dealing and become the controllers of trade networks as far as Java, Sumatra, Ceylon and Malay peninsula. They were believed to have controlled the spice trade

of Indonesia. Apart from all, Kayal was famous for its extensive import of Arab potteries too. Thus, as a result of Arab contacts with Coromandel Coast, a well-established Muslim community has been flourished in Tamil Nadu. Likewise in the Malabar Coast, they had integrated with indigenous community by following local language and customs and also married local women. These Tamil speaking Muslims of Coromandel Coast have referred to as Lebbais. Interestingly, the principle colony of Labbais, have been firstly appeared at Kayalpatnam.

The religious patronage given by the Pandiya rulers of Madurai to the early settlers of Kayalpatnam seems worthy of being mentioned. On account of their trade interest, these Hindu rulers had always tried to maintain cordial relations with them. Among the other Pandiyan ports Kayal, which has come in for prominent mention in consideration with the rulers patronage. While discussing this port Marco Polo says that **“The King maintains great state and administration in his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favor to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city”**.⁸ As a result, Malik-I Islam Jamalu-ddin the chief importer of horses was settled at Kayalpatnam in 1284 A.D. and later then Pandya ruler Sundara Pandi appointed Malik Taqi-al-Din the son of his brother Taqi-u-udin Abdurahman as the governor of Kayal. During the same time his al-Tayyibi family was the rulers of Persian Gulf and southern Iranian province of Fars. These, Muslim trade contacts and settlements gradually leads to the establishment of Sufism at Kayalpatnam and a large number of copper plate inscriptions found in the graveyards of various tombstones, which contains the records of death and burials of some persons of local importance have undoubtedly proved the importance of **Kayalpatnam as one of the early centre’s of Sufi culture** in south India.

At Pearl fishery coast the Marakkars emerged as the major trading group and they have regular trade contact with Malabar and South- East Asia. They brought rice to Malabar from Coromandel in return, carries spices to Coromandel and from where they procured textiles which they sent to south- east Asia. The Portuguese remained the mercantile collaborators with Marakkars at Kayalpatnam too in the beginning, but soon become their

relationship got strained around 1520’s. The reason behind these gloomy relations was more or less attached to Portuguese attempt to controlling pearl trade, which was so far controlled by them at the pearl fishery coast.

Horse trade

Kayal was flourished as a centre of horse trade in the second half of the thirteenth century, and then continued brisk trade relation with Arabia. Regarding horse trade in medieval India, it is said that, horses were imported to south India mostly through oceanic routes whereas north India depended to oceanic as well as inland routes. Marco Polo described about this port. Since from the early centuries of Christian era, the war horses had a great demand in India in general and south India in particular. Although, these demands reached its peak on the seventh century, then the cavalry got prominent place in the army of Indian rulers. It might have been the major reason for the demand of war horses was bound with the mutual struggle between the south Indian powers who ruled in different territories. Evidences said that under the Cholas the horse trade assumed important role and cavalry played an important role while the armies of the other south Indian powers opposed them. These long struggles continued in the later periods as well even under the Pandiyans of Madurai also. Wassaf, who came to Kayal after thirteen years of Marco Polo, presents the import of war horses from Persia to south India, particularly under the Pandiyans.

Other Commodities

Silk might have come from China, Elephants from Burma and horses from Arabia, rose water from West Asia into Kayal on the Pandiya coast. Thus south India was both on the transit trade and terminal trade from West Asia to China through Sri Lanka and South East Asia. In the transactions kayal was a halting station and distribution point used by the itinerant traders and it was a busy port. The South East Asian trade impacted profoundly upon the Tamil country of South India. It had regular contacts with South East Asia through the ports like Kayal. The coromandal coast with its ports like Kayal and Nagapattinam was an outlet for a major cotton textile producing and rice surplus area as well as the key to the Deccan region. It also served as a major entrepot area for trade with Far East and South East Asia. The Chinese

traded in pepper, precious stones, aromatics and pearls. The imports included camphor celadon wares, silk from China, sandalwood, horn of rhinoceros from Java, Camphor, wax, glass beads from Borneo.

Kayalpatnam acted as the leading Arab trading ports in Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal during the medieval period. This centre as well as their rulers had maintained a good relation with the Arabs which brought vast Muslim settlements in this region. Along with these Muslim settlements stimulated its urban character and it is worthy being mentioned in the words of K.N. Choudhuri **“Whenever Islam made its presence felt as an indivisible combination of power, communication and exchange, urbanization flourished and expanded”**. However, after the advent of Portuguese they were terminated the Muslim communities particularly the Marakkars and themselves become the masters of Kayalpatnam.

In 1861 Caldwell collected thirty one gold coins from Kayal. Out of these, thirty were Arab coins, and one belonged to Europe. These coins belonged to thirteenth century A.D. It is learnt

from them that Kayal had overseas contacts with Arabia and Europe. In 1987, Dr V. Vedachalam of the Tamilnadu Department of Archeology visited the site more than twice and picked up some seventy pieces of Chinese ceramic sherds, which are now displayed in Madurai Government Museum and in the Thirumalai Nayak Mahal Musuem. This classification proves that Kayal had overseas contacts with China and Persian Gulf countries in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Kayalpattinam was a busy port under the later Pandyas during 13th and 14th centuries A.D. The encouragement given by the rulers not only brought many foreigners to trade in this region but also to settle in that region with great influence. The Muslim settlements in this region provided a conducive atmosphere for the emergence of Muslim rule. It kept the intercourse between Tamil country and South East Asia, Persian Gulf and Far East countries. It is due to its multi-dimensional role it paved the way for the emergence of a number of market centres. The prevalence of guild and its activities too besides promoting the cause of market centres had contributed significantly to trade and economy of the medieval times in general.

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HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TIRUCHENDUR REGION

G. Paranthaman

Human habitation in Tiruchendur taluk dates back to Mesolithic times. Available evidences suggest almost continuous habitation of the region through the centuries down to the present time. The earliest cultural phases represented is the Mesolithic period. This is

essentially a transitional stage between the Paleolithic food gathering economy and the more advanced Neolithic period characterized by food production, beginning of sedentary settlements and a stone industry dominated by ground and polished tools. A generalized change

towards microlithization in the stone tool industry as well as the emergence of composite tool manufacture, in which series of microliths are hafted on organic handiest of bone or wood is witnessed during the Mesolithic period. The substance economy of the sites was more broad based with coastal sites displaying evidence of fishing and exploitation of other marine food sources.

Robert Bruce Foote, the father of Indian prehistory spent 43 years exploring different parts of south India and during geological reconnaissance come across numerous fragment of chert, silified wood and limpid quartz embedded in the red sand dunes located along bamban coast.¹ These fossilized sand dunes locally known as Teris appear as huge reddish mounds along the coast and extend in abroad stretch from Kilakarai to Kanyakumari. The sands reach their broadest extent between Tissaiyanvillai and Tiruchendur foote attributed microlithic tools location on the teris to be the result of human activity. He categorized the 73 tools she collected from the area as neoliths but these microlithic artifacts have been reclassified as belonging to the Mesolithic phase. Subsequently these sites were investigated by Aiyappan.² Zeuner and Allchin³ in 1986. Martingell and Gardner in 1990 and 1995. The Microlithic yielding dunes were founding many localities in Tiruchendur taluks. The sites include Meignanapuram, Surangudi, Nazareth, Manadu, Kayamoli, Kurumbur, Puttantharuvai.⁴ Based on excavation conducted at the said above places It is asserted that the people of Tiruchendur taluk had a long history period to Indusvalley civilization of 4000 BC. The civilization that developed in the Tiruchendur region disappeared later on due to the natural calamities.

The northern part of Pandya country had its seat at Madurai and southern part at Tirunelveli. The southern part comprised of Tirunelveli region including Tiruchendur taluk. Upon the mouth of river Tamiraparani, there was the famous harbour Korkai reputed for pearl fishery. It is located 8° 40' N 78° 5' E at the southern end of the eastern coast.⁵ About seventh century B.C. by establishing a capital at Korkai an unknown southern ruler ruled the present Tamil Nadu and Kerala. To him it was stated that there were three sons namely Pandya,

Chola and Chera. They prosperously lived together in Korkai.⁶ Native tradition represents the eponymous ancestors of the Pandyas, Cheras and Cholas as three brothers who lived and ruled in common at Korkai near the mouth of Tamiraparani. The lands hold in common by all. Three were at Mukkani near Korkai. Eventually a separation took place, Pandyan remained at home, while Chola and Chera went forth to seek their fortunes and founded Kingdoms of their own to the north and west. The Cholas seem to have ruled in Tiruchi and Thanjavur districts. While the Cheras established themselves in Travancore, Malabar and Coimbatore, the Pandyas were in Tirunelveli and Madurai.⁷ As the Pandya and his successors ruled the southern part of Tamil Nadu the region was called as Pandya Nadu as well as Pandya Mandalam. Since the Pandya rulers ruled Tirunelveli and its surroundings the Southernmost part of Pandya country was named as Tenpandi region.⁸ From the early days Tiruchendur has been one of the sub divisions of Tirunelveli region and the rulers who had Jurisdiction over Tirunelveli region wielded the same magnitude of rule over Tiruchendur region. In other words Tiruchendur was ruled by the same rulers of Tirunelveli region. The Pandya rulers ruled this region from the ancient seat of Korkai. Indeed Korkai served the Pandya rulers in two capacities as military camp and government head quarters. Thus Korkai the gateway of the Pandyas by its existence as a marine capital clearly affords evidences that the people of Tiruchendur region were civilized 4000 years ago.⁹ The Ancient Pandya rulers ruled the Tirunelveli seemai by dividing into many sub divisions. They were Kaliaka Nadu, Karugulavalanadu, Kannipura theyyanadu, Keelavembunadu, Tenaryyanadu, Manadu, Melvembunadu, Mullainadu, Vellanadu, Valuthivalanadu, Vananadu, Vaikunthavalanadu and Nanjinadu.¹⁰ Indeed these divisions clearly indicate the Pandya rulers of Tirunelveli country had their sway over present districts of Thoothukudi, Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Kanyakumari districts.

The present day tiny hamlet of Korkai lies on the northern bank of river Tamiraparani and is situated 23 km from Tiruchendur. Korkai had once been a celebrated sea port in the Sagam also the capital city of ancient Pandyan Kingdom. Sangam literature refers Korkai as Pugal

Malisirappin Korkai and Nartarvaluthi Korkai Sangam classic point that Korkai was the capital city of Pandya vetrivelcheliyan. It was indeed a tribute to Korkai that Pandiyan monarches ruled from the place were called Korkai Koman, Korkaiventhan. The pearls of Korkai had an international market. Such a city of name and fame in now reduced to a position of hamlet. According to scholars the port city of Korkai lost its importance after the eleventh century as a consequence of the gradual elevation of the sea coast. In 1860 Bishop Caldwell conducted excavations at Palayakayal, Maramangalam after unearthing burialurns. Ruined brick structures, under remnants identified the village of the sangam pandyas. Between 1969 and 1972 Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology conducted excavation at Korkai and based on Carbon dating established that was inhabited by civilized people who were familiar with the technique of Iron making in the eighth century B.C. ¹¹ An ancient temple with inscription is a noteworthy feature lithic records refer the place as Kudanattukorkai and also Madurodayanallur.¹² The central shrine has an image of Vinayakar. The temple is presently called Akkasalai Vinayagar temple. But the temple presiding deity according to inscription is Akkasalai isvaramudya Mahadever and Akkasalai iswaramudiyar thus indicating that it was originally a siva temple.¹³ The temple is of that it was originally a siva temple. The temple is made of granite from Adhistana to Vimana. The Vimana is Nagara variety being made of one stone. The temple has four inscriptions the earliest being that of Kulothunga Chola I. Hence the temple must have been erected in his time.

The History of Pandya rule in Tiruchendur region presented here is based on the research works available on the subject. Vadivalamba Nintra Pandya, Palyagasalaimudukhudumi perumarhuthi, Mudathirumaran, Kadalunmaintha Elamperumvaluthi, Ariwdainambi, Ollaiyurthantha Boothapandyan, Aryapadaikadantha Nedunchelliyan, Chitrmaduthuinjiya Nanmaran, Talaiyalankanuthu seruventra Nedunchezhiyan and Kanaperayil Kadanthaukkiraperuvaluthi were the pandya rulers of the Sangam period who ruled present Thoothukudi including Tiruchendur taluk.¹⁴ After the eclipse of the sangam age the alien rule of Kalabhras was extended over Pandya country.¹⁵

They let loose repression and subjected the Tamils. They swept over Tamil Nadu their own language and religion. They established autocratic rule. The Kalabhra inter region lasted for nearly 300 years (250 A.D. - 575 A.D.) ending with the sixth century A.D.¹⁶ Following them the first Pandya Empire was firmly established by Kadungon (575 - 600 A.D.) the Pandya ruler by defecting the Kalabhras.¹⁷ He laid his seat at Madurai had his sway over Tirunelveli region including Tiruchendur. Indeed he was consider as the founder of first pandya empire.¹⁸ The rulers of first Pandya empire were chezhiyansender (620-642) Maravarman Arikesari (642-700A.D.) Kocchadyan Ranadheera (700-768) Nedunchedayan Parantaken or Varaguna I (768-815 A.D.) Srimaran Srivallabha (815-862 A.D.) Varagunavarman II (862-885 A.D.) Parantakavirananarayanan (860-965 A.D.) Rajasimha II (900 - 920 A.D.) and Virapandya (946 - 960 A.D.) ruled over four centuries over Madurai and Tirunelveli regions.¹⁹

ChezhiyanSendan or Sadaiyamaran Seventh regnal year 627 A.D. inscription found on the door Jumb of Pallikonda perumal Shrine in the Somanathesvarar temple at Attur.²⁰ Varaguna II thirteenth regnal year 875 A.D. inscription found on two slaps setup in the Subramanyaswamy temple at Tiruchendur.²¹

The eclips of the first Pandya empire began with Varaguna II (862 - 885 A.D.) and lasted for about one hundred and fifty years Varaguna II was defected by the allied confederacy under the Pallavar at Thiru Purambiyem in 880 A.D. In the field of religion during that period the Nayanmars sprete Saivaite Principles whereas Alvars preached moral discriptions.²² The echo of their preaching was heard a lot in Tiruchendur, for Tiruchendur region was a junction for both the Saivas and Vaishavite Principles.

The Cholas who had lost their power to the Pandyas during the Previous centuries upheld and rose to Prominence under imperial cholas parantakachola defeated Rajasimha II the Pandya ruler in 915 A.D. and Captured Madurai and its different parts. But the chola ruler had to met crushing defeat at the hands of virapandya the son of Rajasimha II. Virapandya was defeated by sundarachola and his son Aditya II in 962 and 966 respectively. Under his successor RajaRaja Chola I (985-1016 A.D.) defeated the

Pandya Amarapujanga and brought entire pandya country under the rule of Cholas of Tanjore and named it as Raja Raja Mandalam. Raja Raja Ist 24th regnal year (1000 A.D.) inscription found on a slab built into the flight of steps leading to the Kitchen in the vaithyamanidhi perumal temple at Tirukolur.²³ Raja Raja Ist 21, 22, 27 and 28th Regnal year inscriptions (1006 A.D., 1007 A.D., 1012 and 1013 A.D.) found on the north and south wall of central shrine. West wall of central shrine.²⁴ During the rule of Rajendra Chola (1012-1044 A.D.) a Chola representative was appointed to look after Madurai and Tirunelveli regions in the name of Chola Pandya. Rajendra Cholas third, fifth, and sixth regnal year inscriptions (1015, 1017 and 1018 A.D.) found on the east, north and south wall of Pallikondar Shrine in Somanatheswarar temple²⁵ at Attur. Jatavarman Sundarachola the son of Rajendrachola I become the first chola pandya (1018 - 1040 A.D.) Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya sixth, 21st regnal year inscriptions (1024 A.D. and 1030 A.D.) found on the north wall of central shrine and stone in the pavement of somasundari amman shrine.²⁶ After him his successor maravarman parakirama (hall) Pandya served as representative over the Pandya country of the Tanjore crown. Maravarman alias Vikramachola Pandyadeva 25th regnal year (1045 A.D.) inscriptions found on the north and south walls of central shrine in somatheswara temple at Attur.²⁷ Jatavarman Chola Pandya 3rd regnal year (1050 A.D.) inscription found on fragments built into the basement of the platform around the central shrine in the Vaittamanidhi Perumal temple at Tirukkalur.²⁸ Jatavarman Chola Pandya 3rd Regnal Year 1050 A.D. and 26th regnal year 1076 A.D. inscription found on fragments built into the basement of the Platform around the central shrine in the Vaittamanidhi Perumal temple at Tirukkolor.²⁹ Vira Rajendra chola deva fourth and fifth regnal years (1067-1068) inscriptions found on the west and north wall of central shrine in Somanathar temple at Attur.³⁰

The post of Chola Pandya Viceroy was stopped during the rule of Kulottunga I (1090-1122 A.D.). The reason for this measure was due to the uprisings of Pandya Kings. Kulottunga I defeated the five Pandyas and brought the Pandya land under his direct rule. Sadaiyavarman Srivallabha one of the five

Pandya defeated Kulottunga I established Pandya rule in Tirunelveli.³¹ Kulottunga Chola Ist 29th, 34th and 38th Regnal years inscriptions (1099, 1104, 1106A.D.) found on the tiers of the north wall of central shrine in vaittamanidhi perumal temple at Tirukkalur.³² Kulottunga Cholas Ist, 12, 20, 22, 24, 36, 38, 43 and 48th regnal years. (1070 A.D.-1082 A.D., 1090, 1092, 1094, 1100, 1108, 1113, 1118 A.D.) Inscriptions found on the west and south and north walls of central shrine in Somanatheswarar temple at Attur.³³

During the rule of Rajathi Raja Chola II (1146 - 1173 A.D.) Jadavarman Kulasekhara Pandya, the son of Srivallabha (1096-1116 A.D.) the ruler of Southern part of Pandya country who had his headquarters at Tirunelveli. His brother Parakirama Pandya ruled over northern part of Pandya country had his capital at Madurai. The Separation of power was a significant one because the Tenpandi country existed separately.³⁴ Jadavarman Sri Vallabhas (1090-1116 A.D.) first, third and sixth regnal years (1132 A.D., 1134 and 1138) inscriptions found on the north wall, west and south wall of central shrine and Pillar in the Antharala in the central shrine in Somanathar temple at Attur.³⁵

A civil war broke out between the Pandya brothers. In that Civil war Parakrama Pandya (1087-1110 A.D.) was killed and Madurai was captured by Jatavarma Kulasekhara Pandya. But with the help of Srilankan forces, Virapandya the son of late Parakirama Pandya resumed his power. At this Juncture, Jatavarma Kulasekhara Pandya sought the help of Chola ruler of Tanjore. He gave timely helped and solved the problem. But Jatavarman Kulasekharapandyas change of alliance with Parakirama Babu of ceylone created strained relations between the Pandya and Chola rulers. It resulted in the reinstallation of Virapandya as Pandya rulers. At this time Kulasekhara Pandya died. His son Vikaramapandya sought the succor of the Chola ruler. As a result Vikrama Pandya became the king. Enraged by this incident Virapandya with the help of Chera ruler attacked Madurai. But the attack was crushed by the retaliation of the cholas under Kulotunga III yet his Son Jatavarman Kulasekhara 1190-1216 wished to free himself from the grip of the Chola ruler. By doing so he put the strongest nail of the coffin of the Cholas rule as king makers in the Pandya

country his successors ruled the Pandya country. Untill the fourteenth century A.D.³⁶ By the thirteenth century the Pandya empire was the mightiest Political power in south India.³⁷

The strained relations began between the Pandyas and Cholas with the rule of Kulasekhara Pandya (1190-1216 A.D.) the founder of second Pandya Empire. He brought the entire Chola mandalam under Pandya banner. He was succeeded by Maravarman Sundarapandya I (1216-1238 A.D.). MaravarmansundaraPandya II (1238-1251) Jatavarman Sundarapandya I and Maravarman Kulasekhara I (1268 - 1311) respectively.

Jatavarman Kulasekhara I six regnal year (1196 A.D.). Inscription found on the east wall of Mandapa in front of the century shrine in somanathar temple at Attur.³⁸ Maravarman Sundarapandyan I 14th regnal 1230 A.D. Inscription found on the south wall of Mandapa in front of the central shrine in Somanathar temple at Attur.³⁹ His 9th, 20th and 22nd regnal year (1225, 1236 and 1237) inscriptions found on the west and south wall of central shrine in the Vaithiamanithi temple.

During the Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya rule the Pandya Empire witnessed with internal crisis in the form of civil war.

Virapandya and Sundarapandya, the two sons of Maravarman Kulasekhara contested for the throne while he was alive. In the civil war that ensued Virapandya emerged victorious. His archrival sundara pandya killed his father Kulasekhara pandya and captured the throne. It made the entire pandya country into hodge – podge situation. Sundarapandya wished to safeguard his position and sought the help of Malikkafur, the able general of Alaudin Khilji Sultan of Delhi. Malikkafur invaded the pandya country and devastated Madurai and had taken

away a lot of wealth on his home back. During Kafur invasion the chera ruler as Ravivarmankulasekhara conquered pandya country in 1311 - 1312 A.D. But Virapandya recaptured the pandya country from the Chera ruler. Virapandya left the country under the device of coregents rule. The coregency was shared by following rulers namely Sundarapandya, Vikrama Pandya. The Coregents on their part ruled different regions by dividing among themselves on his part Jatavarma Parakirama Pandya had his jurisdiction over Srivaikuntem region including Tiruchendur for he was entrusted with power over Tirunelveli region⁴⁰. The Chera rule over Pandya country was ephemeral one.

The Kafurs invasion was followed by Kuzhrukhan in 1319 A.D. and Ulughan in 1323 A.D. As a result of Ulughans invasion Muslim rule was established in Madurai and the Madurai sultanate came in to being in 1335 A.D. and lasted upon 1378 A.D. The scions of the Pandya royal family moved south wards and carved out petty kingdoms in Tirunelveli and Tenkasi.

At the end of fourteenth century A.D. and the beginning of fifteenth century A.D. three kings ruled the Tenpandi region in the Same name of Parakiramapandya from 1384-1415 A.D. 1387-1415 A.D. and 1401-1434 respectively. At the same time sadayavarman KulasekharaPandya, SadiavarmaVikrama Pandya Tirunelveli perumal Komaravarman alias vira pandya deva also ruled Tenpandi region⁴¹. During the fifteenth century A.D. central shrine of Sri Kailasanathar temple of Srivaikuntam was reconstructed by the virapandya. Two inscriptions of virapandya deva of 1439 A.D. found on the eastern wall of Mahamandapa of Sri Kallarpiran temple describes the various grants of virapandya deva to srikallarpiran temple at Srivaikuntam⁴².

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PAHRULI AND KOMARI RIVERS AND THEIR LAND EDANAADU : A HISTORICAL STUDY

Prof. Pon.Thangamani

The objective of this study is to bring to light the forgotten history of the Pahruli and Komari rivers and their land Edanaadu. It is learned from legends and traditions that a great land mass existed beyond the present Kanyakumari called Lemurian Continent or Komari Kadam, which extended upto South Africa in the west and Australia in the east. The submerged region became the Indian Ocean due to deluge happened in the ancient past. The Book of Genesis of the Bible says that a disastrous deluge caused destruction of all except a remnant of the people.¹ The same flood would have caused the inundation of the Komari Kadam.

The first law giver of the world, namely Ur Nammu was a Sumerian. The capital of Sumeria was called Ur. Since 1935 excavations at Maari, a Thamizh word which means rain, situated in the middle of the Euphrates valley have turned up a palace with more than 260 rooms containing many thousands of clay tablets pertaining to the period of Noah. ² All these Thamizh words which were in usage in Sumeria

well illustrate that the Sumerians had maintained constant touch with the Thamizhians of the Lemurian Continent and the deluge occurred in the days of Noah caused the destruction of both Sumeria and the Lemurian continent. Added to this, many primeval seals were discovered at Ur with animals engraved on them, some of them belonging to Mohanjo-daro in Sind. This adds more authentic evidence that the Sumerians maintained commercial relations with Indians and it made it possible for them to make use of Indian animals on their seals.

There are many literary sources to establish the existence of the Komari Kadam in the ancient period. *Iraiyana Ahapporul Urai*, a Thamizh literary work refers to the Pandya rulers, who held first Sangam at South Madurai and the second Sangam at Kapadapuram. The author of *Purananuru* blessed the king saying that he would live equal to the number of sands on the Pahruli river.³ Adiyaarkunallar in his commentary on *Chilappathikaram* says that there were 49 *Naadus* prevailed in a country between Pahruli and Komari rivers. Scott Eliot in

his *Lost Lemurian Continent* emphatically pointed out that there existed Lemurian Continent.⁴

Ptolemy, a Greek traveller has referred to Komari in his travel diary (about 140 AD). Another Greek scholar Megasthenes called Ceylon, Tambapana which indicates that the river Tambiraparani had flown cutting across the Komari Kandam and Ceylon in the ancient days.⁵ The translator of *Chilapathikaram* namely Adiyaarkunallar says that there were seven kinds of Naadus in the Komari Continent. Komari Continent spread over an area of 700 *Kaavatham* (measurement of distance) and consisted of 49 Naadus. It was ruled by the Pandya rulers and patronized Thamizh and organized Sangams.

Like Egypt, the Lemurian Continent was a cradle of civilization. Komari and Pahruli rivers irrigated the land between these two rivers. The river which flows through Nagercoil and Suchindrum and joins at Manakkudi with sea at present, is called Pazhayaaru, but its name in the ancient past was Komari Aaru. Now it is called Pazhaya Aaru which represents only its age, but not the real name. It had flown through kanyakumari and thus it was called Komari Aaru. It originates on the Pothigai mountain. *Chilapathikaram* one of the epics of Thamizh literature says that Maadalan took bath in the Komari river.⁶

Pahruli river originates on the Pothigai mountain and runs through Thiruvattaaru, Kulithurai (Fspf;Fk; + Jiw = Fspj;Jiw) Athemcodu and Maankaadu and joins the sea at Thenkapattinam. The entire area is covered by coconut groves and thus this place is called Thenkapattinam. The land records connected with their registration on both sides of Pahruli river when indicating the boundaries this river is mentioned as Parali Aaru. Pahruli was corrupted into Parali which is common all over Thamizh Naadu when people pronounce the name of places.

During the First Sangam period the present Indian Ocean was a great land mass with mountains and rivers which had Thamizh speaking population. The civilization which flourished in this continent was contemporaneous with the Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations. The geologists named the Komari Kandam as Gondwana. The people lived

in the Lemurian continent developed Thamizh by producing literature of merit which were destroyed by the deluge. The people in the Lemurian Continent wrote on palm leaves, whereas the Sumerians wrote on clay tablets and this is the reason why the former sources destroyed and the latter preserved.

What the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers did for Mesopotamia, the Pahruli and Komari rivers did for Lemurian Continent. Over thousands of years the people along the Pahruli and Komari rivers took advantage of the north-east and south west monsoon rains with a few months gap. The silt laden waters of these rivers laid a layer of silt on the plain making the land more fertile for cultivation.

The land between the Pahruli and Kumari rivers was called Edanaadu in the ancient period.⁷ Edanaadu comprised of the three taluks Vilavancodu, Kalkulam and Agastheeswaram of the present day. Edai Naadu means a country between two important places or rivers or mountains and so on. Edanaadu was so called because it was situated between the Pahruli and Komari rivers and the surrounding areas. It was also called Nadunaadu.

Ptolemy an European traveler about 140 A.D in his book *Geography* has stated that the kingdom of the Aayis existed to the south of the Chera Kingdom which extended from *Melcynda* to *Komari*.⁸ Melcynda is Neiyattankarai in the Thiruvananthapuram district of the present day. The Aayis, who ruled Edanaadu at short intervals extended their territories on the north west and south east at the cost of the Cheras and Pandyas respectively.

Thiruvattaaru was a holy place and a centre of civilization during the rule of the Aayis of Edanaadu. A temple built at Thiruvattaaru in the modern period adorned with sculpture in stone has its own cultural importance. The temple has architectural excellence along with innumerable sculptures with iconographic traits. These statues have great charm and all those who visit the temple praise the talent of the sculptors. After Talayalamganam battle the Aayi Kingdom was fragmented and Vattaru was ruled by petty chieftains during the latter Aayi period.⁹

In Chitharaal, near Kulithurai in Vilavancodu Taluk has a jain temple. The Aayi rulers, though staunch Hindus, an Aayi ruler Vikramaditya Varaguna (885 to 925 A.D)

patronised this temple.¹⁰ This indicates that the Aayi Kings of Edanaadu followed religious tolerance. The Jain monuments at Chitharaal and Thiruchanathumalai very close to the Pahruli river are excellent examples of rock cut temples.

Between Thiruvattaaru and Athemcodu situated Kulithurai, where people lived far away came here for taking bath. This place is so called because of this practice of the people. On the left bank of the Pahruli river there is a temple called Vettuvenni Sastha Koil. The Catholic Christians have built a church nearer to the Sastha koil in the recent days which shows the religious tolerance of the people. On the right side of Pahruli river at Kulithurai there is a Brahmin settlement, where a temple had been built even in the ancient period. Athemcodu is situated South of Kulithurai where a great Thamizh scholar namely Athemcodu Aasaan lived during the Second Sangam age. About 2 kilometre east of Athemcodu there is a place called Kaappikaadu, where the author of *Tholkappiam* namely Tholkappian lived. His literary work, *Tholkaapiam* was presented for acceptance of Thamiz scholars in the presence of Athemcodu Aasaan.

Below Athemcodu, there is a place called Maankaadu situated on the right bank of the Pahruli river, has its own historical importance. Once it was a dense forest, where numerous deers lived and that is why this place is called so. Opposite to this place and on the left bank of Pahruli river is situated Munchirai, a place having historical importance. Munchirai had a Sabha consisting of a small intellectual elite which carried on local administration of the area. It maintained a Thamizh School and a medical school and the former gave instructions on Thamizh literature and the latter imparted instructions on Siddha medical system. The students were given free education, boarding and lodging. According to an inscription Karunandakan had acquired a place called Ulagudivilai from the Sabha of Munchirai, built a Vishnu temple there and named the place as Parthivapuram. He also started a vedic school (saalai) and made provisions for giving free education, boarding and lodging for about 96 students.¹¹ Since there were many masters on the different subjects of study lived in and around Munchirai in the ancient period this area was

called Kurunaadu. In the modern period a German missionary carried over medical knowledge and services of the ancient Siddha medical men. Now it has a medical college which imparts instruction on Siddha medical system.

The Komari river contributed much for the development of art and architecture. Once Nagercoil was a centre of Jainism and the Jains built a temple there. In 1522 A.D the Hindus occupied it and consecrated and named as Nagaraja Temple.¹² Among all the temples in the Edanaadu Suchindram Thaannmalayan temple has its primary importance. It was built in the ancient period and later the Chera, Chola, Pandyas added new edifices. The inscriptions of this temple carry historic informations to reconstruct the history of Kanyakumari District. The temples at Cholapuram and Krishnan koil situated very near to the Komari river have temples built on the Dravidian style of architecture.

Pothigai mountain after a break at Aralvaimozhi still continues towards kanyakumari after leaving a hillock called Maruthuvamali or Marunthuvazh Malai. Maruthuvamalai is noted for its availability of herbs of all inds meant for curing diseases, which are found to be incurable. The Siddha physicians flock over here to collect rare herbs. The Anuman Temple on the top of the hill, attracts devotees from far and wide. The local people claim that it was built in the ancient period.

The Pahruli and Komari rivers flown through the lost Lemurian Continent have left remarkable impression on the History of Thamizh Naadu. These rivers were responsible for the cultural development of Edanaadu. The sandal wood, spices such as cloves, cardamom, pepper, turmeric and ginger grown in the Edanaadu attracted the foreigners, such as the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans and they sailed to this region and returned to their countries by ships laden with these rare products. The balance of trade was in favour of the Thamizhians and this led to the economic growth of Thamizh Naadu as a whole. The Edanaadu became a bone of contention between the Pandyas and Cheras through the ages. It functioned as a buffer state for all those neighbours who attacked this region.

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TOURISM IN BAY ISLANDS: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

G.S.V. Prasad

From 1858 to 1945, the mere mention of the name of the picturesque islands of the Andaman and Nicobar group created an image of fear and a dreadful vision of a place. This place, during our struggle against colonial rule in 20th century was known for its isolation of incorrigible criminals and revolutionary nationalists who fought the mighty British Empire and were transported here as life convicts. The popular image was that those who came to the Andamans, never returned, though the case was not so. Even the modern Indian cinema, particularly South Indian cinema referred the Andamans in very negative connotation. Even after 70 years of independence, people of India have vague knowledge about the state of affairs in these Islands. The fear of unknown taunts the skeptical Indian.

Everything has changed in the Andamans over a period of time. Now, the Andamans is not what it had been prior to independence. Despite its geographical distance¹, the Andaman Islands has emerged as dream destination for national and international tourists. Like many penal settlements of colonial era (Mauritius, Singapore, Australia, Malaysia etc), Andamans also has complete potential to emerge as fully fledged hub of tourism for various categories of tourists.

Geographical Backdrop

In order to enjoy a particular tourist spot, the knowledge of its geography and climate is necessary. Andaman group is part of archipelago of Andaman and Nicobar Islands lying in the Bay of Bengal in the eastern part of Peninsular India,

coordinating between 12° 30' N 92° 45' in an arch shape. The stretch of this chain of Islands is about 750 km from north to south, thereby becoming the largest Union Territory of India. Out of 572 Islands of this archipelago, 510 belong to the Andaman group². Andaman group is an oceanic continuation of the Burmese Arakan Yoma range in the north and the Indonesian Archipelago in the South. The 10 degree channel separates Andamans with Nicobar group of Islands³.

Tourism development in the Andamans

Andamans have the multi facet of tourism avenues. The Islands are known for their natural beaches and thick forests as well as flora and fauna. And at the same time, the archipelago witnessed a dark historical element of colonial penal establishment. The combination of all attracts both domestic and international visitors to these islands. The Andamans has the potential to develop into beach tourism, adventure tourism, historical tourism, anthropological tourism, penal tourism etc. The general tourist activities in the Andamans are Scuba diving, trekking, snorkeling, kayaking and surfing. The place is the treasure for both natural sites and historical sites. The following are the some of the important tourist destinations that are worth visiting in the Andamans.

Port Blair

It is the capital city of the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Most of the **Islands' population is concentrated in and around this city.** The British establishment of

Penal Settlement started from around this place. The infamous Cellular jail now a National Memorial is located here. The three storeyed jail was actually constructed in star shape with 7 wings radiated from the central tower⁴. The revolutionary nationalist of the 20th century were kept and tortured here by the penal administration. The light and sound show gives vivid description of the atrocities that were carried out against freedom fighters. Anthropological Museum, Fisheries Museum, Samudrika, a Naval Marine Museum, Zoological Survey of India Museum, Japanese bunkers in the city, Corbyn Cove beach, Wandoor beach, Chidiyatappu, Mahatma Gandhi Marine National Park are other important tourist destinations.

Ross Island

Visible from the city of Port Blair, the Ross Island had been the head quarters of the British Penal settlement. This island was the place for **Chief Commissioner's house, a Cathedral, a tennis court** and also graveyard of many British soldiers. During the World War II, the Japanese occupied the Island and converted into site of Prisoners of War⁵. As of now the Ross Island is under the control and maintenance of Indian Navy.

Viper Island

Much prior to the construction of the Cellular Jail in the Andamans, the British constructed an open jail Viper Island near Port Blair. The Island derived its name when a British **vessel with the name 'Viper' met with an accident** and its wreckage was found near this island. During the colonial period, the dreaded convicts were sent here as punishment⁶. Brij Kishore Singh Deo, also known as Maharaja Jagannath of Puri was kept in the Viper jail, where he died in 1879⁷. After the construction of the Cellular Jail, the Viper jail had been abandoned. The Andaman administration is planning to develop this island with all modern amenities with public and private partnership.

Hut Bay or Little Andaman

Little Andaman also known Hut Bay is located south of the South Andaman Island at a distance of 120km by sea from Port Blair. It is the southernmost Island of the Andaman group. This Island has much potential to develop as a preferred tourist destination on account of its

virgin beaches, waterfalls, surfing etc. Butler Bay beach whose waves make it the best surfing destination in India. This island further has to be connected well with sea and air transportation and also infrastructural development for tourists⁸.

Long Island

This Island is 47 nautical miles the Port Blair city and having an area of about 18 sq.km and two thousand population. It has beautiful virgin silvery beaches along its coasts at Lalaji Bay and Merk Bay of North Passage Island adjacent to Long Island. Cruising through the creek at Yerrata and the sunset view from Long Island can attract any nature lover to these places⁹.

Havelock Island¹⁰

Those who visit the Andamans would not go back without visiting the Havelock Island. It is a picturesque natural paradise with beautiful white sandy beaches, rich coral reefs and lush green forest. It is one of the populated islands in the Andaman group with an area of 113 sq.km and is located 39 km of north-east of Port Blair. Radha Nagar beach of this island is one of the best beaches in Asia with a length of two kilometers and width of 30 to 40 meters. The sand is white and very fine in grain. The beach has a gentle gradient of around 1:20 and continuous out into the sea as a sandy bottom for over 100 meters¹¹.

Neil Island¹²

The Neil Island named after a British officer is in visible distance from the Havelock Island. With unexplored coral reefs, brilliant biodiversity, white sandy beaches and tropical forest and vegetation, it is one of the hot tourist spots in the Andamans. Neil Island has got many beautiful beaches named after Indian mythological figure like, Bharat, Laxman, Sita, Ram etc. This Island is also known as vegetable bowl of the Andamans as majority of the vegetables for the consumption of the Islanders are grown here. The Island also has a beautiful coral arch, locally known as Howrah Bridge¹³

Baratang Island

The Baratang Island is lying between South and Middle Andaman and approximately 100 kms by road from Port Blair through dense Jarawa forest reserve. The Andaman Trunk

Road to North Andaman goes through this Island. This island is also popular for beautiful beaches, mangrove creeks mud-volcanoes and limestone caves. From Baratang Island Lime Stone caves are of about one hour boat ride through a beautiful wide creek. After reaching Nayadera jetty, one and half kilometer walk through tropical forest takes us to Limestone, a sedimentary rock formed at the bottom of the sea. Mud Volcano is another interesting place to watch in this Island. From Baratang jetty, one has to reach this place through Jarawa creek. This mud Volcano is created by natural gases emitted by decaying organic matter underground. As the mud is pushed upwards by the gas, it deposits and hardens above the ground. As more mud oozes out and spills over the edge it grows in size, gradually forming a miniature volcano with rich creamy mud crater at the top¹⁴.

Diglipur

Diglipur is the major town in the North Andaman. It is 325 Kms from Port Blair and approximately take 12 hours by road and much more time by boat. Saddle peak the highest point in the islands is situated in Diglipur. Kalpong, the only river of Andamans flows here. The only Hydro-electric project of the Islands is constructed on this river. Andamans particularly, Diglipur is home to thousands of turtles. During December and January, turtle nesting takes place here at Kalipur and Ramanagar beach. The forest department has taken all possible measure for turtle nesting. Many tourists visit this place to watch turtle nesting¹⁵.

Ross and Smith Islands

Ross and Smith are two Islands situated in North Andaman near Diglipur. These two islands are joined by a sand bar to make a single group of Islands. But during the high tide, the sand bar comes under water and the Islands are separated. What makes these islands truly beautiful and sets them apart from the rest of the islands is that these two islands are joined by a natural sand bar. Water is crystal clear and gem green in colour. These is a Marine Sanctuary on the island which makes it an ideal place for spotting beautiful coral reefs and colourful species from the underwater¹⁶.

Barren Island

The strategic location of Barren island is 135 km northeast of Port Blair. This island is **known for India's only active Volcano**. The first recorded eruptions of the volcano on Barren Islands dated back to 1787. Since then, the volcano has erupted more than six times and the most recent eruption was on 2 May 2006. This volcanic island stands in the midst of a volcanic belt on the edge of the Indian and Burmese tectonic plates. The peak of the volcano rises to an altitude of 354 meters, but most of the volcano in Barren Island is underwater¹⁷. At present, the Island is under the control of Indian Navy and has all potential to develop as an adventure tourist destination.

Challenges

There is a strong economic base for the development of tourism further in the Andaman Islands due its limitation in limited agricultural land, constrains on forest land and little or lack of manufacturing. Tourism with its low capital high output ratio high economic output and employment potential is an attractive option. There are various areas where tourism in these islands could be explored further. Public and Private partnership is a very viable option. Personalised or customised itineraries for the visitors. Environmental consciousness could be increased through eco-tourism. Highlighting importance of heritage and ethnic tourism and developing and propagating an image about these Islands and at the same time retaining the core while leveraging on the variety are other important aspects in developing tourist activities in these islands. There is need of creating world class infrastructure in the Islands and also effective and prompt transportation and communication would enrich the demand for these islands.

The local people also welcome the development of tourism in the islands. As tourism is major viable economic option, the locals believe that it brings economic gains and prosperity. The tourism in the islands has to be expanded to new areas with new ideas. Little Andaman could be explored further. North Andaman could be developed with sufficient and effective infrastructural facilities like bridges connecting Baratang and North Andaman.

Proposed Rail Network

Rail link from Port Blair to Diglipur is another viable option in order to bring new areas under tourism framework. There has a proposal make a broad-gauge railway for distance of 240 kms connective two major islands with bridges and stations along the coast. The Railway Ministry is set to approve the project, which will **connect the Union Territory's capital city in the south with the largest town on the north Andaman island** currently linked by a 350 km bus service that takes over 14 hours and a ship that takes around 24 hours and there is no air connectivity. According to an internal survey report of the ministry of Railways, the cost of the line will be Rs. 2,413.68 crore with a negative rate of return on investment of -9.64 percent¹⁸. As soon as the line is commissioned, tourism will see a jump from the current 4.5 lakh visitors a year to around 6 lakh a year as per Prof. Jagdish Mukhi, Lieutenant Governor of Andaman and Nicobar Islands¹⁹. If the proposal is materialized, this would be a revolutionary move as far as tourism in Andamans is concerned and Andamans will be honoured to have its place in the Railway map of India.

There are other challenges that have to be addressed to boost tourism in the Andamans. Already Andamans has high cost of living due non-availability of sufficient vegetables and other commodities of daily consumption. The promotion of tourism should not affect the daily lives of the locals. The shortage of water would also hamper the growth of tourism. Issue of intra connectivity within the various islands as well as boat facilities not being sufficient was prominent. Apart from geographical distance, the tourists also find high cost of living as a reason not to prefer these islands, instead, they prefer South Asian countries like, Bangkok, Singapore, Macau etc. To attract middle class domestic visitors, these issues have to be addressed. The airport needs to be opened 24x7 and 365 days. At

present, the air operations are limited and confined to only day time. The airport which is under Indian Navy has to be extended and another run way needs to be constructed. Without compromising with security of the Islands, the international flights must be allowed, so that the inflow of foreign tourists would increase.

The context of Andaman Islands is different and to meet the challenges viable and out of the box thinking is required. Tourist models followed in the mainland and elsewhere may not fit into the framework of the Islands. The growth tourism in these Bay Island should focus on sustainable development by promoting employment opportunities to the locals and also not disturbing the nature and aboriginals. The visitors to these islands are not very well sensitized to the fact that they are visiting ecologically fragile islands. 86% of domestic tourists and 74% foreign tourists admitted that they were not sensitized and they believed that their holiday experience would be improved with more information on ecology and culture of the islands²⁰.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are **representing the earth's oldest culture that needs to be preserved**. It also echoes our struggle against the colonial rulers and the historical heritage keep reminding the sacrifices made by many unknown people for the emancipation of the mother land. There is no second thought to say that growth and expansion of tourism is only viable solution to generate employment and make the islands self sufficient to large extent. But in the process thoughtless and unplanned development of tourism would be a big threat to the precious heritage of this beautiful archipelago. The Andaman administration and the government of India should keep in mind while formulating policies for tourism in these Islands.

Notes and References

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DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHO-HISTORY IN INDIA: A STUDY OF WRITINGS OF SUDHIR KAKAR

Priyadarshi Kar

Psycho-historical Studies in India

The beginning of the study of psychoanalysis in India can be traced back to the founding of Indian Psychoanalytical Society (IPS) by Girindra Sekhar Bose (1886-1953) in Calcutta (now Kolkata) in 1922. Bose obtained a medical degree in 1910 from Calcutta University and a MA in psychology in 1917. In 1921 he was awarded D Sc degree for his original thesis on The Concept of Repression which put forward some original ideas that differed from Freud. Bose and Freud exchanged ideas and continuously corresponded with each other between 1921 and 1937. This correspondence was later published in *Samikshya*, the journal published by the Indian Psychoanalytical Society. During the 1960s and 70s a flourishing movement-cum-experiment in analysis was also taking place at the B.M Institute in Ahmadabad established by Kamalini Sarabhai. Eminent practitioners like B.K.Ramanujam, Jit and Baljeet Mehra, and theorists like Ashis Nandy were associated with this movement.

However, the beginning of Psychohistorical studies in India can be said to have started off with the publication of Erik Erikson's book *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Non-violence* (New York, 1968). In this study of Mahatma Gandhi, psychoanalyst Erik H. Erikson explores how Gandhi succeeded in mobilizing the Indian people both spiritually and politically as he became the revolutionary innovator of militant non-violence and India became the motherland of large-scale civil disobedience.¹ However, it is Sudhir Kakar,

trained and guided by Erikson, who is regarded as foremost scholar in India. Another equally acclaimed scholar in the field is Ashis Nandy, a brilliant political psychologist. Nandy in his work has demonstrated the relevance of psychoanalysis to the study of Indian culture and has explored the colonial impact on the unconscious mind in his book, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi, 1983).² As far as the study of psycho-historic themes in India is concerned, the discipline of psycho-history, established by Erikson, has been applied by many non-specialists also. This is especially notable in the subjects of religion, eros, and sexuality. For example, the two highly controversial psychoanalytical studies on the 19th century Indian mystic Ramakrishna Paramansa are: Jeffrey J. Kripal's *Kali's Child: The Mystical and Erotic in the Life and Teachings of Ramakrishna* (Chicago, 1995),³ and, Narasingha P. Sil's *Ramakrishna Revisited: A New Biography*.⁴ Another important work is by Austrian author Christiane Hartnack titled *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India* (New Delhi, 2001),⁵ wherein she examines the birth and growth of psychoanalysis in India from the angle of culture theory.

Sudhir Kar and Psycho-historical Studies

Sudhir Kkar is considered as one of India's leading intellectuals. Born in 1938, he spent his early childhood near Sargodha, (now in Pakistan) and also in Rohitak in Haryana. At age eight he was enrolled as a boarder in Modern School in New Delhi where he would later write about homosexual encounters in the school

dormitories. He next attended St. Edward's School, Shimla and began his Intermediate Studies at Maharaja's College, Jaipur in 1953 after which his family sent him to Ahmedabad, where he obtained his B.E. degree in Mechanical Engineering from Gujarat University in 1958. Kakar thereafter obtained a master's equivalent in business administration at the University of Mannheim (1960-64), and a Doctorate in Economics at the Vienna. **Kakar's interest in psychoanalysis** grew out of an encounter with Erik Erikson when was teaching in IIM Ahmadabad in the 1960s and 1970s. Thereafter Kakar seriously began his training in psychoanalysis at the University of Frankfurt's Sigmund-Freud Institute in 1971. In 1975, Sudhir Kakar moved to Delhi and worked as a practicing psychoanalyst. For someone trained as an engineer and later as an economist, Kakar continues to cross disciplinary boundaries and capture the imagination of readers and everyone interested in the world of ideas.

Kakar has published as many as seventeen works of non-fiction and four novels apart from several edited works. Most of them have been translated into more than twenty languages around the world. Some of his most popular non-fiction works include *The Inner World; Shamans, Mystics and Doctors; Tales of Love, Sex, and Danger; Intimate Relations; The Analyst and Mystic; The Colours of Violence; Mad and Divine; and The Indians: Portrait of a People* (with *Katherina Kakar*). His major novels include: *The Ascetic of Desire; Ecstasy; Mira and the Mahatma; and Crimson Throne*. For Kakar, the central concern has been to evaluate the validity of the psychoanalytic theory, which originated primarily as a Western canon, when applied to the Indian context. He also takes of the broad and more pertinent question that-- can the psychological make sense of the cultural in all human experience-- in his works.

According to Kakar, psychoanalysis is informed by a vision of human experiences that mans individuality and his self- contained psyche. In the psychoanalytic vision each of us lives in our own subjective world pursuing pleasures and private fantasises, constructing life, and a fate that will vanish when our time is over. This view emphasises the desirability of reflective awareness of **one's inner states**, an insistance that our psyches harbour deeper

secrets than we care to confess, the existence of an objective reality that can be known and an essential complexity and tragedy of life where by many wishes are fated to remain unfulfilled.

Kakar invites his readers to participate in open debates about the universalistic pretensions of psychoanalytic theory when he applies them to Indian culture. A psychological analysis of the Hindu world image by Kakar makes sense because it provides readers with an analysis of the disnctive features of Indian social and spiritual structures based on notions such as dharma, karma and moksha. While analysing sexuality practiced in ancient India, Kakar remains a severe critic of the conservative and puritanical sexual mores of contemporary India. His new book on the *Kamasutra* jointly written with Wendy Doniger, appears to be an effort to critique modern Indian sexual behaviours through the presentation of this classical erotic text. For Kakar, the *Kamasutra* is actually an oldest Hindu text about the art of living and not about sexual positions.⁶

In his 1986 publication, *Tales of love, sex and Danger*, co-authored with John Rosss, Kakar **analyses the 'paradigmatic love story of Hindu India'**-- the story of the milkmaid Radha and her union with the god Krishna.⁷ For Kakar, the Radha Krishna relation amounts to a depersonalized voluptuous state recalling the earliest attachment of the infant to his mother. It is interesting to examine Kakars methodology by understanding the ways in which he presents the Indian culture viewpoint before applying psychoanalysis to it. His research on the Indian psyche and sexual behaviours relies profoundly on the Indian classical texts, Indian popular culture such as Hindi movies, and folk tales, and on primary source materials such as biographies **and letters. What makes Kakar's work original is** that he presents a composite view of India in which Indians recognise themselves and which helps other people to go beyond their touristic and simplistic view of Indianness.⁸ Above all Kakr remains in dialogue with the key building blocks of Indian ness while he interrogates the impact of modernity on Indian society. The works of Sudhir Kakar on psychosocial tension underlying Indian identity are a great landmark in understanding the stresses and strains of an unexplored and hidden India which is in the

process of aspiring to be authentically traditional and yet thoroughly modern.⁹

Another interesting work by Kakar is a psychobiography of Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore titled *Young Tagore*.¹⁰ In this reconstruction of Tagore's childhood and youth, he draws a nuanced portrait of the young prodigy and the decisive experiences that shaped him: the death of his mother when he was fourteen, the intimate bond he shared with his sister-in-law Kadambari and his sojourn in England. Through these Kakar uncovers the vital themes in young Rabis inner world that shaped his creative genius: his yearning for solitude that was tempered by his fear of loneliness; his preoccupation with spiritual concerns that enabled him to give voice to the sensualist within; and his abiding quest to find a balance between traditional Indian values and Western cosmopolitanism

Conclusion

However, it is too easy simply to dismiss psychohistory as bunk. As one recent

commentator pointed out, 'as a dogmatic structure, Freudianism is largely unconvincing: yet in diffuse form, Freudian ideas have become an indispensable part of our common-sense understanding of humanity'. Psychoanalytic history remains a sub-discipline whose conclusions, to sceptics, too often appear either irredeemably banal or else impenetrably abstruse. In arguing that true psychoanalytic historians must be trained as both psychoanalysts and historians, the sub-discipline has gained in analytical rigour, but in so doing has arguably both reinforced its intellectual exclusivity and continued effectively to alienate non-believers. To some, psychoanalysis will continue to be the key to historical understanding. To others it will no doubt continue to be bunk. Yet if Freud failed to supply convincing answers, he certainly raised questions about human motivations and the influence of irrationality and emotion in historical endeavour that no historian can reasonably ignore.

End Notes

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LALBAGH -VITAL LUNG SPACE OF BANGALORE

B.S. Puttaswamy

While describing the origin and growth of Lalbagh the role of local Chiefs is not taken into consideration. Curiously enough it is the local rulers of Bengaluru that is the kings of Kempegowda dynasty, who laid the foundation of horticulture in Bengaluru. This dynasty which is described as Yalahanka Nada Prabhus (petty chiefs of Karnataka) who contributed to the all round development of Bangalore as a capital city. Particularly Kempe Gowda I.¹ am acknowledged as the founder of Bangalore. Who planned various aspects of social and economic development of the new capital.

Kempe Gowda I (1513-1569. A .D.) During his long rule he paid attention to every aspect of the civic life I. He invited people of all professions like architects, artisans and others. He presided them a separate location to settle comfortably and to develop their trade or profession. Kempe Gowda rulers who belonged to the Vokkaliga or Gowda community (agriculturist caste) gave uitabk encouragement for the development of agriculture². He encouraged farmers to clear bushes and forests and develops cultivation of food crops. Kempe Gowda was well aware of the needs of fanners in the village and the citizen in

the towns. In Bangalore he built a network of tanks, ponds, wells and canals. The farmers were provided with necessary facilities including tax concession for new land or uncultivated land which was taken up for cultivation³.

In this connection Kempe Gowda I, who is aptly called Bengaiuru Kempe Gowda, gave suitable importance to gardens and development of various kinds of flora. He made arrangements for flower plants and as a result floriculture developed in a remarkable way. As the flower gardens and various types of fragrant and colourful flower plants began to bloom small ponds, tanks and wells were also constructed to supply water to these plants. After giving suitable importance to floriculture, he made arrangements for the growth of various fruit yielding trees and plants. Most important among these trees was the mango and jackfruit⁴. In this connection he made arrangement for a well-developed nursery at the present Lal Bagh area. Various species of mangoes, jackfruit, lemon, grapefruits and grape wine were planted. There was a planned development of various types of fruits, flowers and greenery.⁵

At the time of the Kempegowda I period 1510-1578 A.D. four watchtowers to various that marked Bengaluru's boundary were set up. These four watchtowers built at the time in Bengaluru are still seen today. The tower the Lal Bagh is built on ancient rock.⁶

It must be noted that Kempegowda gave proper attention not only to the growth of food crops; he did not neglect the ecological and environmental balance. These rulers were aware of the need for environment and ecological balance. As the result they gave importance to the growth of greenery whenever and wherever it was suitable. As a result of this planned development Bangalore developed into a pleasant and a healthy spot in South India and attracted both the merchants and the craftsmen.⁷

Kempe Gowda made arrangements to invite the Tigalas (a caste devoted to the profession of garden). These people concentrated on the growth of various flower plants and trees in the gardens and in the fields. The modern horticulture experts have appreciated the scientific knowledge and procedure followed by this community in developing horticulture, growing health plants,

trees and preventing diseases to plants and trees and choosing the proper crops suitable to the season, soil and weather. The gardens and flower plants were developed not only around the Palace of Kings, but also around temples and selected sites in the state. The Government itself took necessary steps to develop various flower bearing trees, garden, grass, plants etc. In Bangalore two tanks - the Mavally tank and Siddapura tanks were utilised exclusively for the purpose of development of horticulture⁹. There are many plots and areas where specific crops like mangos, jackfruits were grown.

The present area called Mavally in central Bangalore was the place where various types and varieties of Mango seeds were developed for cultivation. In this way it must be emphasised that due recognition must be paid to Kempe Gowda I for the foundation of horticulture and planned development of various flowers and fruit bearing trees grown in Bangalore at Lalbagh. The garden which this illustrious King developed was called by Kempegowdana Thota, Kempayyana Thota or Kempu Thota.¹⁰ **Basically the garden developed by Kempe Gowda.** Kempu in Kannada means **Red**, Thota means **garden**. (Kempu Thota (Kannada), Red Garden(English), Lal Bagh(Persian/ Arabian)

Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan (1760- 1799 AD)

Haider Ali, who ruled Mysore for about 20 years, came to visit this green heaven on shining red soil. His son a young boy looking at the garden called it as "Lal Bagh". (Red Garden, in Kannada Kempu Thota) a garden developed on red soil. That is how this beautiful garden got the name of Lalbagh.

Haider himself was interested in horticulture. He also developed a beautiful park on a four acre plot. This garden began to grow regularly and expanded to 200 acres by 1856. In the 18th century rare varieties like Anjur, Pomgranates etc appeared on the red soil of Lalbagh. Then followed beautiful flower plants from Lahore, Multan, Kabul and Delhi. Among these were attractive roses which gave the name of Lalbagh. During the rule of Tipu Sultan Lalbagh received more colourful and useful plants. New species of flower plants from France, Mauritius arrived at the Lalbagh. Then followed fruit yielding trees like Guava, papaya, apple and grapes¹². Thus Lalbagh had become an attractive

tourist spot in 18th Century. The British who succeeded Tipu Sultan did not fail to appreciate the value of Lalbagh. During their rule the British Government brought Lalbagh under the jurisdiction of the Royal Botanical Garden which was having its Head Calcutta.

The term Lalbagh comes from the colour of the soil. The soil was red in colour hence it is called Lalbagh. An interesting explanation is that the boy Tipu Sultan who on seeing the colourful and prominently red flowers shouted in excitement 'Lalbagh'. Hence the name was given to this garden. The term Lal also refers to the Rubies. Therefore it is called Lalbagh or garden of the Rubies.

Haider Ali who contributed to the development of Lalbagh followed the Moghal horticultural pattern and contribution. It is said that he captured many people who were adept in horticulture and utilised for the development of Lalbagh. Haider and Tipu had contacts with many foreign Countries and North Indian States. They got various kinds of fruit trees and flower-bearing trees. Thus fruits, vegetables, herbs, were imported and were grown in the Lalbagh.¹³

These places were Delhi, Lahore, Multan, China, Arabia, Africa and Kabul. It appears Tipu was fond of mangoes and he got many good varieties of (man goes from abroad) planted them at Lalbagh. It is also mentioned that some of the mango trees in the Lalbagh were planted by Tipu Sultan.¹⁴ A part from mango various other kinds of fruits were also grown here. They were peaches, jackfruits, plantains. The most important flower bearing trees were rose, champaka, hibiscus and other varieties of flowers¹⁵. Some of those wild flowers were also grown in various parts of the city.

Colonial India

When the British Government took over the administration of Mysore State they appointed a Botanical adviser. In 1856 the Lalbagh became a national issue. It was converted into a Botanical garden under the supervision of the Government officers on the request of Indian Government. Brittan sent one horticultural expert for this purpose William New was sent to manage development of Lalbagh in a scientific way¹⁶. This officer procured many

new plants and trees on exchange basis from various Countries and Indian States.

When Robert became the superintendent of Lalbagh, he began to develop horticulture in various parts of Mysore. The Lalbagh became the most important centre in horticulture in India. It was Krumbigal who suggested that apart from floriculture. In many commercial crops can also be developed in Lalbagh as there was krttic oil in that garden.

Glass House- A Jewel in Lalbagh's Crown

John Cameron is one of the greatest horticulture experts, who developed the Lal Bagh. He introduces the Pear Squash to Bangalore city. Cameron is considered the father of horticulture. His great contribution is the Glass House modelled on London- Crystal Palace. The foundation stone of Glass House was laid by Albert Vicwr. John Cameron was an efficient man full of ideas, action and passion for plants and horticulture. The Glass House conceived and constructed by Cameron is called the "Jewel of Lalbagh". The Glass House, modelled on London' **Crystal Palace** (now re-modelled with a different layout), is the centre of attraction. Lal Bagh is a 240 acre garden and is located on the southern part of Bangalore.¹⁷

Cameron who worked as the superintendent of Lalbagh (1874-1908) is considered the real architect of the Lalbagh and regarded as the 'Father of Horticulture' in Karnataka¹⁸. He introduced many profitable plants and trees in the Lalbagh as well as other parts of the State. This opened new World of profitable business in sale of flowers and fruits. Cameron developed the Lalbagh in many ways. It was expanded to hundred acres. Many flowers beds and walking path were introduced. The crowing achievement of this period is the construction of Glass House which was opened 1893. A beautiful fountain was added to this building. A band stand and a small zoo were other attractive additions. The flower exhibitions in January (Republic Day) and August (Independence Day) used to draw huge numbers to the Lalbagh.

John Cameron greatest contribution was the Glass House which is considered the Jewells House of Lalbagh. It was Cameron's idea to have a conservatory in the garden to facilitate acclimatisation of plants and about a venue for

the flower shows which until the glass house built was held near the band stand. The renowned Glass House was constructed in 1889. John Cameron is only of the most significant officers. His long term of office 1874 to 1908 is regarded as the "Golden period" of plant introduction at Lalbagh. He was a man full of ideas, action and passion for plants and horticulture. He got many new species and got them planted in Lalbagh, using his contact around the world to bring in new plants to the garden.¹⁹ He got Clematis from Greece, oil palm from West Africa, Silk rubber from Indonesia, Qat from Yemen, fish poison tree from Sri Lanka and blackthorn from Australia. He also tried to introduce many commercial crops¹⁹ including like coffee, apples, rubber and grapes.²⁰

G.H.Krumbiegal, who succeeded Cameron in 1908, did memorable work in Lalbagh as well as Mysore State. Like his predecessor he also introduced several plants species including Rome beauty apple. He beautified Lalbagh with large number of native and exotic species and gave special importance to the creation of park and garden in Bangalore and Mysore cities including the Brundavan gardens²¹. The excellent work of the English Botanists was continued during the tenure of the Mysoreans

namely H.S. Javaraya, K. Nanjappa and Dr.M.H. Marigowda.

Conclusion

Thus the most admirable Lalbagh has evolved as one of the most beautiful garden in the world. During its long history the foundation laid by Kempe Gowda I in the early 17th Century, has blossomed into an enchanting garden as a result of the contribution of various Indian rulers, Europeans, Botanists and great horticulture specialists. It stands shining in the heart of the city not only as a beautiful spot but also as a health lung space for the citizens of Bangalore, who require fresh air and fragrant environment. Lal Bagh is the only garden in the world to be visited by the princes and princess of almost all British colonies.

It was for the first time an Independent and separate Horticulture Department (1963) was established in India. **Karnataka is the first state in the country to have a separate Horticulture Department** and many other states followed the example of Karnataka. Because of this, the state could achieve remarkable progress on the field of Horticulture, whether Fruits, Vegetables, Flowers and Plantation crop.

Foot- Notes

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AZHAGANKULAM VAIGAI RIVER ESTUARY PORT TOWN THE HITHERTO UNKNOWN COASTAL TRANSOCEANIC TRADE CENTRE OF TAMILS WITH MEDITERRANEAN SEA

P. Rajan & M. Elangovan

This Archaeological site Azhagankulam is situated near the river mouth of Vaigai and 3 kms from the shoreline on the bank of river Vaigai. As this port Azhagankulam was situated in Palk Bay, the transfer of cargo from vessels coming from the south was made through a land crossing about twenty kilometres north. At present, a channel which is running about two km from ancient port town Azhagankulam is connecting with sea which could have been near to the site in bygone age must have been used for waging the boats. This site Azhagankulam was excavated by the State Archaeology of Tamil Nadu during 1990's in five phases. The Archaeological artifacts found at Azhagankulam connotes a cultural sequence of periods ranging from 500 BCE to 1200 CE.

The place Azhagankulam mentioned in *Periplus Maris Erythrian Sea* as '*Argaru*' or '*Argalou*'. The expression *Argaru* could be identified with present Azhagankulam rather than Uraiyur the ancient Chola capital which is situated far away inland. With the aim of finding more archaeological evidences to throw further light on the existence of transoceanic trade between Tamil Country and Rome in the ancient period, large scale recent excavations so far undergone at Azhagankulam, a far off village in Ramanathapuram district located along Vaigai river beside the estuary. Among the newly excavated sites some of which are neither mentioned in the classical works nor the indigenous Tamil literature. The recent Archaeological remains are a valuable source which throwing a new light on the hitherto unknown coastal trading centres having transoceanic trade contacts with Mediterranean world.

The Archaeological site Azhagankulam has generated an indigenous Roman wares, particularly roulette wares from Rome as well. Further the site Azhagankulam has borne Terracotta dice, spindle whorls, and measuring weights. The Roman coins of 4th-5th centuries CE were also unearthed in this place Azhagankulam. No literary references have been quoted regarding this port town Azhagankulam

and rich transoceanic trade activities either in Sangam Classical works or in foreign notices.¹

In due course of time the site Azhagankulam lost its importance probably due to the growth of the port Periyapattinam near Ramanathapuram during this period. The ancient Tamils had transoceanic trade network both on the coast and in the hinterland. They had close commercial nexus, internal and maritime. This paper discusses the significance of the newly discovered materials at Azhagankulam on transoceanic trade contact between ancient Tamil Country with Rome.

The Tamil epic *Silappadikaram* also refers to the Yavanas who reside in Kaveripumpattinam and whose prosperity was never on the wane had their residences or colony there.² Another interesting Tamil epic *Manimekhalai* also refers to the Romans rich transoceanic trade in Kaveripumpattinam. Further the work *Manimekhalai* also mentions how the artists of Magadha, Cratsmen of Mahrathi, blacksmiths of Avanti and the carpenters of Yavana contributed to build the splendid portal city of Kaveripattinam.³ The expression 'Yavana tachar' clearly refers to carpenters or stone-workers or architects. This work also points to the fact that Yavanas were employed in Kaveripattinam.

Speaking about the east coast, it is generally felt that the foreign writers like Strabo, Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* are somewhat reticent in their observations. As pointed out by Lionel Casson, the Prime source of our information about the trade between Rome and India is the *Periplus Maris Erythrian sea* "that unique anonymous handbook" written sometime between 40 and 70 A.D. for the use of merchants and shippers who sailed out of the ports of Roman Egypt on the Red Sea to trade with the eastern coast of Africa, with Arabia and India.

Lionel Casson states that even this important work, *Periplus Maris Erythrian Sea* provides a valuable graphic details about major ports (emporium) on the west coast.

The work, *Periplus Maris Erythrian Sea* also portrays the various commercial goods both import and export or in other words the goods which were bought or sold in very brief on the east coast. Further the work gives only a list of the more important stopping places with brief references to some local speciality.⁴ This scantiness of the foreign source is corroborated by the sources provided in the Sangam Classical works of the Tamils attributed to the early centuries of the Common era and possibly one or two centuries earlier too. Though the *Periplus* mentioned that, the Indian vessels sailed regularly from the east coast to the west coast and vice-versa. Casson also states that parenthetically, the reason for the paucity of transoceanic trade evidences available regarding the east coast in the work of *Periplus*, is mainly attributable to the fact that the Roman ships visited the east coast not much as on the west coast. Added to this was the land trade route between the west and east coasts, which must have served well for the transport of the goods and the traders. Further the trade goods which were commercialized on the east coast were the produced by the craftsmen and transaction by the middleman who had the monopoly of trade. Ptolemy also gives interesting information of various types of crafts used on the east coast. Thus various types of crafts also produce in the regions of east coast estuary.

The expression *Argeirou* mentioned in Geography of Ptolemy, also supplemented the expression *Argaru* refers to *Periplus Maris Erythrian Sea* are one and the same and the expressions which could be identify with this port town Azhagankulam during the ancient period.⁵ *Argeirou* mentioned in Geography of Ptolemy is said that this port town Azhagankulam is located around Orgalic Gulf, which is nearer to Rameswaram traditional ancient port town.⁶ The word *Argaru* or *Argalou* of *Periplus* of Erythrean Sea also suggest the same location of Azhagankulam.⁷ It is said that it is lying inland and celebrated for a manufacture of muslin adorned with small pearls. Ptolemy while describes the celebrated port city of Kaveripumpattinam on the mouth of the river Kaveri, as 'Kaberis Emporion' in his works. Further the work also mentions transoceanic trade contacts in the early centuries.

The artifacts found in archaeological exploration and excavations provide an outstanding corroborative evidence for the Indo-Roman transoceanic trade contacts. More articulate is the recent archaeological and numismatic evidence on the transoceanic trade contact, which helps to fill up the gaps found both in the foreign accounts and Sangam Classical literature. The Tamil epic *Silppadikaram* refers to a separate sophisticated settlement of the Romans at Kaveripattinam. The expression *Yavanar-irukkai* clearly attested the Roman settlements in the Coastal town Kaveripattinam.⁸ It was very active port during the late Roman period (around 3rd-4th century AD) and Roman ships laden with their wine in Amphorae jars and other goods had come here.⁹ Apart from Pandyan and punch marked coins a few Roman coins datable between AD 383-408 were also found here.¹⁰ Another important discovery of a few fine sherds produced its contact with Gangetic India in early centuries of Christian era.¹¹ Archaeological excavations at Azhagankulam yielded a rouletted sherd bearing the figure of the ship on the shoulder portion.¹² The figure is very similar to that found at Ostia a Roman period port. It therefore, suggests that Azhagankulam had active trade contacts with Roman world and foreign writers must have noticed it. There are also evidences on the exploitation of marine resources. A mooring stone of sandstone was noticed near the shore. It was exposed up to 75 cm and two square holes were noticed. Near to shore a British period warehouse was noticed. The distance between ancient site and present shoreline clearly suggest a very little shifting of shoreline. Fishermen towards the south of Azhagankulam waters also reported a shipwreck. As per the present location of the site, it is suggested that the boats at this place were coming by a river channel, which is existed about 2 km south of this site. So far the coastline is concerned there is not significant change of shoreline in last 2000 years. Further south of Nagapattinam Azhagankulam a Chola port and Korkoi a Pandyan port of Sangam period is located far from the shore.

The antiquities and literary references suggest that both these ports were very active during Christian era and they had overseas trade relations with Mediterranean countries. Thus this archaeological site Azhagankulam denotes a vital role of transoceanic trade activities held in

this port during the ancient period. Renewed excavation from bay at Azhagankulam village in Ramanathapuram district, Tamil Nadu, has thrown up fresh evidence that it was an important trading post between the Sangam Pandyas and the Romans from circa 50 BCE to circa 500 CE. Archaeologists from the Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology, who are taking part in the excavation, said Azhagankulam, Arikkamedu in Puducherry and Pattanam (Muziris) in Kerala formed a troika of trade centres between Rome and the Tamil country during the Tamil Sangam age.

The State Department of Archaeology had earlier excavated the site in 1986-87 and again for five seasons in the 1990s.¹³ Those excavations revealed the trade link between the ancient Tamil country and the Mediterranean region. The excavation under way now at Azhagankulam has yielded broken Roman Amphora jars, Mediterranean pottery, embossed Roman potsherds, copper coins, Chinese Celadon ware, rouletted ware, potsherds with Tamil Brahmi letters, a potsherd with a swastika symbol and so on. Beads made of carnelian, quartz and glass were found. Of the five trenches, four were laid in the Kottaimedu area.

They yielded Roman amphorae (jars for storing wine), two copper coins, roofing tiles, black and red potsherds. A trench dug at Parithikaadu near the seashore yielded three corroded copper coins.¹⁴ The discovery of the Roman artifacts like the Arretine, the amphorae jars, Roman glass, lamps and coins clearly reveals the fact that the ancient Tamils had rich transoceanic trade contacts with Rome. It is also supplemented by the presence of the Roman resident traders in coastal busiest ports like Poompuhar, perhaps Azhagankulam also served a resident for foreign traders.

Archaeologists emphasised that the Roman antiquities thrown up from the renewed excavation at Azhagankulam proved once again the trade contacts between the Pandya rulers and the Romans. Madurai was the capital of the Pandya country and Ramanathapuram came under the Madurai region. Roman gold coin hoards had been found at Utthamapuram, **Nathampatti and Karivalamvandha Nallur.** "From circa 50 BCE, the Roman context occurs at Azhagankulam. The Pandyas had trade contacts

with the Yavanas.¹⁵ The Romans bought pearls from the Pandya country. The contacts lasted till **500 CE," said an archaeologist who had taken** part in the earlier excavations at Azhagankulam. Those excavations yielded three Roman coins.

The legend on them showed that Roman emperors Valentine II (regnal years 383 CE to 395 CE) and Arcadius (regnal years 395 CE to 408 CE) issued them. Square copper Pandya coins were also found. The Mauryan context at Azhagankulam was revealed, with the occurrence of the northern black polished ware (elite tableware used by the wealthy) and punch-marked coins.¹⁶ Azhagankulam, Arikkamedu and Korkai in the Tamiraparani basin on the east coast and Muziris on the west coast saw flourishing trade between the ancient Tamil country and the Romans, the archaeologist added.

Tamilnadu has yielded perhaps the largest number of Roman coin-hoards including Azhagankulam. The most important recent Roman coin hoards are Azhagankulam near Rameshwaram, Mambalam in Madras City, Karur and Coimbatore. Among these Roman coin stockpiles two coins of the Byzantine dynasty found in Azhagankulam. One Roman coin belonging to Valentine have been found in stratified excavation at Azhagankulam. This would indicate the rich transoceanic trade contacts of Tamils with the Roman world even during the Byzantine period. This has to be viewed along with a few more coins of the same period found earlier in the hoards. Azhagankulam is also an extensive site at the mouth of the river Vaigai with easy access to the open sea and in close vicinity to Sri Lanka coast.

Azhagankulam has been excavated by Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu under Mr. Natana Kasinathan. Fragmented of imported amphorae, considerable quantities of Rouletted ware sherds and two Roman coins of the Byzantine period have been found in Azhagankulam. The artifacts found at Azhagankulam reveals that the place was probably a trade centre from 1st century B.C.E. to the 4th and 5th century C.E.¹⁷ The coin evidence shows that the trade with the Roman world was revived in the Byzantine period after some intervening lull. The site has also yielded a new type of red Rouletted ware. The usual Rouletted

ware is either grey or black but types found here are bright red somewhat resembling the arretine but certainly different from it. Its exact origin or affiliation is not known. Whether it was indigenous or imported has to be examined.¹⁸

The recent Archaeological artifacts which are found at the Egyptian coastal site of Quseir-Al-Qadim in the strata associated with the Roman trade states that some of the merchant-sailors trading with the Mediterranean Sea via the Red sea may have been Tamils. The two short Tamil Brahmi inscriptions on the potsherds attested the fact. The Potsherds give proper names in the Tamil Brahmi script assignable to

the first or second century C.E. Thus Archaeological sources on the different aspects of the transoceanic trade contact between the Mediterranean and the coromandal coast is increasing steadily and more sites and Roman like Azhagankulam artifacts are coming to light. Further it is an urgent need to identify the excavation work on the coastal sites and collaborate the Indian with the abroad archaeologists in order to arrive the concluding facts from both the sides of this efflorent transoceanic trade activities during ancient period not only coastal port towns but also towns like Azhagankulam.

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF T.K VELUPILLAI

T. Rajesh

T.K.Velupillai was an erudite scholar, an eminent advocate, a good researcher, a gifted writer and a famous historian of Kerala. He made memorable contribution to the growth of Kerala historiography by the publication of the *Travancore State Manuel* in four volumes.

T.K.Velupillai was born on 28th February 1882 at Trivandrum as the son of Velu Pillai and Lekshmi Pillai. In 1898 he completed his matriculation and in 1904 he graduated from the **Maharaja's College, Trivandrum. He started his**

career as a teacher in the English school at Chalai, Trivandrum. He studied law and in 1914 enrolled as an advocate and started his public service. He was the first elected deputy President of the Sri Mulam Assembly. He served as the member of the Travancore Legislative Council and elected member of Temple entry committee. Considering his meritorious services, the Sadasya Tilaka title was conferred on him by the Travancore Maharajah. The government of Travancore decided to revise the Travancore State Manuel written by Sri. V Nagam Ayya. The

revision of the work was entrusted to Sri T.K.Velu Pillai who took up the assignment as special officer for the revision of the State Manuel. He completed the work with the assistance of Sri. Suranad Kunjan Pillai.

His important works are *Hemalatha*, *Sahityadarsanam*, *Sreeramayanam*, *Krishisasthram*, *Moonnu Maharajakkanmaar*, *Veluthampi Dalawa* etc. *The Travancore State Manuel* is his important historical work published in four volumes in 4000 pages.

In the first volume of *The Travancore State Manuel* deals with the physical features of Travancore, its geology, flora fauna people, language, religion, caste, Hinduism, Christianity, tribes, general features of Travancore etc. In the second volume, he has questioned the credibility of many myths and misconceptions and unverified assertions about different aspects of the history of Travancore and has given new explanations and interpretations in the light of historical sources and the evidences. He has also given an account of the ancient, medieval and modern political history. In the third volume he deals with the economic history of the country. He has examined the economic conditions, land tenures, land taxes, forests, agriculture, irrigation, fisheries, means of communication, electric power, industries, trade and commerce, investment and credit, joint stock companies and co-operative societies, education, public health etc. In the fourth volume he describes, the general administration, land tenure department, administration of justice, power department, State force, jails, registration, department of public works, water works and drainage department, marine department medical department, local self government, Devaswom department, the miscellaneous department etc.

Velupillai studied the records used by T.Madhava Rao, P.Shangoony Menon and V. Nagam Ayya in the preparation of the accounts of the history of Travancore. He consulted the Travancore Land Revenue Manual compiled by R.Mahadeva Iyer. He also used the documents in the Archives of the government, Huzur Central Vernacular Records and Records from the Sree Padmanabha Swami Temple etc. He found that large volumes of relevant materials were unused. Government appointed staff of clerks and scribes to assist him in the compilation of the work. He made use of the large collection of valuable

records preserved the Matilakam, in the palace and in the Central Vernacular Records etc.

Veluthampi Dalawa is another notable historical work. It deals with the life history of Veluthampi Dalawa and his achievements. His assessment of Veluthampi Dalawa as a national hero has been questioned by modern researchers. It is true that, he fought against the British in 1809; but he ruthlessly suppressed the Nair revolt of 1804 to win the favour of the British and it finally led to the establishment of British supremacy and the conclusion of the treaty of 1805.

In the first chapter of the book *Veluthampi Dalawa*, he gives a general view of Travancore. **He says, "No political limit in India presents a picture of such continuous history and cultural tradition of substantial achievement and steady progress in the moral and material welfare of the people as this state". It is a known fact that, the people of Kerala came to know about the continuous history of the land from the 18th century AD, but during the medieval period utter moral degeneration and degradation prevailed. He further says, "the writings of foreign travelers are full of appreciations of the country and its people". The foreign travelers have written about the evil customs which were barbarous and inhuman that prevailed in the country and invited the attention of social reformers for starting the reform movements in the country.**

Velupillai has given a poetic description of the land of Travancore. **He writes: "Travancore is richly endowed by nature with practically unlimited resources and had evolved a typical civilization during the period of over two thousand years of recorded history. Indian poets of eminence have sung praises describing the beauty of the forests and rivers, the fragrance of its sandal, the abundance of its pepper and its cardamom and the wealth of coconuts".** According to him our country is very popular for **Naga worship. "There is no place anywhere in India where Naga worship has been more popular than in Kerala where every Hindu family has one or more groves consecrated to snakes and maintained by the due performance of the prescribed ceremonies".**

Velupillai gives us a vivid picture about the ancient history of the land. **He says," the ancient history of Travancore is the history of the larger**

unit of Kerala. The actual facts are difficult to discover. The search has been rendered more difficult by some of the previous writers who ever fascinated by written accounts of comparatively recent composition, like the *Keralolpathy* and the *Kerala Mahatmyam* preferred to work down from them to the earliest beginning instead of making independent enquiry among the actual vestiges of the past embedded in customs, convention and tradition. *Keralolpathy* which is in Malayalam was compiled at the advent of the Dutch in Malabar. The composition of the *Kerala Mahatmyam* which is in Sanskrit cannot in any event be attributed to a time much earlier. Those works probably epitomize the stories transmitted through many generations; but the truth is often **concealed by mythical and legendary lore**".

Velupillai refers to the Parasurama tradition **and says that: "traditional account cannot function for history. But beneath all this miracle**

and fable may be discovered certain materials which are of great value in reconstructing the social and political history of Travancore and Kerala. Scientific researchers have proved that, some parts of Kerala are not so old in their geological formations as the adjoining parts of South India. Originally, it would appear that, the sea extended to the foot of Western Ghats. But the water seems to have subsided several **thousand years ago**".

Through his historical works Velupillai has explored the unexplored areas of history with the help of interdisciplinary studies since it was a government publication. *The Travancore State Manual* is still being used as important source materials for the history of the country. It is a treasure house of knowledge to the common readers and a valuable guide to the researchers. He devoted his life for the reconstruction of the history of Travancore and the enrichment of historical knowledge.

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THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY SLAVE TRADE IN THE COROMANDEL COAST

S. Ravichandran

Slavery, far from being a 'peculiar institution', has deep and far-reaching roots, stretching back at least to the beginnings of historical times in many parts of the world. Slave trading along the Indian Ocean world was of far greater antiquity than in the Atlantic world and that the total number of slaves exported from sub-Saharan Africa across the Indian Ocean and Sahara probably exceeded that shipped across the Atlantic.¹

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to purchase and transport slaves to destinations within the Indian Ocean basin.² The arrival of the Dutch early in the seventeenth century heralded greater European involvement in slave trading to destinations within the Indian Ocean basin particularly in the Coromandel Coastal region.

The Dutch East India Company (VOC) shipped Coromandel slaves to work as domestic servants, artisans, and labourers at their headquarters at Batavia, at strategic commercial emporia such as Malacca and Makassar, on the **plantations they established in the 'Spice Islands'** of eastern Indonesia, at their stations in coastal Ceylon, and at its settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.³ The magnitude of this traffic is suggested by the presence of approximately 66,350 slaves in the various Dutch Indian Ocean establishments in 1687-1688. Although Dutch settlements drew many of their slaves from the same sub-regional catchment area in which these settlements were located, the VOC also transported significant numbers of slaves across

the length and breadth of the Indian Ocean to meet the demand for such labourers.⁴

The entry of the Dutch had the major impact on slave traffic, introducing a new demand for slave labour in the settlements that they developed in maritime Asia⁵. The rise of the European port city in areas where wage labour was expensive and difficult to recruit and organise brought into existence mechanisms for the purchase and sale of slaves either through existing channels or through new transactions. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had decided to annex and find colonies in small spice-producing islands of the Moluccas, Banda,⁶ as well as to establish and develop a port settlement in Java as the capital of their eastern enterprise⁷ and Sri Lanka.⁸ Later in the course of the century, the number of these settlements increased through their own logic, and the Dutch found themselves in possession of innumerable forts and little townships surrounding them through extensive parts of maritime Asia.⁹ The manpower necessary to construct and maintain these was expensive if recruited by payment of wages. Hence, the search was on for outright purchase and ownership of slave labour.¹⁰

The men, women, and children purchased and shipped by the Dutch to destinations within the Indian Ocean basin, like those transported across the Atlantic to the Americas, were enslaved for various reasons and by various means.¹¹

These included kidnapping and pilfering. A number of documentary sources indicate how the VOC acquired its slaves from slavers whose raids took place on the Coromandel coastline. The slavers often bought people who had been enslaved inadvertently during the local wars and slave raids. There were times when the VOC also carried out its own slave raids, also chiefly on the Coromandel coastline; occasionally, people were lured onto ships in the promise of exceptionally profitable deals and then forcefully enslaved, as they were kept on board until the ship had sailed. Many times the shippers captured or bought Indians of a variety of positions in society, thereby acquiring slaves from both the upper and lower castes.¹² Debt was the most important force behind enslavement in Southeast Asia.¹³

Another factor in the trafficking in slaves in the seventeenth century was the periodic increase in supply in the Indian subcontinent caused by food shortage and famine.¹⁴ The fine balance between population and food resources that existed in many parts of the Coromandel Coast would be severely disturbed by a succession of failed harvests caused by two or more years of successive drought. In districts bordering on the coast, which in the seventeenth century had become increasingly monetised, large groups of the population depended on food grains bought for cash in the market. When their access to cash was interrupted and scarcity led to steep rises in the price of food grains, this section was reduced to starvation, left their villages as entire families, drifted towards the ports and sold themselves into slavery.¹⁵

Also, the insatiable demand by Europeans, especially the Dutch, for slaves thus procured on the southeast Coromandel Coast, appears to have become well known in the interior and offered enslavement as an alternative to starvation during times of scarcity and famine.¹⁶ The trade was run mainly by the Dutch at Pulicat, who employed brokers at Madras for slave catching. The shipping was done at Madras port itself. The Kannappa merchant in Madras acted as a slave-baiting broker for the Dutch.¹⁷

The Coromandel remained the hub of a spasmodic slave trade throughout the seventeenth century. In various short-lived booms accompanying natural and human-induced calamities, the Dutch exported thousands of slaves from the east coast of India. A prolonged period of drought followed by famine conditions in 1618–1620 saw the first large-scale export of slaves from the Coromandel Coast in the seventeenth century. Between 1622 and 1623, 1,900 slaves were shipped from central Coromandel ports, such as Pulicat, Madras, and Devanampattinam. Company officials on the coast declared that 2,000 more could have been bought if only they had the money.¹⁸

The second short-lived boom in the export of Coromandel slaves occurred during a famine in the wake of the revolt of the Nayaka Hindu rulers of South India (Thanjavur, Senji, and Madurai) against Vijayanagara over lordship (1645) and the subsequent devastation of the Thanjavur countryside by the Bijapur army.

According to indigenous informants, more than 150,000 people were taken by the invading Deccani Muslim armies to Bijapur and Golconda. In 1646, 2,118 slaves were exported to Batavia, the overwhelming majority from southern Coromandel. Some slaves were also acquired further south at Tondi, Adirampattinam, and Kayalpatnam.¹⁹

A third short-lived boom in slaving took place between 1659 and 1661 due to the devastation of Thanjavur, resulting from another series of successive Bijapuri raids, creating the usual 'famine-slave cycle'. At Nagapattinam and Pulicat, the company purchased 8,000–10,000 slaves, the bulk of whom were sent to Ceylon, while a small portion were shipped to Batavia and Malacca.

A fourth boom (1673–1677) was initiated by a long drought in Madurai and southern Coromandel starting in 1673, exacerbated by the prolonged Madurai–Maratha struggle over Thanjavur and resulting oppressive fiscal practices. Between 1673 and 1677, the VOC exported 1,839 slaves from the Madurai coast alone. A fifth boom occurred in 1688, caused by a combination of poor harvests and the Mughal advance into the Karnatak. Reportedly, thousands of people from Thanjavur, mostly girls and little boys, were sold into slavery and exported by Asian traders from Nagapattinam to Aceh, Johor, and other slave markets. In September 1687, 665 slaves were exported by the English from Fort St George, Madras. The Dutch decision to participate was belated for the boom ended as abruptly as it had started as a result of the abundant rice harvest in early 1689. Finally, in 1694–1696, when warfare once more ravaged South India, a total of 3,859 slaves were imported from Coromandel by private individuals into Ceylon²⁰ (see Table 1).

Table 1. Number of slaves traded by Dutch to destinations within the Indian Ocean, 1600–1700

Exported from	Destination	Period	Total
Coromandel Coast	Batavia	1622–1623	1,900
Coromandel Coast	Batavia	1645–1646	2,118

Coromandel Coast	Ceylon, Batavia	1659–1661	8,000–10,000
Coromandel Coast	Batavia, Ceylon	1673–1677	1,839
Coromandel Coast	Ceylon	1694–1696	3,859

Source: Richard B. Allen, 'Satisfying the "Want for Labouring People": European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 21(1), 2010, pp. 45–73.

The Dutch acquired the majority of their slaves indirectly through purchase from indigenous suppliers, which, similar to the other universal religions of Buddhism and Islam, was rendered in religious humanitarian terms as a 'work of Christian compassion' based on the alleged material and spiritual salvation of the individual slave's body and soul. Apart from saving people from physical starvation in instances of severe famine, enslavement also allegedly saved the soul of infidels ensnared in the trappings of the devil.²¹

Inheritance and judicial punishment were the most common sources of forced labour in the closed systems where a money economy was little developed. There existed, however, no institutional obstacles against the sale of slaves on a massive scale once a strong external demand made itself felt along with the spread of a money economy in the absence of a strong state. All major indigenous powers prohibited the export of slaves as an intolerable loss of the country's most precious resource and a violation of the collective moral code of society. On the Indian subcontinent, for instance, the Dutch encountered difficulties with the Nayaka rulers in the south Coromandel Coast opposing the slaving activities of the Europeans. In 1643, for instance, the ruler of Senji, Krishnappa Nayaka, lectured a visiting Dutch envoy-Calvinist minister 'that selling human beings was not only disgraceful to the world, but was also considered one of the greatest sins by our gods'.²²

Slaves were transported to Dutch settlements by company ships or other European slavers, free burgher vessels, and Asian craft. Special slaving voyages were occasionally undertaken by the company in times of great demand or for special projects, though normally 'pieces' of slaves were stowed as supplementary

cargo on board Dutch East India ships along with other commodities. Company officials as private individuals also engaged in the legal and illegal slave trade.²³

Slave Occupations

Slaves were general labourers and used in a wide variety of occupations in the Dutch slave societies across the Indian Ocean basin. Specialisation among private and company slaves, however, occurred in accordance with the size of the individual slave household and the particular position the settlement occupied **within the company's overall trade network**. The majority of slaves acted as domestic servants in small or large slave households of company officials, free burghers, and Asian subjects in areas under Dutch jurisdiction. They served as cooks, lamplighters, houseboys, housemaids, concubines, seamstresses, bread bakers, tea makers, coachmen, musicians, masseuses, honour guards, valets, and so forth. They performed menial labour as coolies in the construction of fortifications, buildings, roads, canals, and trenches, and as porters and stevedores in the ports and warehouses.²⁴

In agriculture, slaves grew food crops (rice, wheat, potatoes, and vegetables), cash crops (pepper, nutmeg and mace, cloves, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and grapes), and herded cattle and sheep. In mining, slaves dug for gold, tin, and other minerals, and broke coral stone for the burning of lime. They served as fishermen, sailors, and country traders in the intra-Asiatic trade. In manufacturing, slaves laboured in artisan workshops as carpenters, furniture makers, coopers, tailors, cobblers, gold-, silver-, and blacksmiths, and numerous other artisanal

occupations. They worked in gunpowder mills, sulfur and saltpeter refineries, arak distilleries, sawmills, shipyards, and sugar mills. In the service sector, they were active in retail, (lower) administrative functions, medical professions (nurses, midwives, etc.), and so forth. Political exiles and criminals, the result of judicial punishment, formed a small but separate category. Invariably, they were condemned to perform hard physical labour at the public works **at the company's fortifications or elsewhere often as part of a chain gang**.²⁵

In Batavia, the administrative center, central rendezvous, and port of transshipment of the VOC in Asia, several hundred company slaves **served on the island of Onrust's (Pulau Kapal)** shipyards to repair and service the visiting Dutch East Indiamen, while others worked in the company hospitals. In the environs of Batavia, thousands of Asian and free burgher slaves cultivated the sugar, rice, and pepper gardens in the late seventeenth century. In eastern Indonesia, the center of spice production, thousands of free burgher and Asian slaves worked in the clove gardens in Ambon and the nutmeg plantations in Banda. In 1694, for instance, 1,879 free burgher slaves laboured on the some 70 nutmeg gardens or perken of Banda, though 2,500 were deemed necessary.²⁶

Conclusion

For the Dutch, the Coromandel slave trade was the most useful means of augmenting the supply of labour in their colonies. The Coromandel slaves were reputedly malleable and subject to disciplined control. They were agricultural workers and there were a fair proportion of skilled labourers among them.

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THE RECENT RESEARCH TRENDS ON THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA - 1900-1956

Y.R. Sadashivaiah

The history of Co-operative movement in India has similar development along with the princely state of Mysore. As far as the research in Co-operative sector, particularly in the regions like Bombay Karnataka and Hyderabad Karnataka, little has been done so far. These were the areas where the British have direct sway and initiated Co-operative institutions in this regions. For an example, the first credit co-operative was established in 1904 at Kanaginahala in Gadag district. There are many

co-operative institutions survived and giving yeoman service to the economy even today in these regions. Though, there are some attempts made by scholars from the fraternities like Commerce & Economics with commercial outlook, but none have tried to give concrete sketch on the historical development of co-operative institutions in these areas. These are institutions catering the microlevel economic requirements of the mass, particularly in the rural and semi-urban areas.

The growth of economy in the modern **times depends upon the people's participation** in a micro level economic activities with state initiatives. It was materialised in Karnataka as early as 1900 AD with the introduction of co-operative institutions to relieve the rural mass from the clutches of the greedy money lenders.

The history of Co-operatives in Karnataka needs to be traced on the lines of colonial attempts made by the British to rise indigenous capital through the thrift agencies like Agricultural banks & **people's banks in different** parts of the country. Ultimately they found the solace in establishing credit Co-operatives on the western model by passing the Indian credit Co-operative societies Act 1904. The Act had provision to open credit Co-operative societies in the rural areas to end the menace of the traditional money lenders where the problem of rural indebtedness was so vigorous due to the tyranny of the greedy money lenders and landlords and to relieve the peasantry from the exploitation. The Act heralded the beginning of Co-operative movement in India. The princely state of Mysore was the first Indian princely state to enact its own co-operative legislation on a set imperial model to start co-operative movement in the state with few modifications suited to its local conditions. As elsewhere in the country, in princely Mysore also, the problem of rural indebtedness and agony was vigorously pervading in the economy, necessitated the opening of credit co-operative societies. The erstwhile Agricultural Banks, which were established in 1894, did not full-fill the dreams of founders in providing effective solutions to the problem of rural indebtedness and economic weakness of the million living in the nook and remote corners of the countryside. The failure of the Agricultural Banks, led to the passing of co-operative legislation to give concrete shape to the effective thrift agencies and as a result, in 1905, the Government of Mysore passed the first Co-operative legislation known as the Mysore Co-operative societies Regulation III of June 1905, through the passing of this legislation the state championed the Co-operative movement and built a tradition of its own and supra culture for an effective co-operative network in the state. Though, the state adopted the Imperial model, it changed some aspects suited to local needs, accepted three tier system like Apex Bank on the top, the District Central Co-operative Banks as

the intermediaries and primary agricultural, non-agricultural, credit, non-credit, production, procuring, manufacturing, consumers, making depressed classes, women, Housing such other Co-operative societies at the grass root levels.

In India, the co-operative movement was a Pre-conceived Colonial Policy brought from the West to experiment in Indian soil. In the second part of the 19th century when an Indian Civil Servant Fredrick Nicholson working in Madras Presidency was deputed to Prussia to study the working of co-operatives in the West and his **1885's monumental report on the** subject and emphatically stated that India must find its own Reiffensin. Further, a careful study of the problem has been done by Mr. Dupernix an Indian Civil Servant who began to experiment **People's Banks in U.P. Even the Strachey** Commission of famine insisted on constructive programs through **self-help, people's** participation, instead of sketchy, rehabilitation. In view of this development in 1900 Government of India appointed a Committee led by Sir. Edward Law to consider the ways and means of establishing such agencies which are worthy to encourage thrift and self reliance. On the basis of the recommendations made by Law committee, the Government of India passed a bill, the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904 which enabled to open credit Co-operatives in the **country and marked 'turning point' in the socio-economic history of Modern India.**

In Mysore, taking the advantages and wider perspectives with larger experience of the Government of India, the Princely State of Mysore passed the Mysore Co-operative societies Regulation III of June 1905 with certain modification suited to the local condition. The Co-operative credit societies act of 1904 by Government of India, mainly confined to the credit operations and formation of credit societies, whereas the princely Mysore adopted major changes and modifications in views of the wider perspective and to extent to scope of the act into all the levels of the economy.

In the initial stages the movement was mainly confined to the certain pockets of the state. But the introduction of the modified act of 1912, threw it wide open and encouraged the formation of credit, non-credit, agricultural and non-agricultural co-operative societies in an extensive manner. Further the formation of the

District Central Banks and the provincial Co-operative bank which was the vertex of the pyramidal structure in the state which was acting as a friend, philosopher, guide and exchequer of the Co-operative movement in the state. In 1920 the Government of the His Highness Maharaja of Mysore appointed a Committee to enquire into the working of the Co-operative societies and suggest remedial measures to improve the working conditions of the Co-operative societies in the state. The committee led by Lallu Bhai Samaldas Mehta submitted its report in 1923. It was a monumental report in the history of the Co-operative movement in the state. On the basis of the recommendations made by the committee in 1925 the Mysore provincial Co-operative bank was converted into the Apex Bank as a Chief Financing Agency of the Co-operatives in the state. Co-operative societies regulation of 1929 was passed which made certain provisions and changes in the entire set up and also for the starting of Land Mortgage Banks in the state.

In 1936 Government of His Highness, The Maharaja of Mysore appointed a Committee headed by Raja Dharma Praveena Dewan Bhahadur K.A. Chandra Shekar Iyer to enquire into the working of the Co-operative societies in the princely state of Mysore. The committee visited various regions and interviewed with various officials, members honorary organizers and public and submitted its report to the government in 1937. The committee suggested that the vested interests were to be checked at first instance, dual membership to be stopped. Strict measures on loans and their recovery,

encouraging the weaker sections to involve themselves in the movement to benefit themselves committee. By 1945 the movement entered a new phase wherein consumer Co-operatives, land mortgage Co-operative societies, house building Co-operative societies, multipurpose Co-operative societies and Co-operative forming became main instruments of development in the economy. Thus by 1956, the Co-operative movement in Mysore reached the stage of introspection by the Government, Co-operators, politicians, officials and common people alike. But the movement had better prospects to meet varied needs of the common folk in the state and also a model to the other states.

The geographical barriers and administrative dissimilarities varies from regions to region, much has not been done in unearthing and presenting the justifiable facts as far as the Co-operative movement is concerned. In recent past and present times, there were some humble and justifiable attempts made to sketch a comprehensive history of co-operative movement in the state by the scholars like Hayavadana Rao, M. Shama Rao, Marks Wilks, Lewis Rice, Suryanath Ukamath, Dr. S. Chandrashekhar, B.B. Hetne, James Manor, K. Veerathappa, Dr. Shadaksharaiah and host of others attempted to give a sketchy account of the aspects like Banking, Agriculture, trade and commerce, education, Backward class movement, irrigation, Railway, forest and freedom struggle and such other issues, but their treatment was very sketchy and it was a part of their study.

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STUDYING ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY IN INDIA: METHODOLOGICAL DEBATES

Shaik Abdul Thaha

Introduction

One of the most important recent developments in the historiography has been the growing interest shown by historians in the process of ecological change. The subject of forests has been much discussed by ecologists and social scientists in the past five decades, mainly because of the large-scale environmental degradation faced all over the world. One of the resultant consequences of such concern has been the emergence of environmental history as a distinct field in the historical writing. Environmental history as a distinct field of research was first emerged in the USA in the early 1970s. As a separate field, it was pioneered by the geographer Carl Saucer and W.P.Webb whose main emphasis was on the process of ecological degradation and on the identification of the human agents behind these processes.¹ Their main research agenda of environmental **history has been the study of past 'ecological crimes' and the ecological destruction and social dislocation consequent on the Europeans colonisation of the America as well as later process of resource exhaustion and pollution with the growth of industrial capitalism.** Donald Worster (1977, 1979, 1988), who can also be called a pioneer in field of environmental history, has analysed the rise of ecological ideas in the West. He described natural beauty of old America, before capitalist farming and irrigation engineers began meddling into it. He extended

his moral support through his writings to the development of American environmental history.² By that time in the case of Europe, environmental history has not taken a separate field, but many of the historians have studied the relationship between ecology and economy **concentrated a society's changing perceptions of nature and delved into the history of forests and commons.** In the case of African history, the main focus has been on the conservation policies, the history of hunting and pastoral rights, and the ecological impact of colonialism.

Recent researches have shown that starting from the 15th century world ecology was profoundly altered by Western colonialism, capitalism and imperialism. Alfred Crosby gives a comparative account of European Colonialism and argues that ecological domination in the New World (America and Oceania) also accompanied by diseases, weeds and animals resulted in the devastation of indigenous cultures and their supportive eco-systems.³ He argues that this ecological invasion has paved the way for political imperialism. But in the case of Asia and Africa, European colonialism could not hamper its nature due hostile tropical environment. However his argument hardly gets any support from other scholars in this field since the evidence points out to a considerable ecological degradation in colonial period. The critique of his contention has its best expression in the words of David Arnold and Ramachandra

Guha, 'but in fact even in regions like south Asia, and perhaps Africa too, where Europeans did not achieve an automatic, biologically assured domination over the indigenous population, they did succeed... in fundamentally reshaping the socio-ecological fabric of the country and the colonised. Having achieved political control through their superior military and technological resources, European colonial regimes were well situated to manipulate a seemingly unfavourable environment to their own advantage and profit.'⁴ The debate on forestry in colonial India would at least remove such misconception.

The writing of environmental history of India is rather late in its emergence in comparison with other parts of the world. Indian environmental history, as it has developed as a distinct field since the early 1980s, has focussed most strongly on forests as nature and forests were regarded outside the purview of history. However, some substantial works have been published subsequently on the ecological changes in different regions of the country. Scholars like Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil have pioneered the process of writing the environmental history.⁵ The main focus of these studies has been on the ecological crisis originated due to depletion of forest cover and the consequent disruption in the subsistence economy of peasants who depended on forests for their sustenance. The control over natural resources like forests and its over-exploitation under colonial rule is seen as ecologically significant and thus the study of forest policy has acquired a prominent place in the study of environmental history. It was discussed that in the study of forest policies the focus has been mainly on three aspects: A) the pressures and influences that shaped colonial forestry; B) the difference between pre-colonial practices and colonial forest management and C) the relationship between colonialism and ecological decline.

In the writings on environmental history, the ideas and the interests that shaped colonial forest policy have become a debatable subject. According to imperial forester historians the colonial phase was a watershed. For instance, E.P. Stebbing argued that the introduction of colonial forestry had brought the unruly and the greedy private interests under scientific supervision and control.⁶ Another forester historian B. Ribbentrop argued that *colonial*

scientific forestry marked the end of a 'war on the forests'.⁷ These imperial notions however have been questioned by scholars like Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil.⁸

Guha and Gadgil in their works have brought out an ecological dimension to the study of colonial State policies, agrarian history and peasant resistance. The most important consequence of colonial rule in India, according to them, was the introduction of commercial forestry. Its origin was as much ideological as economic. The use of the forests by the peasants and the State was embedded in a very different understanding of the social role of the forests. The ecological history therefore cannot merely be the history of changes in the landscape; it must link environmental changes with changing **human perceptions on the 'uses' of nature**. Talking about the colonial rule as an ecological watershed, Guha and Gadgil argue that the practices of colonial forestry were largely an outgrowth of the revenue and strategic needs of the empire.⁹ And the customary usage of natural resources were eco-friendly where as the colonial forestry and commercialisation of natural resources led to deforestation and proved to be destructive. Guha and Gadgil even go to the extent of arguing that the relationship between local societies and their natural resource bases had a perfect equilibrium in pre-colonial period that was disrupted by the colonial rule. **The Forest department's interest in reducing local use of forested areas was therefore intrinsically linked to the imperial state's concern with maximising forest revenues.**¹⁰

Guha was highly critical of the British, who in his account were blamed for both snatching the forests from the people and for providing the institutional base for their commercial exploitation. He was challenged in this by the British historian Richard Grove, who sought to **show that the original 'greens' in India were in fact colonial officials**. Countering what they perceive to be purely a materialist explanation of the origins of Indian forest policy, Grove argues that pre-colonial societies did not enjoy a state of equilibrium and posits commercial exploitation of forests to the pre-colonial period and more importantly argues that the notion of conservation was a colonial creation.¹¹ In other words, Grove projects colonisers not as exploiters as argued by Guha and Gadgil but as ecologically conscious individuals who

introduced conservation policies in colonial India. Grove disagrees with Guha on the chronology and character of colonial conservation. Deforestation, according to Grove, was much more faster before the coming of the British to India and therefore colonial rule did not mark an ecological watershed. Colonial forest policy was, in his view, rooted in an enlightened understanding of environmental issues developed in particular by a group of remarkable Scottish medicos serving in the colonies, who sought initially to understand the connection between climate and health, but very quickly became experts in botany and ecology. He further argues that medical officials were ideologically committed to conservation which should be seen as a more significant colonial contribution rather than harping on the commercial exploitation of the forests by the colonial commercial interests. Grove does accept that in the initial stages of conservation measures were primarily based on colonial considerations. It was only in the later stages that all these conservation measures were relegated into background with the rise of commercial exploitation of forestry by the British.

Atlury Murali shows different findings opposed to Grove in his study of Andhra region in Madras Presidency. He has discussed how pre-colonial period had mutually sustaining relationship among agricultural, forest and pastoral zones which was disturbed with the assumption of control over forests by the colonial state. He argues that the British colonial needs were fulfilled by the systematic colonial extension of administrative, judicial and commercial control over forests and common lands, at the expense of customary rights enjoyed by the poor.¹² He says that the peasants and pre-colonial rulers did not develop a 'commercial' attitude towards forests; and recognised the control of tribal groups over forests as their unquestionable natural right, which was later eroded by colonial law.

Similarly, Laxman D. Satya (2004) argues that the British colonial policies brought severe imbalance of the harmonious equilibrium between forests/common/grazing lands and agriculture in the Berar region of Central India, leading epidemics and ecological change.¹³ Later, scholars like Jacques Pouchepadass and Mahesh Rangarajan have chosen a middle path unlike the diametrically opposite models

discussed above. J.Pouchepadass argues that instead of contrasting with these two sets of arguments, 'it is inaccurate to characterise colonial periods uniformly on the most dramatic phases of ecological devastation and it is equally inappropriate to present the pre-colonial societies and their environment as a golden age of 'equilibrium' which colonial conquest disturbed or destroyed'.¹⁴ He says that the indigenous societies have supposedly not lined in perfect balance from the dawn of history until the advent of the Europeans. He shows how the forests were cleared for the extension of agriculture in the area of Central Western Ghats. But at the same time he has made the British responsible for the large-scale deforestation which disrupted the ecological balance.

Mahesh Rangarajan who dealt with forests and conservation policy of the British during the colonial period advances the arguments diametrically opposed to the position taken by Ramachandra Guha and others on the one hand and Richard Grove on the other.¹⁵ Explaining that the differences between them is in terms of gap in the chronological focus of their research Rangarajan argues that the material interest of the colonial State and ideological commitments of a section of officials cannot adequately explain the nature of colonial forest policy. For him 'the latter (the ideological affinities) has to be placed in the wider context of the British desire to regulate the production system and settlement patterns of groups on the fringes of the settled arable cultivation'.¹⁶ While examining the pre-colonial systems of forest management he concludes that the State control over forests and appropriation of forest produce were not unknown in the past but there was a qualitative change after the arrival of the British.

Unlike Mahesh Rangarajan, K.Sivaramakrishnan looks at both the arguments for and against the British forest conservation policies. He says that both the State and subjects try to draw their support from the past to claim rights over the use of natural resources.¹⁷ He has stressed that the culture and political economy combine in complex ways as the past is imagined and that they are then used in contesting and negotiating relations of power, which led to the creation and perpetuation of certain ideologies. Both Mahesh Rangarajan and K.Sivaramakrishnan point out the importance of the local context and the field experiences of

foresters in the ultimate shaping of conservation policies. In addition for Sivaramakrishnan the institutional context is a powerful factor in shaping the writings of colonial foresters who had played some role in the ultimate shaping of forest policies of the colonial government. Ravi Rajan argues that the earlier botanists lost control of forest affairs after about 1860, being **replaced by 'scientific foresters' trained in Germany and France.**¹⁸ In both of these parts of Europe, forests had been enclosed as government property during the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, managed by a new class of professional foresters. These foresters believed that one of their prime duties was to protect **forests from their 'destructive' use by local peasants and woodmen, even if this entailed ruthless repression.** The doctrine was applied in India by the Forest departments set up under the forest acts of 1865 and 1878.

Ajay Skaria, dealing with the forest region of the Dangs in western India, shows that **although the new 'scientific forestry' was the driving force, allowing a systematic appropriation and exploitation of forest resources from the late 19th century onwards, the earlier 'desiccationist' arguments of the botanists were still deployed to justify this official control over forests.** He argues that this created an official consensus which continued right upto the 1980s – long after the demise of British colonialism itself. Only in the past 15 or so years have Indian foresters begun to have second thoughts.¹⁹

Concerning water logging problem, Elizabeth Whitecombe has shown how the orientation of agricultural production towards the export market and the construction of large irrigation works which increased soil salinity, water logging and spread of malaria in the Doab region.²⁰ She argues that the massive developmental projects such as expansion of railways and in more roads and tracks being constructed into hitherto inaccessible forest and hill regions, resulting in extensive deforestation. Dhirendra Dutt Dangwal gives the chronology of agrarian expansion and the history of common lands in the Garhwal hills.²¹ He argues that throughout the 19th century, the arable expanded rapidly, keeping pace with population growth. By the 20th century, with the limits of expansion having been reached in the hills, population increased faster than the arable, leading to a

move into the less fertile areas with low returns. Richard Tucker, writing on forestry, elaborates on conflict between imperial bureaucracy and the new nationalist elite in Bombay Presidency in the context of 1865 and 1878 Forest Acts.²² Faced with the exhaustion of forest wealth, he argues, consequent to the advent of railways combined with the needs of urban centres and private exploitation, colonial state sought to acquire extensive control over forests through the forest acts of 1865 and 1878.

Conclusion: The most widely debated questions in the general historiography of south Asia concern the nature and impact of the British colonial rule and the relative agency of British versus indigenous actors. One set of arguments go like this: Prior to the arrival of the British, indigenous south Asians lived in harmony with nature and engaged in ecologically sustainable agricultural and forestry practices. With the arrival of the British, an abrupt rupture occurred, indigenous people were subordinated and their environmental practices suppressed and replaced by the destructive practices of the British colonial state. Another approach suggests the importance of thinking about the **British Empire as a transformative period in south Asia's** environmental history, but one that can only be fully appreciated in relation to prior environmental practices and patterns of change. Collectively they question conventional models of oppositional relations between coloniser and colonised, and highlight instead the complexity of the social power relations at work in global imperial networks. Their suggestion is to get out of **'methodological nationalism' and work to globalise south Asian Environmental History in a larger context.**

Some of the questions raised in the above historiographical debates on ecology can be extended to British India as well as princely states though they were not under the direct British rule but their revenue administrative structures were mainly influenced and dominated by the system of British administration. The study of the forest policies of the different geographical locations would therefore help us understanding the regional variations in articulating forest policies and thus contribute to the ecologically oriented study of Indian history.

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P.N.PANICKER: A HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY

K. Shinith Chandran

INTRODUCTION

Puthuvayil Narayana Panicker (P.N.Panicker) is known as the father of the Library Movement in the Indian State of Kerala. P.N.Panicker was one of the creators of Kerala Association For Nonformal Education and Development(KANFED) which was responsible for the socio- cultural renaissance of Kerala. He was pioneer and patron of the literacy movement. He was also honoured for his many other welfare activities and for his dedication to life.

P.N.Panicker was the owner of a unique personality has always respected literary Kerala. Through constant suffering, he ventured to organize cultural conferences in rural areas, thereby inspiring the spirit of the people and to spread cultural awareness among the masses.

The literary Kerala cannot ignore the fact that P.N.Panicker who has been spread all over the state with countless words, such as setting up libraries in Kerala villages, reading and growing, and thinking and understanding. His vision was that of a philosopher who reached the summit of culture. The Kerala Association For Non Formal Education and Development he had formed grew like a tree.

There are many other areas in which his work spanned. P.N.Panicker started an institution called KEDES to achieve this goal by providing employment to women, Dalits, and arousing them self esteem and bringing them into the mainstream. Through small scale industry and various action plans, he has proven that women can lead independent lives through the craft.

He hoped the Sauhridha Gramam project should be formed throughout Kerala. The villagers should live in perfect harmony without **conflict with one another**. P.N.Panicker's declaration that there should be no conflict on the basis of caste and creed is still relevant today. It was decades of great wisdom. Present generation is enjoying the benefits of that sacrifices. This seminar discusses the personality traits and social services of P.N.Panicker who worked for the welfare of the people, ignoring his own affairs and for the welfare of the society.

Family Life of P.N.Panicker

Puthuvayil Narayana Panicker (P.N.Panicker) was born on March 1, 1909 in Neelamperoor in Alappuzha district as the son of Govindapillai and Janaki Amma¹. His father Govindapillai was a farmer. His brother was Keshava Panicker. P.N.Panicker belongs to a high caste family. This was a time when the rituals of Thodeel and Theendal(Untouchability) existed. But his family did not practice any of these customs. So, he was against the caste and religious ideas.

P.N.Panicker had shown exaggerated taste in reading since childhood. While he was still a student, he owned the best book collection. His **father's death prevented him from furthering his education. His father's death made family life miserably. P.N.Panicker's life was then taken care of by his brother Keshava panicker.**

P.N.Panicker has achieved a prestigious victory in the JSLC examination from Changhanassery High School. Financial hardship hampered his higher education². In 1926 he joined the Neelamperoor Middle School as a teacher.

In 1930 he married Chembaka Kuttiyamma at Malayekkapparamba, Ambalappuzha. Since there was no other head **of the family in his wife's house, he was entrusted** with the care of the family. The thought of life being more meaningful exploded in the mind with a married life. P.N.Panicker- Chembaka Kuttiyamma couple has seven children. His children are Chandramathi, LeelaKumari, Vilasini, Indhirakkutti, GeethaKumari, N.Balagopalan, and Krishna Kumar.

P.N.Panicker's youngest daughter, GeethaKumari died of gastroenterology when she was in seventh standard at Cotton Hill School. The Gita Memorial Prize was instituted in the school where she attended to preserve the memory of that child. A student earning the highest marks in seventh standard is eligible for the Geeta Memorial Prize. It was P.N.Panicker who took a keen interest in the distribution of the Geetha Memorial Prize.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF P.N.PANICKER

Harijan Seva Samithi

The sympathetic condition of the Harijans, who had fallen into a bottomless pit of slavery, has often pained P.N.Panicker. From his childhood on P.N.Panicker had in his mind the idea of actively working towards the awakening of the lower class people. While Mahathma Gandhi conducting an all India Harijan upliftment, P.N.Panicker founded the Harijan Seva Samithi in his village. With the help of T.T.KeshavaShastri, the activities of the Harijan Seva Samithi became refreshing. As a result of Harijan Seva Samithi, the Harijans had a social upliftment.

The idea of Mahathmaji's Gramaswaraj influenced P.N.Panicker. It was through Gandhiji that he realized the truth that the soul of a country lies in the villages. It was Gandhiji who instilled in him the idea of enlightening different communities for the social and cultural development of the country. For that he made the rural youth active. With that in mind, he wished to strengthen the public base by lecturing on the culture of reading and the glory of book reading became intriguing in that mind. He worked relentlessly for the upliftment of the Harijans and for the advancement of the Grandhashala Sangham.

Grandhashala Sangham

In 1945, the Akhila Thiruvithamkoor Grandhashala Sangham was formed at Ambalappuzha³. By 1956 it was known as Kerala Grandhashala Sangham. P.N.Panicker was the creator, mentor and patron of Kerala Grandhashala Sangham. As a first step, he revamped the rural libraries that had been inactive throughout Kerala, created new libraries, and co-ordinated those movements into a centralized movement. The Grandhashala Sangham, envisaged by P.N.Panicker, was the embodiment of many public welfare projects. These projects are to eradicate illiteracy, to **arouse people's sense of patriotism and cultural** thought and to equip young volunteers throughout the state to do so.

During 1970-1971 the Grandhashala Sangham emphasised the literacy program⁴. The Grandhashala Sangham prepared hand books, guide books, primers and literacy charts to

literacy activities. The Grandhashala Sangham also organized orientation courses for volunteers who perform literacy activities. Thousands of illiterates have been made literate through voluntary workers of local libraries. The humble work of the Grandhashala Sangham started at Ambalappuzha with great aims has grown into a great nationwide venture.

KERALA ASSOCIATION FOR NON FORMAL EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT (KANFED)

Grandhashala Sangham was taken over by the Government of Kerala in 1977 and P.N.Panicker was completely expelled from the Grandhashala Sangham. It was in such a situation that he created the Kerala Association for Non Formal Education and Development (KANFED). The aim of the organization is to provide education, economic and social development to all in the society. KANFED organized meetings, marches, and cultural events to educate illiterate people about literacy⁵.

KANFED conducted classes for illiterates using charts, Newspapers, and pictures. The majority of the illiterate in society were women, tribes, and fisherman. The number of illiterates in the society has declined significantly as a result of the work of KANFED. The action of KANFED has been tremendously powerful, even for the Government. The Government was impressed with the work of KANFED, and gave KANFED the responsibility of the State Resource Centres of Kerala which separated the activities of Adult Education.

KANFED has prepared and published several primers, readers, and guide books. KANFED published the newspapers Naattuvelicham, KANFED News. KANFED made **a short film 'Lead Kindly Light' to help people** understand the importance of education. Books fairs were organised to promote reading skills among the people. KANFED conducted awareness programs for the public on the danger of alcohol and smoking⁶. KANFED built over six thousand literacy centres. Statewide Padhayathras and vehicle jathas were organized to spread the message of KANFED among the public secure their support. Agencies like German Adult Education, UNICEF, World Bank, UNESCO, Ministry of Human Resource Development provided financial support for the programs of KANFED.

KANFED first concentrated in securing 100 percent literacy in some selected areas. Ezhome is a village in the Kannur district of Kerala state. KANFED's literacy programs began in 1983 at Ezhome. A three months programme was evolved and implemented successfully resulting in securing the desired results. Ezhome is known as the first Indian village to achieve complete literacy through KANFED.

Total Literacy Campaign is a program jointly organized by the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad and Kerala Association for Non Formal Education and Development(KANFED). The Total Literacy Campaign is evaluated as a strategy to eliminate illiteracy. A campaign for literacy program was launched in January, 1989 at Ernakulam District which has a population of 1.85 lakh people has achieved complete literacy. On 4th February 1990, Prime Minister V.P.Singh declared Ernakulam as the first district in India to achieve complete literacy.

It lead to the launching of a state wide campaign in Kerala as well as in other parts of the country. The campaign were area specific, time bound, volunteer based, cost effective and outcome oriented. Through the Total Literacy Campaign, the district was fully literate in just 18 months. The learner was the focal point in entire processes and emphasis was not on mere literacy only. Spreading literacy, National integration, universal immunisation women's empowerment etc. are the objectives of campaign. The Total Literacy Campaign is an example of Kerala Association for Non Formal Education and Development (KANFED)'s performance excellence. KANFED is an example of P.N.Panicker's leadership skills.

KERALA EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY (KEDES)

P.N.Panicker, who toured the villages, recognized the sufferings of people. Various schemes were created for the welfare of thousands of educated and unemployed youths. P.N.Panicker considered the means of earning a livelihood for the unemployed. He discussed this matter with the Khadi Commission and the Khadi Board. In collaboration with A.M.Thomas, who was the chairman of the Khadi Commission, P.N.Panicker formed the great movement called Kerala Educational Development and Employment Society(KEDES).

Justice V.R.Krishnalyyer was appointed as the Chairman of KEDES and A.M.Thomas was appointed as Vice Chairman⁷.

Established industries in the rural areas of Kollam district and Neyyattinkara under the auspices of KEDES. KEDES was proven that women can live self-care through the handicraft industries.KEDES was shown in a village that solar energy can be used to light .KEDES carried on small business and exported goods to Kuwait. P.N.Panicker was the driving force behind all these activities. Until his death, P.N.Panicker continued to be secretary of the KEDES. P.N.Panicker has been able to create employment through thousands of unemployed youths through KEDES. Even today, through creative and energetic activities, the movement KEDES following the path of progress.

Sauhridha Gramam Project

In the final stages of his life, P.N.Panicker was actively engaged in a vigorous program to find a lasting solution to the customs and superstitions among the common people of the villages⁸. Many schemes were developed to build confidence among the rural masses. Families should be friendly, complete withdrawal of people from alcohol, sympathizing with **stranger's sorrow, surrendering of one's life** to others, renouncing everything for the sake of life, avoiding unnecessary pomp and jewellery, give importance to agriculture, the Sauhridha Gramam Project was his motto for emphasizing theme. He was convinced that if these things were to work, conflicts would end. Many volunteers were trained for this purpose. He considered the ultimate goal of the Sauhridha Gramam Project to be a success in the end of life.

Agricultural Book Corners

P.N.Panicker has initiated many innovative ventures not only in the social and cultural spheres but also in the field of agriculture and psychology. Through the book corners of rural libraries in agriculture, there was a refreshment. The agricultural book corners were meant to educate ordinary farmers about modern farming practices⁹.

MAJOR WORKS OF P.N.PANICKER

The major works of P.N.Panicker are Grandhashala Manual, Grandhashala Dictionary,

Saksharatha Pravarthakarkkoru Guide, Grandhashalakalkkoru Maathrika Niyamaavali, Veettammamarkkoru Pusthakam, Njanghalkku-Padikkanam, Nizhalum Velichavum Janasevanathintae Paathayil, Upabhokthru Kotathikal, Madhyam Vishamaanu, Enthaanu Raashtreeyam, Aadhivaasi Bodhavalokkanam, Vidhyarthikal Rashtra Sevanathil, Saaksharathayil Koodi Jana Shikshanam, and Ammamaarum Kuttikalum (Anaupacharika Vidhyabhyasam). P.N.Panicker has authored articles and countless pamphlets on a variety of topics for news media. He also served as the editor of Anaupacharika Vidhyabhyasam, Naattuvelicham, KANFED News, and Our Newspaper.

P.N.Panicker has served as a member and Chairman of various State level committees including Sahithya Pravarthaka Saksharatha Sangham, Samastha Kerala Sahithya Parishath, **Student's film society, Kerala Tourism Development Committee, Temple Entry Proclamation Committee, SC/ ST Development committee, State Resource Centre Executive Director** and many more.

P.N.Panicker died on June 19, 1995 at the age of 86. In honour of him, the Government of Kerala holds a reading day every year on 19th June. A weekly reading week from June 19 is being celebrated. Reading week is held every year with a variety of programs in schools and public institutions. As a mark of respect to P.N.Panicker, the Postal Department issued a postage stamp bearing his picture on June 24, 2004.

CONCLUSION

P.N.Panicker was one of the greatest cultural heroes of Kerala. He is a great leader who has worked for social development, cultural

reform and holistic literacy in Kerala. He is a mentor to the organizers, a glimpse into the world of letters, and a radical product of culture. The cultural march led by him excited the public as a historical event.

His work in setting up libraries in the rural areas of Kerala and encouraging the public to read them will forever be remembered by Kerala. He considered the central leadership of libraries and the illumination of the illiterate to be the achievement of life. The Grandhashala Sangham which was established in 1945 at Ambalappuzha has become a major movement. It was P.N.Panicker who transformed the Grandhashala Sangham into an organized force.

P.N.Panicker was able to reach out to the illiterate masses in Kerala through the Kerala Association for Non Formal Education and Development (KANFED) organisation to make them literate. P.N.Panicker has consistently remarked that man can be liberated only by reading.

The Kerala Educational Development and Employment Society (KEDES) founded by P.N.Panicker are still working today to provide employment to women and Dalits and to arouse self-esteem and to bring them into public life.

In honour of P.N.Panicker, who died on June 19, 1995, June 19 is celebrated as a reading day every year. On June 19, the state of Kerala renews his memory and commemorates his service. Those who have accepted the service of the people as a way of life are rare. P.N.Panicker is important in that. P.N.Panicker was a great man who proved the power of life with honesty and sacrifice.

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OVERSEAS TRADE BETWEEN TAMIL COUNTRY AND SOUTH EAST ASIA UPTO - 900 C.E.

K. Sivaramalingam

Introduction

We have a lot of information about trade and commerce during the early period in Tamil country. Inscriptions, numismatic evidences and literary evidences throw light upon internal and external trade which helps in collecting information about the various guilds prevailing in those days. The main literary source material of trading community in early Tamil society is found in Pattinappalai, which belongs to the Anthology of Pathuppattu.

From this source material we came to know about the internal and external trade of the early Tamil society, which is corroborated by the finds from the excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey at Korkai, Arikkamedu etc. From Arikkamedu, numismatic evidence is the most important source, which gives about the foreign trade of early Tamils with Rome. Agananuru gives the details about the trade of the Tamil merchants in North India. The literary source gives an account of the sea trade of the Tamils and information about the various ports. Pearl, Coral, Sandal etc., were exported from these ports.

This article deals with mainly based on the trading community of the early Tamil country with special emphasis on merchant guilds. Numismatic evidences and inscriptions are the main source materials for the study of trade and commerce. It is possible to know how far these trading communities, i.e. Merchant guild, the caste guild, weights and measures, currency system, collection and distribution of products, help in the future development of industrial growths, trade and commerce. Visits to Arikkamedu, Karur and Kaveripumpattinam help to collect materials about the trade prevailing in early Tamil country.

Overseas Trade between Tamil Country and South East Asia

The Tamils being a sea-faring people developed their over seas trade to a great extent. From Sangam sources we hear of commercial relations between the Tamil country and foreign lands, but much of the correlated information

relating to foreign trade however, one gets from foreign sources i.e. Roman, Greek, Arab, Chinese etc. and not from indigenous sources. The Periplus and Ptolemy give us valuable information regarding the ports and marts which managed the trade. Foreign trade was one of the planks on which the economic prosperity of the Tamils depended.

In the Sangam Age atleast the Tamils stood much to gain by lucrative trade with the Roman Empire. In later times the shift in foreign trade was from the west to the east and China, Philippines and Indonesia became chief oriental markets for Tamilian products. Trade with Ceylon was continuous and considerable and was only technically overseas.

The contacts of the Tamils with countries overseas have been commercial, political and cultural. The Tamils could have inherited their commercial and sea faring instincts from their Middle Eastern ancestors particularly the Phoenicians. The earliest Hebrew and Tamil accounts agree in mentioning the lucrative trade the Tamil merchants carried on from c. 1000 B.C. down wards. The Chiruttal (Panthar) tohai (Peacock), the monkey etc; were favourite animals imported from Tamil country.¹ The loan words in Hebrew and Aramaic from the Dravidian language, particularly Tamil also suggest trade relations.² An early colony of South Indian Merchants is believed to have been established in Babylon, where it continued to flourish till the 7th century A.D. There is more dependable evidence from the early Tamil literature. The Greek merchants in Tamil India were known as Yavanas, obviously that name was derived from Ionians who formed a section of the Greeks. From the periplus of the Erythraean sea, of the 1st century A.D., it is learnt that Greek merchants from Egypt to the Malabar coast brought wine, brass, lead, glass, copper, antimony and wheat.

The evidence available from the classical writers of the West reveals the reign of Augustus and the following connections between the Chera kingdom and the Pandyan kingdom and the Roman Emperor.

The Tamils were the first to learn the technique of Ocean going traffic, which they perfected from small beginnings. First they built small coasting vessels, which they perfected through various improvements and they proceeded to build bigger vessels until they built ocean going ships. Periplus is clear on this point when it mentions three types of vessels, large coasting vessels, small coasting vessels and ocean going ships, which agrees with the evidence of the literary works of the Tamils.³ We also come to know that the ancient Tamils distinguished three kinds of boats.⁴ These were those for fishing craft, those for river crafts and those far overseas.

On the basis of internal and external evidence furnished by the Arikamedu excavations Sir Martimer Wheeler concludes that the site was occupied by the Romans at the end of the 1st century A.D. and that it was deserted sometimes in the 2nd century A.D. Therefore, the **glorious epoch of Arikamedu's industrial and commercial activity** ranged during the first two centuries of the Christian Era.

There was a close trade relation between South India and Rome which is supported by the finds of many Roman coins in that region. The coins were not used as a currency but for their metal value only.⁵ The excavations of Virampattinam (Arikamedu) near Pondicherry have yielded evidence that this port imported from a strange land situated at a distance of 5000 miles, wine glass and engraved gems. As at Puhar there was a small colony of foreigners. Poduca of the Periplus and Poduca emporium of Ptolemy is identified with Pondicherry. Periplus mentioned only summarily the cities and ports after the Cholamandala. According to Ptolemy the Chola ports were Nicamer (Nagappattinam), Chaberis (Kaveripumpattinam), Saburas (Cuddalore), Poduca (Pondicherry) and Malanga (Krishnapattinam).⁶ The cities situated on the sea coast are called by the generic name Pattinam.⁷ Every coastal city was composed of two main divisions. One division was called ur and the other Pattinam.⁸ The two divisions of the city of Pumpuhar were known as Maruvurpakkam and Pattinappakkam. Likewise the city of Nagai on the Cholamandal coast also consisted of two ports. The places now known as Nagur and Nagappattinam were treated in ancient times only as two divisions of one and the same

coastal city. Small settlements on the sea shore are known as Pakkam.

There was a colony of Yavana merchants at Kaverippattinam.⁹ Roman gold poured largely into the Tamil country at this period, is attested by the numerous Roman coins dating from the reign of Augustus, to that of Zeno (B.C.27 to A.D. 491) which have been found buried in different parts of the Tamil land.¹⁰

Roman colonies were set up in South India during the period. Not only in the coastal area but even in interior parts like Madura, Karur, Perur, Coimbatore, Pollachi, Kangayam, Dharapuram and even in places like kaniampundi in the Avanashi Taluk of Coimbatore district, and Kalyamuthur near Palani, comparatively unknown to-day there were permanent Roman settlements as is evidenced by the Roman coins unearthed from these places.¹¹

The Pandyan king was the first to realize the benefits of an alliance with the Romans. He sent two embassies to Augustus Caesar, desiring to become his friendly ally. Roman soldiers were enlisted in the service of the Pandyas and other Tamil kings.

The commercial relations of the Tamils with the Greeks and Romans is mentioned in some of the Sangam classics as well as in the twin Epics.¹² A poem describes the prosperous port of Musiri, whether the fine large ships of the Yavanas come bearing gold, making the water white with foam, and returned with pepper, along with the rare products of the sea and mountains given by the Chera king. Pepper became the **"Yavanapriya" or the spice dear to the Yavanas** here referring perhaps to the Romans, and it is said that pepper formed more than half the cargo of many a west bound Roman ship.¹³ The remarkable skill displayed by the Yavanas in making artistic lamps of brass is adverted to more than once.¹⁴ The Purananuru speaks of the importation of delicious wine which was eagerly sought for by and courtiers.¹⁵

It is interesting to observe that among the exports from India to the West, tigers, elephants, hounds, parrots, peacocks, serpents and pythons were included. Ivory, pearls, diamonds, silk cotton, pepper and spices, coconuts, gingelly oil and timber of various kinds formed other articles purchased by Rome.¹⁶ The Periplus testifies to the South Indian export of coconut oil while Pliny

includes bananas, rice, millets and various plant products like nut mugs and tamarind. The Pattinappalai provides the additional information that gold from the Kongu country, pearl from the Pandyan sea, sandal from the Malabar coast and pepper from coorg were among the most prominent articles of export from South India.¹⁷ The imports from the west and particularly from Rome included coins, gold, coral, wine, tin lead and decorated doll lamps.

The Sangam classics have several references to the wine imported from abroad.¹⁸ The Pattinappalai adds that horses were brought from across the seas; it is difficult to determine the country from which they were imported perhaps they came from Arabia or Persia. But there is no doubt that on the whole, so far as Rome was concerned, the imports from India for outweighed the exports. After the second century A.D. there was a marked decline of the Roman trade with Tamilakam.

The foreign trade of South India was not confined to the west. With the east, too there was a brisk trade from early times. The earliest trade relationship with the East appears to have commenced with China. Besides silk, sugar was imported from China. The names of these articles which obtained currency in Tamil indicate this fact. Silk is known in Tamil as Pattu as well as Cinam, again through the ages sugar has been known as Sini. In exchange for these articles China imported from South India Pepper Cardamam, incense and red coral. The Chinese historical sources belonging to the 7th century B.C. confirm the fact of Indian commercial products having reached China. Some of them might well have gone from North India, but the typical products of Tamilnad were also included among them. It is but natural that the trade between China and the coramandel coast of Tamilakam must have led to commercial relationship with other countries to the east of India. Burma, (Suvarna Bhumi) Java (Suayaka) Malaya and regions of the Far East undoubtedly had commercial contacts. In this connection it may be noticed that among the pre historic relics

of th Philipines have been found iron weapons like daggers, knives and axes, as well as bangles and glass beads, which archaeologist consider to be similar to those found in South India and datable to the 1st millennium B.C. This fact suggests an early and close contact between the Philipines and South India. It is not too much to presume that sooner or later commercial relationship should have followed. Recently similar glass beads and bangles have been unearthed in North Borneo, Java and Malaya Peniusula.¹⁹

The goods imported at this port were horses, wine and lamp of sculpture. The goods which were exported from the sea port of Korkai were white salt, palmyrah sugar, spiced tamarind, and dried fish. These are known from the literary sources.²⁰ The Tens Tens also bear testimony to the existence of sea shore cities.²¹ They were Eyirpattinam, Pattinam (Mamallapuram) Korkai and Kaveripumpattinam. Eyirpattinam was the sea port of Oymanadu. Pattinam was the sea port city of Tondainadu. Korkai was the sea port city of Pandianadu. Kaveripumpattinam was the sea port city of the Chola country.

As the sea port of Eyirpattinam Anil and other scented goods were imported. At the sea port of Pattinam horses from western countries were imported.²² Kaveripumpattinam became a cosmopolitan city due to its active trade.²³ The ship carrying the cargo was called as Vangam.²⁴ The merchants had never devalued the goods which they sold or purchased from the people. They valued both the goods equally. These moral values are known from the Research article on Pathuppattu.²⁵ The motive of their adventure does not seem to have been conquest but commercial. Pattinappalai give us a graphic description of the trade of the times which no historian can ignore.²⁶

In the foregoing pages, an attempt has been made to give a brief account of the overseas trade between Tamil country and South East Asia upto 900 C.E.

End Notes

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE - CONTEXTUALIZING "KHILAFATH SMARANAKAL"

U. Sreeba

Introduction

In modern times, Autobiography is considered to be one of the important sources of historical reconstruction. For the historians these are the windows, entry points into the social and political history of the period. It is particularly true in the case of the autobiographies of both Gandhi and Nehru which are available by the 1930s. In addition to this, the biographies and autobiographies of great personalities were objects of new secular commemoration. These all indicate the value of autobiography as a **source of information**. This doesn't mean that we can heavily depend on the facts furnished in the autobiography as there are certain problems associated with them, especially that of the problem of bias. Even with this the autobiographies have an important, though not exclusive role in the reconstruction of history.

Emergence of Autobiography as a form of writing in India

The analysis of the growth of autobiographical writing in India, make it clear that in India the autobiographical writing had its beginning with the impact of the colonialism. It is clearly attested by Gandhi in the introduction of **his autobiography stating that "writing an autobiography is a practice peculiar to the West. I know of nobody in the East who having written one except amongst those who have come under Western influence."**¹ That doesn't mean that India didn't have a tradition of

autobiographical writing. Self - reflexive writing in the autobiographical mode has long been a part of Indian literary tradition. Whether such self reflexive writing can be termed as biographies is a debatable point. A.R. Venkatachalapathy rejects the possibility of an indigenous tradition of autobiographical writing before the advent of the British.² In his opinion writing that is intensely personal and experimental is not tantamount to biographical writing.³

The reason highlighted by the scholars for the late emergence of autobiography as a form of writing was that the idea or the notion of reflective individual subject was alien to Indian culture. In other words, the expression of individualism and individuality are missing from **India's cultural assemblage prior to the 19th century**. Kerala is not an exception to this. In Kerala as well the autobiographical narratives began to be written in the late 19th century and it assumed a distinctive shape during the first half of the 20th century. It was the early news papers and periodicals in Malayalam, which often serialized brief biographical accounts of famous personages. In response to the interest of the readers in the biographical and autobiographical writings the various periodicals began to publish the autobiography in series. It increased the popularity of writing the autobiography.⁴ The autobiography which the present paper discusses also was published in the Mathrubhumi in series. Very soon like novel, autobiography appeared on the literary scene as

an expressive form associated with modernity. Such biographies functioned as objects of narratives interest and source of inspiration and **also served to connect Kerala's new reading public** with the lives of the people in the rest of India. These autobiographies occupy a place of importance in the sources for the construction of the political, social and cultural history of Kerala. In other words these autobiographical literatures played an important role in shaping new discourses of agency and responsibility in early decades of the 20th century.

Autobiographical writings in Kerala

In Kerala, Autobiographical writing in Malayalam language began to appear in the 1870s.⁵ Among them the first one seems to be that which describe the autobiography of Vella and Appathiri which is supposed to have written in 1711.⁶ At the same time the biography of Vaikkath Pacchu Moothathu published in 1875 and the brief Autobiography of Travancore Maharaja Vishakam Thirunal published in 1880 in English forms the earliest autobiographies in Kerala. Gradually we can see the development of autobiographical writing as a particular branch itself in the Malayalam literature.

There was an opinion that the autobiographies of common people particularly those belonging to the middle group are more useful for historical reconstruction than that of great personalities. It is made clear by Vijay Ram swami. He suggests that the autobiographies or biographies which have provided the best historical insights are those written by and about **the 'people in the middle, as fascinating and refreshingly new facts of our political and social history can emerge from such accounts of people in the Middle.**⁷ The autobiography as a literary form performs the historical role as an effort to depict the life experience of an individual. It deepens our conscience of history.⁸ It is very correct in the case of the autobiography of Muzhikunnathu Brahmadathan Namboothirippad as it provides picturesque details about the events relating to the *Khilafath* and Non Co-operation Movement that took place in Kerala especially that of the places in and around *Valluvanadu* and also the rebellion associated with it.

The present study tries to point out how the people from different social strata and personal

accounts of individual's lives contribute to our understanding of the historical movement. The present paper is an attempt to trace out how an autobiography can be used as a source for reconstructing the historical past by analysing the *Khilafath Smaranakal*, the autobiography of Muzhikunnathu Brahmadathan Namboothirippad, who had been a victim of the police atrocities meted out by a political prisoner who had been imprisoned as a part of the Khilafath and Non co operation Movement in Kerala.

Muzhikunnathu Brahmadattan Namboothirippad – a Biographical sketch

Muzhikunnathu Brahmadattan Namboothiri was born in 1897 at Cherppulassery as the son of Narayan Namboothirippad and Savithri Adithirippad. As per the Brahmanical customary rite and the pattern of education of the time he had undergone the Veda padanam. He was Very much inspired by the advent of Gandhiji to the Indian independence movement. He accepted Gandhiji as his guru and became a staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He plunged into active politics in 1918 as the ardent supporter and active member of the Congress Party in Kerala. Gradually he assumed the president ship of the Cherppulasserry Mandalam Congress and was responsible for spreading the congress ideologies and activities to the nook and corner of Malabar. The great importance of this personality was that he tried to prevent the spreading of the so called *Mappila* Riot of 1921 to *Valluvanadu* and was arrested and imprisoned by the British. For that he was excommunicated from his society.

The autobiography of Muzhikunnathu_ Brahmadattan Namboothiri entitled *Khilafath Smaranakal* was published in 1965 by K.P. Kesava Menon posthumously in 1964. This work has got a place of importance in the literature for being the heart touching autobiography. It can be considered as a story of a locality, a historical story and political history rather than a mere autobiography. In this work he tries to give a true picture of his life experiences.⁹ The basic content of this work is that of the description of a riot that had taken place in Malabar at the beginning of the Non Co operation Movement of 1921 and the personal experiences of the author. It is considered to be one of the earliest works

dealing with the Malabar Rebellion.¹⁰ More over the author take into account his own experiences while explaining the events which led to the riot, neglecting those sayings which he does not know and those saying which he could not believe.¹¹ Hence his work can be considered as a great contribution in reconstructing the history of the Malabar Rebellion. He reveals his experiences without any kind of exaggeration.

Readings from the Khilafat Smaranakal

In the introduction of this work, the author expresses the view that we cannot call the struggle that took place in 1921 as *mappila* riot it will be apt to call it as mappila revolution or Khilafath revolution. What there took place was actually an internal revolution or internal war which continued to exist for almost four months. During that period they looted two treasuries, attacked several police stations and captured weapons, burnt the records of four Munsiff courts and so many register offices, disturbed road transportation and postal systems, attacked the army camps several times and killed the army men and a dozen Europeans.¹² More over they were successful enough to establish a temporary government as part of the struggle.

Like K.P. Kesava Menon¹³, he considered it as an internal rebellion that took place against the policy of oppression followed by the British army towards the *Khilafath* Movement.¹⁴ He says that the four months were a period of atrocities. Both the police and the army shot thousands of rioters. In addition to that they killed hundreds of local people as well. As such the rebellion was an attempt from the part of people facing severe oppression to escape from it and establish a rule favourable to them. In his opinion it was the policy of severe repression adopted by the police against the members of the Khilafat Movement that forced them to raise their hands for the cause of their own protection.

Similarly Brahmattan Namboothirippad denies the view of Stephen .F.Dale that the revolt purely had a religious base.¹⁵ Though some had misunderstood that communal struggles were the reason for the revolt, it was not so as in such struggles the position of the British was not insecure. Moreover he rejects the views of the British¹⁶ and supports the view tat that the rebellion was not a communal riot rather than it was a political revolt that aroused out of the

suppression of khilafat movement and the rebellion that took place was an organized attack against the repression of the administrators. Though the rebellion had its beginning from a religious factor it resulted in a tripartite struggle which caused heavy damage to the region as a whole. The rioters expected that as in the case of the khilafat Movement the Hindus would extend their support to that revolution as well. When their expectation was not brought in to action, they doubted that the Hindus were against them and joined side with the British. It was the reason for the emergence of the tripartite struggle.¹⁷ Gradually they turned against the Hindus. When they established their rule with Thirurangadi mosque as the centre, proclaiming Ali Musaliyar as the ruler, they began to raise funds in the name of war especially and forcibly from the Hindus particularly from those who were wealthy. Along with that they also began to loot them.

He disagree with those who consider the riots as the agricultural tenants fighting The evidence raised by those who support the notion was that of the attack against the Nilambur Kovilakam. Brahmattan Namboothirippad repudiates that notion as well stating that though the rioters attacked the Nilambur Kovilakam on 21st August 1921, it was not because of their enmity with the Kovilakam as being the landed magnet and the resultant sufferings of the tenants of the Kovilakam. It was the support given to the British government particularly in favour of the police oppression which was highlighted as the chief reason for their specific opposition to the Kovilakam. When the rioters attacked the Kovilakam the members were already left the place and reached Kozhikkode safely on the basis of the prior information and those who were killed by the rioters were the servants of the kovilakam .Similarly the rumour that the rioters were fired at by the securities were also fake as there was nobody who were reported to have wounded among the rioters

The work makes reference to the origin of the revolt and the leaders of the revolt especially that of Ali Musaliyar who was held as the leader of the *Khilafath* Movement in Kerala. He states that actually the leadership of the *Khilafath* Movement was to be taken up by the *Mambaram Thangal*, who was the chief priest of the *Mambaram Mosque*, which was the social and

religious centre of the Muslims. As the *Thangal* was not ready to take up the task, Ali Musaliyar who was the teacher of the Mosque had to become the leader. He became the leader not because of his political connection but because of the respect of being a model teacher and also due to his support by a number of his students. The immediate provocation which resulted in the outbreak of the revolt was the spreading of the false information that the Mambaram mosque was sacked by the British army. When the mob who gathered around the Mambaram Mosque after hearing the news became uncontrollable the police resorted to firing. With that the riot is said to have its beginning. He also opines that the revolt can be considered as one of the most important revolt in the history of India after the revolt of 1857, considering the extent of the area to which it spread, the loss in terms of men and money, its nature and the time.

He gives a detailed description of the activities under taken by the *Khilafath* Movement as a part of the revolt such as the robbing of the treasuries, attacking police stations, destroying the records of the registrar office, cutting of the post and telegraphs removing rails from the railway tracks, killing of a number of European officers and military men etc.¹⁸ The author dedicates one entire chapter to describe the activities undertaken as a part of Khilafat Movement. By the beginning of 1921 a Mappila Volunteer Core was organized in Eranad under the leadership of the Mappila Ex-soldiers who formed the majority in its membership as well. They conducted the training in the places in and around the mosques. When the Khilafat Movement had began they became a part of the movement and began to act as a voluntary core of the Khilafat movement and assumed the title and position of the army in the first state Khilafat conference held at Ottappalam which is reported **by the 'Yogakshemam'**¹⁹. The police report highlights the view that this voluntary movement of the *mappilas*, though formed a part of the Non co-operation movement, it was quite different from it. He states that the beginning of the Movement was due to the repercussion of the *Khilafath* Conference held at Karachi and also **the declaration of the slogan 'Swaraj within one year' by Gandhi. This terrified the police and they** tried to prevent the conducting of the meetings. It had a great impact on the people who began to show the signs of revolution. At the same time

the police was also terrified by this and they also began to make attempts to block the public meetings. When they failed in it directly they induced the land owners to express their unwillingness in organizing the meetings in their lands. Another attempt made by the police to weaken the khilafath movement was to encourage the royal supporters who vehemently opposed the Movement.

Another thing that is clearly illustrated in this autobiography is the various atrocities committed by the police and also the sufferings that the prisoners had to face in the jails. He held the view that the khilafat and Non Co-operation movement gained popularity when the police began to adopt violent and corrupt measures **especially against the Ali Musaliyar's group. They** were arrested on false reasons such as house breaking, robbery, etc and those who were arrested were physically tortured. As the followers of Ali Musaliyar could not with stand such torturing, they began to react especially against the forcible arrest of the police. The intention of the police behind such atrocities were to provoke both Musaliyar and his group and make them apart of the riot and thus to destroy the Non Co-operation movement by bringing them before law. When the police atrocities became intolerable The Khilafat members also resorted to the making of weapons. Though the leaders of the Congress like M.P.Narayana Menon and K. P. Kesava Menon etc tried to prevent the newly developing trends and establish the principles of Non violence they could not succeed before the growing repression from the part of the police.

He had a difference of opinion regarding the date of the beginning of the revolt. He held the view that though the Malabar rebellion is said to have began on 20th August 1921 with the arrest of Vadakke Veettil Mammad, actually the rebellion had its beginning from the 1st August itself when Vadake Veettil Mammad²⁰ with preparation met Inspector Narayana Menon.²¹ When he joined the Khilafath Movement, he was dismissed from service by the manager, Araam Mura Chinnanunni Thirumulppad of Nilambur otherwise called Thampan. When he asked for the salary arrears of around 350 rupees, Thampan was reluctant to pay which made Mammad to collect it forcibly. For that the Thampan filed a false petition against Mammad on the charges of theft and house breaking.

Another thing that is brought to light by the author is the attitude of the National Congress. Though the rebellion had its beginning with the *Khilafath* Movement which was a part of the Congress agenda, they never supported the Movement or the revolt instead they gave support to the English. More over they did not do anything to release the political prisoners captured as a part of the *Khilafaths* Movement. He even blamed the congress for not withdrawing the Non Cooperation Movement immediately after the Tirurangadi event.

Conclusion

Though the present Autobiography highlights the typicality or representativeness of his experiences It was not one of the intimate self revelation but of an experimenter sharing notes with others. From this it is very clear that even

when autobiographies turn away from focusing on the protagonist their mode of writing remain tied to a first person voice and a lived history. Using the life of the author they sought to provide their readers with a slice of history.

In conclusion we can see that the autobiography *Khilafat Smaranakal* has a place of importance in re reading the history of khilafat movement in Kerala and it also gives further references and clarifications to the existing theoretical problems in analyzing the nature and character of the Malabar rebellion of 1921. As in the case of other autobiographies we cannot minimize it role as merely as a literary expression rather we have to consider it as a valuable source for historical reconstruction.

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FROM CONQUEST TO CONSOLIDATION: REFLECTIONS ON THE BRITISH ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATIONS IN MALABAR

P.V. Sreekkutty

This paper mainly deals with the nature of British administration in Malabar through their different perspective. So I want to divide Malabar in to three phases:

- Early phase of British Malabar (1792-1830)
- Second phase (1830-1857)
- Third phase : After 1857 what are the factors contributed for the changing nature

of the British perception from one period to another about the people is a very important question.

The first period of British administration (1792- 1830) represents the early phase and also the period of commercial perspective. This period witnessed many revenue records. In this period British mainly wanted to establish Malabar as a separate revenue and political entity as a part of the early administration. These

reports mainly shows how the collection of revenue and what should be the nature etc. So we can analyze that the conquest nature of the British. But in this phase British made a scanty reference about the people of Malabar. Because their mainly concern was to make profit.

The second phase has an important role in the history of British Malabar. In the period between 1830- 1857 we can see number of changes in Malabar due to the policies of British. We can see the *Mappila* disturbances, Basel Mission activities, Plantations, British public works etc. So this phase analyzed the nature of Peopling of Malabar through these activities.. Through the different acts, plantations, activities, Education, Public works British wanted to subjugate the people as a part of the Peopling of Malabar. In this period British mainly concentrated commercial and controlling the population. The second phase also pointed out what was the background or the reason for the creation of census and also ethnographic analysis.

So in the first phase British mainly wanted to establish Malabar as a separate revenue and political entity. This period produced number of revenue reports. But all reports deals with the land and sources of revenue. For this purpose we can see only a scanty references about the people. But these are not ethnographic concern. This conquest phase changed into another phase, that is controlling and consolidation of the people. It also lead to the ethnographic exploration in Malabar. So after 1857 we can clearly shows the number of ethnographic nature of the British.

In the first phase there are many revenue reports with scanty references about the people. In the report of Joint commissioner's we can see the various divisions of the people. According to this report, Malabar *Rajas* considered as the second tribe of Hindu and Malabar *Brahmins* considered as a significant caste differed from all other castes in India.¹ According to this report Laborers, carpenters, Braziers, Gold and Black smiths were belongs to the *Tiers* caste. The castes like *Paraya pulaya* mentioned as cultivating groups and we can see the details of caste *Polere* and *Churmer* as degraded castes.² The joint commissioners called the rebels as Jungle *Mappilas* or robbing *Mappillas*.³

In the Jamabandy Report of Major Macleod, we can see the details of different castes and also their features. He mentioned the castes like *Namboothiris*, *Nairs*, *Moplahs*, *Teers*, *Muckuans* and *Cherummers* etc.iii He viewed the customs of castes in a different point of view. This time British began to write or identify the divisions in the Castes.⁴ He also mentioned about the *Mappila* caste as *robbers* in the hilly parts of the southern districts and their number varied according to the energy or weakling of the Government. He considered *Teers* as *Shanars* are a caste of *Hindoos* lower than the *Nairs*, they are very industrious and useful and possess landed property in every district. According to him, The *Mckuas* are a low caste of *Hindoos* and the *Cherummars* are all slaves an they were bought and sold like cattle with and without the land.

In the report of Buchanan we can see the classification of Malabar population as *Musalman*, *Namboothiri*, *Tamil Brahmins*, *Rajas*, *Nairs*, *Mukkuva*, people from eastern countries in the North Malabar and *Namboothiri*, *Pattar*, *Nair*, *Thiyya*, *Mappila*, and other castes in South Malabar. Francis Buchanan also classified the population of Malabar as different castes and sub castes under one caste. He made different point of view about Mappilas as they were intelligent and communicative people. According to this report the castes like *Shanars* as *Tiyya* and numerous tribe, *paraya* as slave, *naidies* as outcaste tribe.

According to Graeme, The *Nairs* of Malabar are high minded, intelligent, active, intrepid and independent in their manner, but candid and respectful.⁵ Then *Mappilas* are industrious, skilful in trade, crafty, avaricious people. So we can see this British view about *Mappilas* also changed in later periods as criminal tribe. The condition of Slaves also became an important subject in this report. He also pointed about that, the Slaves may be sold with and without the land. So we can analyze that British categorized some communities as tribes. Later the concept of tribe changed in to new perspective. Later periods British categorized the population into tribes, high castes, low castes etc. In the Memoir of Ward and Conner we can see the population classification in the Talooks of Malabar. This memoir also includes the population of each district.

So these are the main reports in the first phase. We can see the nature of these records are only commercial purpose. Descriptions about the people are based on revenue manners not an ethnographic manner. This is also part of conquest of British. As a part of this process they made only scanty references about the people. But the period between 1830-1857 the perception of British began to change as from conquest to consolidation.

Then the second phase clearly shows the period of change from conquest to consolidation. In this period we can see the *Mappila* disturbances, Basel Mission activities, Plantations, British public works etc. So this phase analyzed the nature of Peopling of Malabar through these activities. Through the different acts, plantations, activities, Education, Public works British wanted to subjugate the people as a part of the Peopling of Malabar. In this period British mainly concentrated commercial and controlling the population. The second phase also pointed out what was the background or the reason for the creation of census and also ethnographic analysis.

In this phase British more concentrated the properties under the people belongs to different castes. But British did not give any importance to understand the features of caste as a ethnographic manner. To get income through controlling of the people is the main concern of the British.

Moreover the hill tribes were largely recruited as labourers in the plantations and thus they became bonded laborers. Thus, the tribes like *Adiyans*, *Paniyans*, etc. were released from agrestic slavery from paddy fields but became bonded laborers in the plantations on low wages. We can see the encouragement of coffee and teak plantations of Waynad in the 1840's.⁶ After the Government Abolition of Act in 1843 British made the status of such people as labourers in their estates. So this was the main logic of British behind the abolition act. The nature and extent of peasant revolts was the effect of British controlling and consolidating process. We can see such revolts as Communal riots, religious disturbances, Fanatical outbreaks in British documents.⁷ In the Strange report, he called the uprising as "*Mapila* inhabitants upon Hindus".⁸ According to the Report on *Mappila* out rages, *Mappilas* are not a people as other subject of the

British Government. Then this stage also witnessed the conversion from the lower castes, particularly, Cheruman, Pulayan, Vettuvan and Mukkuvan- the first three being *agrestic slaves* and *fisherman*.

During this time, the status of the individual in society was determined by the caste. The traditional caste system, Feudal relation, and other social evils were the part of society. The higher caste enjoyed the privileges while the lower castes were deprived of them. So in this stage we can see many conversions in to Christianity.⁹ We can see the encouragement of public work in madras presidency. Building roads, canal networks, Bridge construction were the important works. So during this time British gave an importance to communication systems as a part of their controlling activities.

The period after 1857 we can see the shift from the early perception of the British. This is the third phase. In this background British forced to understand the anthropologization of colonial knowledge about the subjects of their rule.

In the Madras Government Museum Records, there is wide ethnographic description of the people of Malabar. It is also based on Anthropology. This record represented the Malabar as the Diversity of the people and also it is very interesting for the study. In this stage we can see the changing British perception in the understanding of people. Because British more aware of the ethnographic features of the people. So in this record deals with the peoples of different castes and also their height, weight, shoulder, Nasel length etc. So this study is not according to the individual person but based on caste. Then this time the high caste and low caste divisions became more wide. So British tried to give a meaning of castes. For example, the meaning of castes. *Namboothiri*: 'Nambi' means trustworthy, and 'Tiri' means light.¹⁰ In the Madras musuem record, Anthropology of *Paryars*: mainly deals with the description of festivals in Malabar. In this record we can see the the caste like '*Cherumas*' as lowest class, cultivation agent and also agrestic slaves.¹¹ Then in this stage the ehhnographic studies became concentrated the other sections of the society like *pulluvar* (snake worshipers). So in the early British period we cannot see such type of studies.¹² Omens, evil eye charms, animal superstions, sorcery, and votive offerings became the study of British in

order to deeply understanding the society. Then we cannot see the details of these things in the earlier period. In the Caste and tribes of southern India of Edgar Thurston, we can see the Head measurements, dictionary, wide details about sub castes and also the pictures of some ceremonies.¹³

In India we can see some assistants as informers of British in order to understand the Indian society. No doubt these people were high castes. The person like Mr. Ragachary was the assistant of Thurston, then many thahsildars or village officials and police officials helped British to understand the people of Malabar. So we can say they will give an information as in favor of them. So we can also see some Savarnna bias in the writing. So the British wanted to get some support from such peoples. But they acted according to the British instructions.

After 1857, for the expansion and maintaining political and economical control British needed knowledge about the people. So the ethnographic studies became powerful tool of them. So the attitude of the British about the

people of Malabar changed according to the situation that when they faced challenges from the society. So the early records deals with some scanty references about the people. That time British had no serious thought about the ethnographical point of view. After 1857 the British forced to understand the ethnographical features of the people in a wide manner. So the process of subjugation of people was also the important feature of this period. Sudipta kaviraj analyzed the transforming nature of Fuzzy identities to enumerated communities. So we can understand how British constructed and marking the people from fuzzy identities in to enumerated communities through the ethnography and Census. Such knowledge culminated in decennial Census reports from 1871 onwards, and the late nineteenth and early twentieth century series of district Gazetteers, Survey, and settlement reports, and tribes and castes volumes for the various British Indian provinces. Ethnography and Census provides the best illustration for the historiographical shift.

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SLAVE TRADE IN THE DUTCH INDIAN OCEAN WORLD: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MASULIPATNAM AND COCHIN

A. Subash

Introduction

Slavery and other forms of coerced labour are seen as oriental modes of production and more as part of labour-intensive means for economic development.¹ Slavery in particular is claimed to have been an integral and dynamic

part of the colonial economic system. Coercion and confinement were not the only key elements crucial to this system of slavery. It is now increasingly accepted that transportation and trade were also crucial elements supporting it.² Various studies have explored the dynamics and

size of slave trade and slave transportation in modern period under the colonial rule from a global perspective. Whereas the Atlantic slave trade has been mapped out in relatively great detail in numerous studies, its Indian Ocean counterpart has remained largely uncharted territory and overlooked in Asian colonial historiography.

Slavery, far from being a “peculiar institution,” has deep and far-reaching roots, stretching back at least to the beginnings of historical times in many parts of the world. In India slavery is traced to ancient period. Mainly the debtors and captives of battle were converted as slaves. The number of slaves a particular officer or an individual was allowed to take depended on his status. The services of slaves have been used by the kings, aristocrats, *zamindars*, higher officials, Brahmin teachers, sages and prostitutes since ancient times. From the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the dynamics of slavery underwent changes. Instead of being used as a labour force, the slaves have been converted into a commodity that can be traded. From this period onwards, the Muslim rulers and European East India Companies started involving in export of slaves from various ports of Indian subcontinent.

Among different European trading companies who colonised India, the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or VOC) was involved in slave trade in an organised manner and on a large scale compared to the others. For most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch were active participants in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trade. Various circuits throughout the Dutch Asian Empire ensured the continuous mobility of slaves to it. The Dutch Indian Ocean slave system drew slaves from three interlocking and overlapping circuits of sub-regions viz., 1. African circuit of East Africa, Madagascar, and the Mascarene Islands, 2. South Asian circuit of the Indian subcontinent (Malabar, Coromandel, and the Bengal), and 3. Southeast Asian circuit of Malaysia, Indonesia, New Guinea and the southern Philippines.³

Among these different circuits, the Indian subcontinent remained the most important source for slaves until the 1660s. Moreover, the majority of the enslaved population in the VOC empire was not owned by the Company, but by private slave owners, mainly VOC personnel and European, Eurasian and Asian inhabitants of VOC cities and rural regions. The VOC owned only a few thousand of the tens of thousands of slaves living in Company regions, in some cases hiring additional slave labour from local slave owners.⁴

The study of Indian Ocean slavery is not only complicated by the paucity of written sources, but also by its multi-directionality and the many players involved. The supply of slaves was often determined by catastrophes, both natural and manmade, indebtedness and more powerful polities raiding weaker ones expressly for enslavement.⁵ These dynamics of slavery and the slave trade seem to have existed before European powers arrived in South and Southeast Asia.⁶ The arrival of the Portuguese, the Dutch and other European trading companies only intensified the long-range slave trading networks. In this way, European demand for both slaves and Asian commodities resulted in the growth of the slave trade throughout the Indian Ocean world.⁷

Several studies have dealt with the transportation of enslaved Asians and Africans by the VOC, often for its own use as Company slaves.⁸ Most of these studies have focused on the Company and private slave trade in and around Batavia (modern Jakarta) and the Company slave trade from Madagascar to the Cape of Good Hope.⁹ Despite these pioneering works, too little is known about the private slave trade involving VOC employees. This article explores the patterns of private slave trade by the Dutch along the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts, particularly from the ports of Cochin and Masulipatnam.

As mentioned earlier, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the European companies were involved in the slave trade in Asia. Indian slaves were exported by

European powers to their colonies in the eastern and western Indian Ocean.¹⁰ Company officials as private individuals also engaged in the legal and illegal slave trade.

An important area in South Asia taking over most of the Dutch slave trade was the Malabar Coast (Kerala) of India, where between 1657 CE and 1663 CE the Dutch successfully ousted the Portuguese enemy from their colonial trading posts. Several thousand prisoners of war on the Malabar Coast were transported to Ceylon and Batavia as slaves. After hostilities had ended, the Dutch continued to export a small but continuous stream of slaves, mostly taken from the hinterland of Cochin and estimated to consist of 50-100 slaves to Batavia and 80-120 to Ceylon on annual basis.¹¹ This Malabar slave trade was maintained well into the eighteenth century.¹²

The Malabar region and its main VOC port, Cochin, were strongly connected to the slave system as one of the most important slave exporting regions. Cochin was located on the shipping routes between Persia and Surat, the Coromandel Coast and Bengal, and the Indonesian archipelago. It is from here the slaves were traded and transported to all regions of the Dutch empire.

The Malabar slaves were one of the most significant groups of enslaved subjects in the private slave trade, being shipped from the Malabar Coast to the Indonesian archipelago (especially Batavia), to Ceylon (especially Colombo) and to the Cape of Good Hope. The slaves traded were mainly, but not exclusively, male. It is apparent from different sources that high and low ranking VOC officials, free citizens and Asians under VOC jurisdiction partook in this lucrative slave trade. Information about the slave trade at Cochin primarily comes from the Dutch sources known as *Acten van transport*.

The *Acten van Transport* is a kind of register that speaks volumes about slaves traded and transported by VOC personnel in Cochin and on VOC ships engaged in intra-Asiatic shipping. The transactions of slaves in Cochin

indicate that the participation in the slave trade by the higher and middle ranks of VOC personnel was extensive. High-ranking VOC officials – merchants, administrators and governors – were sometimes able to fit out their own private ships to engage in this slave trade.¹³ On the other hand, lower and middle-ranked personnel employed in intra-Asiatic shipping, used the opportunity of their voyages in Asia on board Company ships to transport slaves giving a fillip to the private slave trade.¹⁴ Within Cochin, slaves were sold and bought by a large variety of local and European actors, ranging from *lascorins* (soldiers) to *moquadons* (overseers) and burghers (wealthy bourgeoisie or privileged citizens of medieval towns in early modern Europe), and from merchants to artisans. A significant number of the slaves were sold to VOC personnel on board ships. Most of the crew members buying slaves were captains, mates and boatswains, although others, such as constables, surgeons, lieutenants, ministers, would also participate.

The *Acten van Transport* also gives details of the seller (name, occupation and status), buyer (name, occupation and status) and slave (new name, old name, caste, gender and sometimes age). In combination, these sources will allow us to study the practices of permitted transportations of slaves from Cochin. Slaves for this private trade were supplied especially by other European servants and Asian Christians and burghers living in Cochin and surrounding places such as Chettue, Paloertij and Sint Andres.

The first European factory established on the Andhra coast was at Masulipatnam by the Dutch, on the strength of the *firman* issued by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612 CE), the sultan of Golconda, in August 1606 CE.¹⁵ The officers put in charge of the factory were Pieter Eyloff and Willemsz.¹⁶ The main purpose of the factory was to obtain precious stones, food-grains, textiles, apart from slaves.

With a view to populate, cultivate and for domestic services in European colonies like Banda, Amboina, Moluccas and Batavia, all part of present day Indonesia, the Dutch started

sending a large number of slaves from the Andhra coast, particularly Masulipatnam. It was started by the Dutch officer Schorer who also **mentions in his records that the “trade of (human) traffic carried on here is extensive by sea as well as land.”**¹⁷ It is assumed that slave trade by the Dutch that was started in the first quarter of the sixteenth century continued upto their retirement from India.

The Portuguese traveller Borbosa refers to **“slaves being brought and taken to Malabar Coast from Masulipatnam in times of famine”** which occurred in Golconda kingdom in the early sixteenth century.¹⁸ It is estimated that 2,000 to 3,000 slaves were sent to Batavia, Amboina and Banda in 1621 CE.¹⁹ On 7th June, 1621 CE, a ship named *Schoonhoven* from Masulipatnam departed to the Dutch colonies consisting of 150 child slaves along with other commodities.²⁰ On 12th August, 1621 CE, orders came to the factors of the Dutch at Masulipatnam to send more number of slaves to Banda who were needed for the nutmeg and mace plantations. As such many slaves, mainly young and middle aged, were sent to Jakarta as the ship could carry. Again and again indents were sent from Batavia to fetch as many slaves as possible from Masulipatnam.²¹ As the Dutch officials on the Coromandel were not able to meet the requirements of Batavia as far as slaves were concerned, the Dutch East India Company permitted even the Indian merchants to take slaves to the South East Asian countries.

A Muslim merchant of Masulipatnam named Mohammed was permitted to collect **slaves and send them in the company’s vessels** to Batavia for sale. Similarly, an English man Alberto Gomes, who was from his childhood in the Portuguese service, was also given permission to buy slaves from Masulipatnam and take them to South East Asian countries for sale. The Company officials were of the opinion that the most profitable trade in the twenties of seventeenth century was to trade slaves from the Deccan and to sell them at Batavia to free burghers. But private traders were found more efficient in this and so the Company had

permitted both Indians and the Dutch to conduct this lucrative trade. In order to appropriate the more profits, the officials in Batavia used to write again and again to the factors at Masulipatnam for more slaves.²²

The Dutch cloth merchant Pieter Dircksz, travelling with the ship *Witte-Deer* to Coromandel was instructed by the VOC to take particular care in the purchase of slaves because they were needed to populate newly conquered territories. It shows the greed of the Dutch in getting slaves. The Dutch regarded slave trade precisely as any other branch of commerce.²³ The factors of the Dutch were reminded by the officials in Holland that they would be doing a better job to the Company by sending more slaves to Holland which would fetch more profits than other commodities.²⁴

Slaves were mostly children or young adults: on average they were only 13 years old. The girls were on average somewhat older (15.7 years) than the boys (12.4 years). Most of the slaves sold in Cochin were male (on average 71%). The slaves were taken for the purposes of acting as domestics to their masters/mistresses **and to work in the Company’s estates and plantations.** Slaves were often renamed. This was not only the case when they were sold by Asian sellers to European buyers, but could also be the case for European slave sellers as well.

The cost of slaves fluctuated from time to time and place to place. According to Methwold, the English official at **Masulipatnam**, **“children** were brought for a cost which was not above three or four shillings a child and they were sold again in Masulipatnam and other places for forty shillings.²⁵ On 8th May, 1622 CE, a slave had 8 to 10 *rials* as his price at Masulipatnam and 56 *rials* at Surat.²⁶

For the Dutch, the Coromandel slave trade was the most useful means of augmenting the supply of labour in their colonies. The traffic was large enough to attract the attention and incur the displeasure of native rulers and local Mughal officials. Some of the Indian rulers felt that sale of human beings was not only a scandal but a sin. W.H. Moreland found only one instance of the

refusal of Indian authorities to sanction the purchase of slaves. This was in the year 1643, when a nayak/chief rejected a Dutch request to buy up to 1,000 slaves yearly. But this human attitude was not universal.²⁷ The archival record reveals that European slave trading invited negative reactions from local Mughal officers also.

The Governor of Madras, Elihu Yale noted that the Dutch had incurred Mughal displeasure for exporting slaves from Masulipatnam and as a result Yale and his council banned the purchase and exportation of slaves from ports of Madras Presidency in May 1688 and also imposed a fine of 50 *pagodas* for each slave illegally purchased and exported. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether this ban, which reportedly remained in place for five years, was ever enforced in any meaningful way. In the 1780s

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28. The abolitionist movement was an organized effort to end the practice of slavery in the United States which started from 1775 CE.

NUMISMATIC DATA ON MARITIME EXCHANGES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL KERALA

N. Sudarsana Kumar

Perspective of our past is formulated on geographical realization, which is formative in the passage of time. One of the unique feature of ancient Indian knowledge system was the comprehensive understanding of the products and regions of the subcontinent, which seems to have evolved from pre-historic period onwards. *Arthasastra* explicitly states that most of the regions have been assessed from the point of view of their important products and amply indicate that a pan Indian vision of economy had emerged by the 3rd century BCE. *Jatakas* in the 6th century BCE propose an in-depth portrayal of the network of craft production, well net with internal and external trade centres. There has been considerable research on the literary and numismatic exchanges in early Kerala history. Most of these studies are solely based on literary references in Greco-Roman or indigenous sources such as the bardic poetry of the Sangam Age. However, the numismatic references in inscriptions substantiating the flourishing maritime trade of early Kerala remains untapped to a great extent. The present study focuses on inscriptional reflections of numismatic exchanges in the early history of Kerala.

The geographical area resided by people of Kerala in the south-western peninsular region was initially known as *Malainadu*, which literally means the hill country. Fr. Heras, the noted Indologist mentions, '*Karmukil Malayala nadu*' (*Malayala nadu*, the land of rain clouds¹). It is evident that when inhabitation started in the initial stages, the region was known as *Malainadu*² or *Malaimandalam*³ and with the evolution of linguistic identity, it was called *Malayanma* and the usage *Malabar* is reminiscent of trade exchange with Arabs (*Barr* means land or country). When the British colonialization process brought northern Kerala under their direct administrative control, they called it Malabar to differentiate the region from native states of Cochin and Travancore. The merchants from the region were also identified as such; *Malaimandalathil kuthiraichettikal*⁴, *Anjuvannam* merchants of *Malai-mandalam*⁵, *Magodayar-pattanam* in *Malai-mandalam*⁶, etc.

Another notable archaeological ground is the wide distribution of NBP from its central Ganga plain origin to all parts of the subcontinent from Charsada and Taxila in the northwest to Korkai in Tamil Nadu which symbolizes that through their region-specific symbols, the consolidation of the regional politics and their participation in a monetized trade network.⁷

Variety of materials such as agate, carnelian beads, amethyst, lapis lazuli, punch marked coins far away from their natural distribution and the coincidence of punch marked coins along with the local coins issues of the southernmost dynasties of Chera, Chola and Pandya points how well the subcontinent was integrated even at the dawn of history in the deep south. Among the available coins of Kerala, the silver punch marked coins and Roman coins represent the first generation and the Chera, Chola and Pandya coins signify the second generation. Roman mercan started in the 1st century BCE grew to substantial proportions in the 4th century CE, is evident from the availability of 41 hoards from south India, including the coins of Augustus, Tibirious, Nero, etc. Notably, the coin hoards from Kerala i.e. Eyyal in 1945, Kumbalam in 1974, Anjukunnu 1979, Valuvally in 1983, Angamaly, Nedumkandam, etc. were recovered either from indigenous trade routes connecting prominent ports of the ages such as Muziris, Baris, Tyndis, Nelcynda etc or on riverine exchange centres well networked through inland navigation lines. The remarks of Pliny, the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Ptolemy's *Geography* (139 CE) and the Sangam works such as *Patittupattu*, the *Agannuru* and the *Purananuru* substantiate the extensive Roman trade with the Kerala coast.

Table: 01 List of Early trade coins from Kerala

Dynasty	Period	No. of Coins recovered
Magadha	542-440 BCE	2
Sisunaga	440-400 BCE	6
Nanda	400-324 BCE	70

CGM & Bindusara	324-273 BCE	16
Ashoka	273-232 BCE	94
Later Mauryas	232-187 BCE	783
Courtesy: Gupta, P.L.(1965), <i>The Early Coins from</i>		

The significant transition in the political economy of Kerala is traced from the wide distribution of Roman coins as tangible evidence in the first half of the beginning of the Common Era, which was directed towards the urban centers⁸. The coin hoards point the evolution of riverine markets, the nucleus of towns in the succeeding periods. The humming trade of Malabar coast necessitated the clearance of forests for mercantile resources such as timber, teak and sandal wood and pepper cultivation. The distribution of megalithic sites points to the wide use of iron tools and beginning of cultivation. The brisk trade was so much beneficial to Kerala, which is evident from the lament of Pliny that, “the wasteful extravagance of the richer classes and reckless expenditure on spices, pepper, perfumes, ivory, muslim cloth and such as beryl”⁹.

Major inscriptional sources containing reference of coins in trade context are:-

Chera Inscriptions: Contain reference of maritime relations, Chola, Pandya naval attacks of southern Kerala, especially Vizhinjam & Kandalur salai, indigenous trade, political organization of the time, role of merchant guilds, the town assembly of the *Arunoottuvar* (Six Hundred), the system of taxation and the spirit of religious toleration.

Chola Inscriptions: Rajaraja Chola’s naval invasion of Vizhinjam, defeat of Cheras and levied tribute from them, *Malaimandalathil Kuthirai Chettikal*, (the horse traders of Malainadu), strategic importance of this forest trade route, through which pepper that earlier brought to Quilon via Ariankavu pass from Kottarakara and suburbs were diverted through Thenkasi to the markets, etc.

Pandya Inscriptions: Vira-Pandya’s subjugation of Malainadu, Suchindram Inscript.: mentions that Vira-Pandya the opponent of Kulothungachola III took refuge with his near relations at Kollam, the capital of Kupaka kings, Nalpattennayiravar, the merchant organization.

Ay Inscriptions: Paliyam copper plates/”*Sreemoolavasam Cheppedukal*” AD 898 issued by Ay king Vikramaditya Varagunan - the donation numerous land holdings to Buddhist institution. It also remarks about Paranthaka Chola’s attack on Kerala for maritime control, Ay king Karunandadakan in AD 866.

Karnataka Inscriptions: refer merchants from Malaimandalam contact the cloth merchants known as *Mahasreshthin* of Karnataka associated with *Ainnuruvar*, popularly called *Ayyavole Ainnuruvar* at the end of 8th century, refers the grant of 12 villages to a Jain *basadi* by the Ganga king Kongunivarma, which was to be protected by the merchant guild Ainnuruvar along with 1000 *malepas* (hilly people) and five land lords(*damarigas*). Another 12th century inscription states the direct involvement of the merchant community in the construction of temple and installation of deities in Karnataka, grant of paddy/rice in Shantinatha *basadi* by certain *nanadesi* and Halaru merchants for serving food, grant of one *haga* i.e. gold coin, per horse by the horse merchant of Malayala for serving food, perpetual lamp and renovation of temple. In addition to direct evidence of horse trade of medieval period, it points the role of economically powerful medieval merchants from Kerala in patronizing a local temple, refers to Damodara Setti, *mahavaddavyavahari*, Malayali merchants from *Kulamukha pattana*, constructed a Trikuta Shiva temple called Damodareshwara at Bendeyakere.

Another Karnataka inscription furnishes a list of Malayali merchants, their locations, various activities, etc. Kunji Setti of Padiyur, and his nephew Kandanambi erected Satra in Harihara, Rameshwara, Panduranga and Varanasi. He was “a rich international merchant who negotiated between the Hoysalas and the Sevunas and established an alliance between them”.

Foreign Inscriptions mainly Chinese Fig.03
Early Ports and Maritime destinations on Malabar Coast and Ceylonese Inscriptions: Contain reference of maritime relations refers the presence of merchants and guilds from Malainadu. Important ports, cultural centres, trade items etc are referred. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* contain references of the maritime trade relations of Ceylon with the Indian subcontinent. *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* by Edward Muller is another major source of

inscriptions. Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds: Report of the Taisho University Research Project, 1997-2002 edited by Noboru Karashima is a valid source for the maritime relations in the Indian Ocean region. **Other Epigraphic Sources** include:-

1. The Travancore Archaeological Series (VII Volumes)
2. South Indian Inscriptions
3. *Epigraphica Indica*
4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*
5. *Indian Antiquary*
6. *Puratattva*
7. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
8. Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras. Coins are specifically referred in the following inscriptions.

Achchu: Achchu is a gold coin repeatedly referred in several inscriptions. The Cholapuram inscription of Kulotunga (396 KE) mentions a donation of 15 Achchu to the Udayamahadeva temple of Rajendra Choleswaram. Another Cholapuram inscription of 428 KE contain reference of installation of an image of Paravthy by a devadasi and giving 10 old Achchus and 10 new Achchus of gold to meet the expenses. Mitranandapuram Copper plate of the 12th century CE refers 30 *Anai Achchu* (coins bearing elephant mark)¹⁰, Trivandrum Inscription of Kodai Marthanda enshrined in the Goshala Krishna shrine in the Padmanabhaswami temple at Trivandrum refers alag-achchu¹¹ Thiruvarruvay Shiva temple inscription of 13th century CE¹², an inscription in the Siva temple at Sivagiri¹³, Minchirai Madam plate of 13th century refers 67 achchu set apart for feeding the Brahmins in the Dwadasi days¹⁴ All these inscriptional references of Achchu proves that it was an important coin in wide circulation for major transactions of the time.

Kanam: A gold coin or weight, that had been in use in early Kerala. It is referred in the inscription of Srivallavankodai at Tiruvanvandoor (149 KE), as the Venad ruler Thiruvallavankodai donating land to the deity of Thiruvanvandoor, free from the interference of Uralar and with provision for fine if interrupt.¹⁵ Thrikkodithanam inscription of Bhaskara Ravi

Varman of 992 CE¹⁶, The Huzur Treasury Plate belonging to the Vishnu temple at Thiruvalla refers Kanam as remunerations given to the temple priest.¹⁷ The Thiruvalla copper Plate (KE 491) refers Kanam, in the context of regulating the conduct of priest of the temple and were liable to fine of 24 Kanam-s of gold¹⁸. Thrikkakarai inscription of Kerala Kesari belong to the 10th century refer a land grant to the temple and mention wages to be paid in Kanam-s to the servants. The Kollur-Madam Plate of Udaya Marthandavarman (KE 364)¹⁹ also refers the provision of fines in Kanam-s of gold for any default in duties. Kulashekara Perumal's Thiruvallur inscription (11th/12th century CE) mention the extra-payment of one Kanam of gold to the *kilsanti*. From these inscriptional referances it is evident that Kanam was extensively used as the media of exchange for payments to and from the treasury.

Kasu : Kasu was another coin in use both in gold and copper extensively in Kerala. But inscriptional reference points that copper coins were more in use compared to gold Kasu. Sthanu Ravi in his Tharisappally Copper Plate (9th century) refers the land grant to the Church of Tharisa (*tharithakkal*; foreigners) remitting all taxes due from the families attached to the church. The church authorities were authorised to collect the taxes such as *Talaikanam*,²⁰ *Enikkanam*²¹, etc. from the families made over to the church in Kasu. The church authorities were also empowered to collect the custom duties on the incoming and outgoing boats in Kasu. Alagiyapandyapuram Inscription refers that, the land dues were collected by the temple authorities in Kasu. Manalikkarai Inscription of 9th century mentions a donation in Kasu to maintain the temple lamp at Tiruppanikulam. Tiruvidankode Stone Inscription belonging to the 10th century CE donation of land to the temple of Tiruvidancode with the provision to collect the fine in Kasu.²² Inscription of Bhaskara Ravi Varman 1004 CE remarks donation of gold Kasu to feed the Brahmins to the temple Tirukkakkarai. Chola-pandya inscription in the Suchindram record a gift of land and the sale amount of the land is stated in Kasus²³. Virakerala Varman's Cholapuram inscription (KE 302) accounts a royal grant of revenue in paddy and Kasu to the Rajendracholesvaramudiya Mahadeva temple. All these inscriptional

references of Kasu makes it clear that Kasu was an important currency of early medieval Kerala.

Panam : Panam was another coin found referred in inscriptions, there were gold and silver coins, which seems to be in existence in towards the 15th century CE. Several other coins such as Izhakasu, Salagai and Dinara, etc found referred in inscriptions. Salagai was a Pandya coin, which is cited in Kodai Marthanda Stone Inscription of KE 403. Salagai is referred in Trivandrum Inscription of Kodai Marthanda²⁴. Only in major ports printed money was current, major and minor markets, riverine centres all might have been led by material exchanges, bondage transaction via religious centres. The inscriptions (SII XXII no. 447, 448, 449) dated in the 23rd , 31st regnal year of Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya refers to the sale of land to an individual from Malai mandalam (i.e. Chera region) by the village assembly (*mahasabha*).²⁵

Conclusion

The archaeological and literary substantiation of the flourishing maritime trade of Kerala with Romans embodied in Sangam literature and Greco-Roman accounts, several hoards of coins, ranging from Magadhan period to 15th century Chinese hoards recovered from the dredging of Kollam port in 2014 exemplify the demand for the products such as pepper, ginger, cardamom, cloves and akin spices, faunal articles such as animal hides and ivory, beasts such as apes and birds like peacocks; wild forest resources like aloe, sandal, teak, precious and semi-precious stones, such as beryl, pearls and the cotton fabrics, etc. in return of gold and silver coins and also for copper, tin, and arsenic. Occurrence of black pepper, irrefutably from Kerala at Sanghol in the Kushana period, indicate the demand for Kerala spices²⁶. To sum up the inscriptional sources furnishes interesting and valuable references of different coins of early history of Kerala and it help us to have an insights into the currency system prevalent and its role in facilitating maritime trade.

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20. *Talaikanam* was a kind of professional tax on those engaged in toddy trade.
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CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM HISTORIANS TO INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SULTANATE PERIOD

G. Syed Kadhar

Introduction

Historiography is known as *Ilm-al-tarikh* in Arabic. As a responsible to the society, the account of all activities of human race is called history. Historians are always active with the collection of historical data, compilation of books, analysis of historical events, examine authenticity of the sources of history with his wide attitude noted that he is also a member of the society. A historian cannot deny his time, place and environment, own thinking, sense of morality in his writings. In fact, history is itself changing because of having many obstacles. But men always want to know actual events related to the human life. From the ancient time, this trend of the knowledge continued and in this way, historiography is formed as an important part of knowledge and education. The Ghurian conquest of north India towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. is an important event in Indian history. This is because an independent sultanate, founded in its wake, opened India to foreign influences on the one hand and led to the unification of the country under a strong centre on the other. It also attracted emigrants from the neighbouring countries who represented different cultural traditions. One of the traditions introduced by them was that of history writing. The historical literature produced by them in Persian language is of vast magnitude. As a matter of fact, the study of history was considered by the Muslim elite as the third important source of knowledge after the religious scripture and the jurisprudence. With the coming of the Mughals in the 16th century, the tradition of history writing achieved new heights. During the Mughal period, the state patronized writing of history and we have a large body of historical literature in Persian spread over two centuries. In this chapter, we will discuss only the tradition of history writing during the Sultanate period.

Muslim Historiography

In the early stage of Islam, in the beginning of 9th century Muslim scholars and historians considered historiography to be the third source of knowledge after the research of Quran and Sunnah. For this reason, after the collection and

compilation of the Hadith of the prophet, they start writing of the history. It seems very interesting to me that the same tradition was followed to the collection, compilation and preservation of the Hadith of the prophet and the history of the primary age of Islam. This tradition was followed till hijra 3rd century (9th and 10th C.E). Since Arab historiography was mostly around with the description of the events and religious theme. In course of time, it was enlarged and enriched with the research of tribal, regional and national history. Also by the description of the world history, Arab historiography becomes a major part of the world historiography and it starts the glorious steps of the Muslims in the development of knowledge. Standing on this, Arab historiography took its multi-formation not only discussion of the historical events but also fixed its relation to the cause and effects along with deeply analyzed criticism attached with the history. In this way, the Muslim scholars developed historiography at the same time Arabic language was also developed because the state language was Arabic at that time and research work on historiography was continued naturally in Arabic.

In 1258 A.D, having destroyed Abbassids Khilafat and Ilkhani dynasty was established. With the Ilkhani **dynasty, 'Persi' language** became the state language and it was developed during the time of Timurids and Safavids. In this **way, 'Persi' entered in Indian sub-continent** by the change of political power around the world. When Turkish replaced Persians, historiography was also started in Turkish language. But, the research of historiography in Turkish language has not so far enriched. Turkish sultans also patronized the Persian language later and at that time, regional and dynastic history continued in Persian language. Though the Arab historiography follows the Persian trends in the research of historiography, there is something different in the Arab historiography. Main theme of the Persian historiography was the conduct occupation of the kings. In the Persian history, general people was totally absent or a little bit was seen in their historiography during Ilkhani **period composed in Persian language** "*Jami-at-*

Tawarikh by Rashid-ud-din. In this book, the author tries to follow the trends of At-Tabari's writings but in his writings, the character of Arab historiography is totally absent in this write up. But, Rawatas- Safa composed by Mirkhand represents Arab trends and nature. During the Timurids period, the same trends 'Tarikhi- Khani' and 'Jafamama' were composed. In these two books, Timurids dynastic history was arranged superbly. It is said that Muslim historiography was influenced later by the trends of Arab and Persian historiography. The Persian and Turkish carried on the central Asian trends of historiography towards Indian subcontinent.

Historiography in Sultanate Period

The early writings in Persian on the history of Turks who came to India are traceable to 12th Century. As far as Delhi Sultanate is concerned, we have a continuity of available texts in Persian till the end of the Sultanate (1526). Many of the authors were attached to the court as officials while a few were independent scholars not associated with any official position. In general, the available histories put forward the official version of events, rather than a critical evaluation of the policies and events. It is rare that one comes across any critical reference to the reigning Sultan. Even the style is also generally eulogizing or flattering to the Sultan under whose reign it is written.

In most cases, the authors borrowed freely from the earlier works to trace the earlier period. We have referred to the constraints faced by various scholars while discussing individual works. Apart from historical texts, a number of other Persian works are available for the period. **Abdu'r Razzaq's *Matla'us Sa'dain*** (travelogue), **Tutsi's *Siyasatnama*** (administration & polity), **Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Adabu'l-Harb wa'as- Shuja'at*** (warfare), are a few important ones. A few Arabic works are also available for the period. Ibn Battuta (*Rihla*) and Shihab-al Din al-Umari (*Masalik al-absar Mamalik al-Ansar*) have provided excellent travel accounts. Here we will study the historiography for the whole Sultanate period in separate subsections.

Ziauddin Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi

Barani is, no doubt, the doyen of the Indo-Persian historians of medieval India. Born in an aristocratic family and associated with the royal court of Delhi for generations, he was obviously

concerned with the fate of the Delhi Sultanate. He seems to have believed that it was 109 his duty to present through his *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi* an intellectual composition for the enlightenment of the ruling elite of his times. Barani's *Tarikh* begins with the accession of Sultan Balban to the throne of Delhi in 1266 and comes to a close with the account of first six years of Sultan **Firuzshah Tughluq's reign, i.e. the year 1356.** Barani's *Tarikh* is unique to the Persian history writing tradition prevalent till his times. It is for the first time that he tries to analyse the cause and effect of the events and developments taking place in polity and economy. In his account of the economic policies and measures of Alauddin Khalji he provides an analysis with causes and formulation of the policies and their impacts. Barani also elaborates the purpose of writing history in explicit terms. Barani also declares that the job of the historian is not only to eulogise the deeds and good works of the rulers but also to present to readers a critical account of the shortcomings and drawbacks of policies. Moreover, the scope of history is considerably widened by Barani with the inclusion of details about the cultural role performed by intellectuals, **scholars, poets, and saints.** Barani's style of history writing inspired the historians of the subsequent period, many of whom tried to follow his ideas. reduced to the size of a town. Khizr Khan (ruled from 1414 to 1421) and his son and successor, Sultan Mubarkshah (1421-1434) tried to rebuild the power of the Delhi Sultan but could not succeed. His own nobles assassinated the latter in the prime of his life. One of his officials Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, composed the history of the Sultanate and named it after the Sultan as *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi* in 1434. It begins with an account of Sultan Muizuddin Mohammed bin Sam, who led the Ghurian conquest of India and the account closes with the accession of Mohammad Shah in 1434. The compiler seems to have drawn information from a number of histories written in India at different times. Some of the sources utilized by Yahya are now extant but bits of information on them survived through information collected and incorporated in the *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi*. It enhances its importance. The historian of **Akbar's reign utilised** the *Tarikh* in the preparation of their volumes devoted to the history of the Delhi Sultanate.

Trends and Nature of Historiography in India During Sultanate Period :

In the Ancient India, there were no fixed and specific methods that were followed regarding the preservation and compilation of the historical events. Moreover, it was preserved through oral system. This system helps preserve religious rules and regulations, restrictions and others social rules. But it is not sufficient or enough to establish a permanent system of the preservation of all historical data and events especially the events related to the dynastic rule of India. At that time, the scope of the historical analysis was also very limited. So, we can say that, before the Muslim rule in India, historiography was totally absent. During Muslim rule in India, historians wrote analysis and criticism of political parties, rulers, government, administration and other organs of the country and Indian historiography, on the basis of research methodology, authenticity and inquisitiveness could not reach to the similar position with the western. In fact, there are separate attitudes and thoughts among the two parts of the historians of east and west. For the first time, Muslim historians started their historical research by removing this difference between the East and the West. In the composition of "Tabakat-e-Firozshahi", "Tabakat-e-Akbari" Muslim historians follows the modern methods and systems. Based on this, we can say that the Muslim historians were well versed of the modern historiography elements and sources. In the Sultanate period, (1206-1526 A.D) their royal court was filled up with the presence of Historians, Writers, Philosophers, Thinkers, Politicians, Orators, Poets and other scholars of the time. In this time, Indian historians did not fully follow Arabs and Persians, but they introduced a new trend in their research in accordance with Indian local perspective and reality of the time. In all regional historiographical write-ups, we see this tradition was followed seriously. Muslim conquerors conveyed the traditional historiography and cultural heritage of Arab, Turkish and Persian towards Indian sub-continent. The Indian Muslim historian's writings were almost similar with the writings of the outside of India by the Muslim writers on the basis of the planning through objectives of the events and also in the decoration of language. For this reason, the culture of Hindu and their social life are rare in the write-ups of the Muslim

historians of India. The reflection of the conservative mentality and social attitude was inactive in the Muslim historiography of India. Hasan Nizami is one of the famous writers among the historians of early Sultanat period. In his "Taj-ul-Maa'sir", history from 1st 'war of Tarain' of 1191 A.D to the of Sultan Iltutmish's time till 1229 A.D was placed. Hasan Nizami presents some pictures of the society and culture with the political history of that mentioned period in his book.

Al-Biruni (973-1039A.D)

Al-Biruni's full name was Abu-Rayhan Mohammad. He passed his youth on the banks is of the river Oxus in the city of Khwarizm (Khiva) situated in the Republic of Uzbaikistan. The prince and ruler of Khwarizm professed ardent zeal for science and arts, and encouraged scholars like Al-Biruni to study the various branches of knowledge and inspired people to travel different parts of the world. Al-Biruni, through his dedication and vast knowledge, achieved great scholarship in philosophy, religion, mathematics, chronology, medicine, and various languages and literatures. He was a man endowed with creative genius, sagacity, wisdom, sincerity, and commitment to inductive reasoning. His humour, courage, enterprise, objectivity, honesty, prodigious industry and intellectual skills were unprecedented.

Early Career

Al-Biruni was one of those prodigious minds at work in the medieval world whose creative, versatile, scientific, and international outlook, coupled with universality of thought, amaze the modern world. He was free from dogmatic conservatism as well as emotional bondages. This helped him to remain free from prejudices. He was more of a synthesizer than a dogmatic scholar, a keen observer of comparative studies par excellence. Al-Biruni's position as a scientist and scholar may be appreciated from the fact that the eleventh century has been regarded as the 'Age of Al-Biruni'. According to some historians, Al-Biruni was born on 4th September, 973 A.D. (3rd of Dhul-haj, 362 A.H.). His father and mother expired at an early age. Although a Tajik by race, he was Persian by culture. There is a strong controversy about the birth of Abu-Rayhan. It revolves round the identification, interpretation

and meaning of the word 'Biruni', a part of Abu-Rayhan's name. Is Biruni a city? Where was it situated? Or is Biruni a suburb of Khwarizm (Khiva)? Or does it denote one who was born in Khwarizm or one who lived outside the city of Khwarizm? This confusion has led some later authorities to find a logical explanation for this term. According to Samani's *Kitab-al-Ansab*, the people of Khwarizm called foreigners Beruni (Biruni) in Persian and for this reason Abu-Rayhan was called Al-Biruni. The well-known historian, Yaqut, has opined that perhaps Biruni meant one who lived outside the city or in the countryside. Except Abu-Rayhan, no other person was given this appellation which means that it was not in general use. Abu-Rayhan's stay in Khwarizm was also not short for his first 23 years were spent in that region under Al-i-Iraqi, and a further period of 8-10 years under the Ma'munids. In all he spent nearly 30 years in Khwarizm. Moreover, he was born in the suburb of Kath-a town in the region of Khwarizm. His other contemporaries like Ibn-Sina stayed for far shorter period in Khwarizm but none was ever styled Al-Biruni, even though Ibn-Sina was a Persian by origin. The use of Al-Biruni with the name of Abu-Rayhan, therefore, appears to refer to his birthplace, a town or a suburb settlement of Khwarizm. Unfortunately, Abu-Rayhan has not left behind any autobiographical account. There are some scanty references in his writings but these do not throw light on his education and early life. One may presume that he received the traditional Maktab and Madarasah education. Al-Biruni was a great scholar and possessed encyclopedic mind. He was always in search of new knowledge.

Alberuni and Different Branches of Learning :

He was a liberal and profoundly interested in science. In his age orthodox reaction had already set in and Abu-Rayhan was wary of being accused of heresy while writing *al-Hind*. Abu-Rayhan, born with a great analytical mind and keen comprehension, was irresistibly drawn to the study of mathematics. Travelling was always regarded as a part of education in Islam. But, by the 11th century, numerous rich libraries established by rulers had greatly reduced the need to travel to distant places for acquiring knowledge. However, when Abu-Rayhan wanted to study Indian sciences, he had to travel, visit, and use all the means at his disposal to

have access to the scattered sources in Western India. The most noteworthy trait in Abu-Rayhan's character was his insatiable thirst for knowledge. Like a thirsty man he returned again and again to the fountain of knowledge. Even when his life was ebbing out he would not let the scarce minutes go by uselessly. Very little is known about the family of Al-Biruni. Probably, he had no children and this partly explains his polarized devotion throughout his life. Free from the burden of parenthood he lavished almost parental love on his studies and books. He studied the Greek books through Arabic translation. He was versed in Persian, Turkish, Syriac and Sanskrit. He was familiar with the Roman language of the Byzantine Empire. He had friendly contacts with Syriac and Christian intellectuals. He was acquainted with the Arabic translation of Indian works. Subsequently, when political developments brought him into contact with the Hindus of the subcontinent, he made full use of this opportunity. He learned Sanskrit when he had already completed 45 years of age. He commanded a vocabulary of nearly 2,500 Sanskrit words. The facility with which he discusses and explains Indian doctrines shows his full command over the subject. His proficiency in Sanskrit literature is also corroborated by the fact that he was able, while delving into the nature of God, to clearly explain the foundations of the Advaita School. He distinguishes between the beliefs of the educated Hindus and the common people. It is clear from his works that he made astronomical observations in the cities of Ghazna, Kabul, Lamghan, Peshwar, and Multan. He was a witness to the Muslim conquest of the city of Nagarkot situated at the foot of the Himalayas. This city was famous for an ancient Hindu (idol) temple. Probably, he accompanied the soldiers of Mahmud, up to Mathura and Kanauj on the banks of the Jamuna and the Ganga, respectively. He died at Ghazna in the year 430 A.H. (1039). The prolific writer, Al-Biruni, has written a number of books and has dwelt upon a great variety of subjects. Among the main works of Al-Biruni include *Kitab-al-Hind*, *Al-Qanun-al-Masudi* (The Canon of King Masud), *Vestige of the Past Athar-al-Bagiya*, *Tarikhul-Hind*, *Kitab-al-Jamahir*, and *Kitab-al-Saydna*. He translated from Sanskrit into Arabic the original title of Patanjali which contains valuable information on India and China. He wrote 27 books on geography,

four each on cartography, geodesy, and climatology, and the remaining seven books on comets, meteors and surveying. Al-Biruni's academic interests and activities encompassed a wide variety of subjects, ranging from abstract theories of philosophy to the practical sciences of mathematics, geography, geology, physics, astronomy and medicine. His main field of study, however, was astronomy.

Al-Biruni's age was characterized by orthodox reaction. There were people who regarded astronomy as heresy. This prejudice was similar to people's opposition to logic on the plea that its terminology belonged to pagan Greek literature and language, although the adoption of Greek terms was mainly the fault of the translators. In much the same way, there were people who ignored geography as something without any utility, though the Holy Quran is full of episodes of travels and adventures, e.g., Prophet Abraham's journey from Ur, Moses' journey from Egypt and the hijrah of the Prophet of Islam (peace be on him).

Alberuni and India

Attracted by Indian culture, he learnt Sanskrit and studied several books concerning Hindu philosophy and culture. His curious mind and master eyes did not spare even the Puranas and the Bhagavad-Gita. He travelled far and wide and wrote a masterly account of India in his book *Tahqiq-i-Hind*. This also known as *Kitab-ul-Hind* (1017-31 A.D). In addition to it, Alberuni is also credited to have translated many Sanskrit works into Persian and Arabic. Talking of Hindu in general, Alberuni complains of their complacency and ignorance of the outside world. He even finds faults with them for their want of sympathy and communication with other peoples whom they call mlechchas. Observing the consuming arrogance of Hindus he notes, 'The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, and no science like theirs. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, he adds, 'for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generations.' According to him, India was divided into a number of kingdoms such as Kashmir, Sindh, Malwa and Kannauj. He talks of various kinds of castes and distinctions in the society. Another point of society is that early marriage was common and

women who lost their husbands were condemned to perpetual widowhood. Parents arranged marriages for their children and no gifts were settled, though the husband made a gift to his wife which became her stridhana. A further comment of Alberuni is also worth-noting. He observes that the Hindus did 'not desire that a thing which has once been polluted should be purified and thus recovered'. Thus, the above portrayal clearly shows that all was not well with India. Society as the least compact. Caste tensions were prevalent. There was no sense of cause; the disintegrating tendencies were already serious. The disorganized people of the country finally surrendered themselves to foreign invaders. Alberuni was able to observe the condition of India very minutely. He wrote what he saw here.

Al-Biruni and the Kitab-UI-Hind

Al-Biruni was born in 973, in Khwarizm in present day Uzbekistan. Khwarizm was an important centre of learning, and Al-Biruni received the best education available at the time. He was well versed in Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew and Sanskrit. In 1017, when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Khwarizm, he took several scholars and poets as hostage to his capital and Al-Biruni was one of them. In Ghazni, Al-Biruni developed an interest for India. When the Punjab became a part of the Ghaznavid Empire, Al-Biruni came to India and spent years in the company of Brahmana priests and scholars, learning Sanskrit, and studying religious and philosophical texts. He travelled widely in the Punjab and parts of northern India. He collected various information and wrote a book called *Kitab-ul-Hind*. Al-Biruni's *Kitab-ul-Hind*, written in Arabic, is simple and lucid. It is divided into 80 chapters on subjects such as religion and philosophy, festivals, astronomy, alchemy, manners and customs, social life, weights and measures, iconography, laws and metrology. Al-Biruni adopted a distinctive structure in each chapter, beginning with a question, following this up with a description based on Sanskrit traditions, and concluding the chapter with a comparison with other cultures.

Hazrat Khwaja Abul Hassan Amir Khusro (1253 A.D. to 1325 A.D.)

Amir Khusro, one of the most versatile personalities of medieval India, was born in

1253 in a place called Patiyali, Uttar Pradesh. His real name was Ab'ul Hasan Yamin al-Din Khusrow whereas Amir Khusro was his pen name. Also known as Amir Khusro Dehlavi, this creative classical poet was associated with the royal empires of more than seven rulers of Delhi. The life history of Amir Khusro is truly an inspiring one and he is considered to be one of the first recorded Indian dignitaries who are also a household name. Known for his immense contribution in literature and music, this legendary personality was born of a Turkish father and an Indian mother in a village in India. To know more about Khusro, continue to read this insightful biography on him.

Personal Life

Khusro lost his father at a young age and then moved in with his maternal grandparents. His grandfather served as an attendance master of soldiers at the royal palace of Emperor Ghayasuddin Balban. Khusro was exposed to all famous literary figures of his time when he accompanied his grandfather to the royal courts to attend the private congregations. This inspired him to take up poetry and indulge in fine arts like music. He also learnt horse riding and received training in martial arts. The famous Sufi saint Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya was his spiritual mentor.

Major Work

Amir Khusro is often acknowledged for creating Khayal of north Indian classical music known as Hindustani. He modified raga Dhrupad and added Persian tunes and beats to it. He created Qawali on the likes of bhajans. The poems he wrote were in Persian and a combination of Bhojpuri and Persian, which he called as Hindvi. Amir Khusro These poems later were developed into Hindi and Urdu. Probably Khayal originated from Qawalis that he created on the lines of Bhajans. He wrote poetry in Persian as well as what he called Hindvi--a combination of local Bhojpuri and Persian, which later evolved into Hindi and Urdu. Many of his poems are even today used in Hindustani classical as bandishes and as Ghazals by Ghazal singers. Royal Poet: Khusro was a Royal poet under Sultan Aalauddin. Aalauddin due to his righteous nature and for the moral wellness his empire banned all the intoxicants from his kingdom. **Khusro contributed in Sultan's**

chastisement movement. He took the responsibility of discipleship. Under his watch he accepted all kinds of people--people who were rich or poor, high in social status or low, nobles or beggars, educated or uneducated, fortunate or unfortunate, city people or rustics, soldiers or priests, murids, etc. Khusro helped people, equally, to live a clean life and abstain themselves from morally harmful habits. When people did commit any sin, then they could approach Khusro and confess. Khusro helped them to get back on the right track and renewed their discipleship. He started the new regime for daily prayers and everybody started following it. Whether it was a man or woman or young child, everyone started gathering together to offer daily prayers. This even included the late morning prayers. Even the high end of the society-people with money and status started attending these prayers. This lot included royal secretaries, **clerks, sepoys, slaves, etc. Because of Khusro's** praying sessions or barakah, people started concentrating on the pious things and got involved in tasawwuf or mysticism of life. Some of them even turned to renunciation or tark and got involved in devoutness. Even towards the **end of Sultan Alauddin's sovereignty nobody in** his kingdom gave into the practice of drinking liquor or gambling or taking to any indecent ways of living. Everybody lived in complete harmony and followed the goodness taught by the religion. The effects of teachings of Khusro was so strong and widespread that it is said that even the shop keeper stopped lying, cheating and under-weighting to make more profits. He even entertained the scholars from all walks of life and discussed mysticism with them. These discussions were mainly based on books on mysticism from those times like: Fawaid-ul-Fuwad, Qut-ul-Uloom, Kashif-ul-Mahjub, Awarif and Malfuzat of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia. People started to self-educate themselves after being in the company of Khusro, on topics like self-control and renunciation. Most of the people took to spiritual style of life and followed the rules and regulation of that life very strictly.

He also catered to the cause of peaceful co-existence of Hindu-Muslim in the society. He helped the cause by writing in Hindvi language, which appealed the most to young children and elderly people. He was proud of the fact that he belonged to a Hindustani nation as in one of his books called Ghurra-ul-Kamal he said that he

had written some of his books in Hindvi language because he is a Hindustani Turk and it is a tribute to his connection with Hindustan. He was also proud of his fluency in Hindvi language.

Historiographical Contribution

Amir Khosru (1253-1325 A.D) was a prominent figure among the historians of medieval India. He was famous in India as a Poet, Litterateur, Musician and Historian. He composed near about 100 books on various topics in his life. In his long life, he continued his research activities by the patronization of sultan Kaikobad, Bugara Khan, Jalal-ud-din Khalji, Ala-ud-din Khalji, Kutub-ud-din Mubarak sah Khalji and sultat Gias-uddin Tughlak. He did not write any chronological history; just he compiled some selective events of history. His six books are following: a) Kiran-as-Sadain, b) Miftah-al-Futuh, c) Khajain-al-Futuh, d) Dual rani khijir kha, e) Nuh sifihor, f) Tughlaknama. All these books are the compilation of important events of that time.

Historian Amir Khosru described the dramatic and emotional meet of Sultan Kaikobad of Delhi with his father Bengal sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Bugara khan and also he gave a clear picture of the city life of Delhi in his book 'Kiran-as-Sadain'. In Miftah-al-Futuh, he describes four military expeditions and victory of sultan Ala-ud-din khalji. In Khajain-al-futuh, he discussed the victory of sultan Ala-ud-din khalji. His another book, Dual rani khijir kha, was composed with the romantic description of the romance of sultan Khijir khan, son of sultan Ala-ud-din khalji with princess Dual rani daughter of king Koron of Nahrawala. His book, Nuh Sifihor, was composed by the description of the events related with sultan Kutub-ud-din Mubarak sah and in this book, the writer also presented a brief discussion on language, eco-geographical condition and royal court of Delhi sultanate. In his book, Tughlaknama, he described the victory of sultan Gias-ud-din Tughlak, especially the victorious events of Delhi in 1320 A.D. (*Minhaj-*

e-Siraj, Tabakat-e-Nasiri, translated and edited by Abul kalam Mohammad Jakaria, Dhaka, 1983, page-245.) He wrote eventual history based on political theme and his writings also did not follow any chronological time line and period.

The motive of Amir Khosru's writings was to maintain the request of the sultans and the royal members of Delhi sultanate to won prizes from royal kings and to be famous in his life as a scholer. In his writings, he just tried to give pleasure to the readers of history by making an interesting description and did not try to deeply analyze the historical events and purify its authenticity or he did not try to convey any kind of message in his writeups. Futuh-us-Salatin was composed by Khaja Abdul Malik Isami. In this book, the writer described the history of around three hundred and fifty years from Sultan Mahmud of Gazni till sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak of Delhi. Isami composed this book by the patronization of Bahmani ruler Ala-ud-din hasan sah of Deccan. In this book, he strictly criticized sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak of Delhi. But, this book of Isami was an excellent historical document to know successive history from sultan Mahmud of Gazni to sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak of Delhi.

Conclusion

Based on above mentioned discussion, it is to be noted that in Indian sub-continent, Muslim historians write the praiseworthy history under the patronization and supervision of the Muslim sultans even they named their books by the name of sultans. Historiography of this time is almost based on politics. Other side and sector of human society was totally absent in their writings. We see that some historians hardly include the description of society and culture in their writings. So, we come to an end that historiography of sultanate period was based on **rulers' and the activities of the royal court and royal persons and Persian-Turkish trends were also reflected through their writing.**

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE SPATIAL PLANNING OF BENGALURU CITY

Vadde Venkatesh

Introduction

Bangalore city, the capital of Karnataka is one of the fastest growing cities in India with a population growth of 3.25 percent per annum and it is expected that the city's population will touch 10 million by 2021.¹ The phenomenal growth of the city was spurred by the governmental agencies and public sector industries to begin with and later on it was led by the booming IT sector.

The city enjoys a pleasant and salubrious climate throughout the year. Its tree-lined streets, numerous parks and abundant greenery have led to it being called the 'Garden City' of India.

It has also been identified as the country's 'Silicon Valley' and it is one of the technological innovation hubs with a score of 13 out of a maximum of 16². However, with all the hype about growth in IT and IT based industries, Bangalore also houses numerous other leading commercial and educational institutions, and industries like textiles, aviation, space, biotechnology, etc. As an immediate consequence of this growth in the last decade, apart from creating a ripple effect in the local economy, there has also been great pressure on infrastructure and resources like water supply, energy, public transportation, land, etc. The local body and other parastatal agencies responsible for delivery of basic services are facing stiff challenges in catering to this demand.

The present paper aims to address the development of the urban sprawl in the Bangalore city as the macro level investigation. Since pre independence period the Bangalore has seen unprecedented growth spatially and economically leading to sprawl.

The concept and Definition:

Spatial Planning over time has been envisioned to produce a city in a particular way. The higher scales of concentration of activities,

various constituents, and people in the city, planning has also been selective in expanding the built environment and the scope for certain kinds of activities for the people in the city. In a way planning has a vision to expand the city spatially in a particular manner, and at the same time planning attempts to restrict the city growth and spatial expansion, which is perceived as 'undesirable' by the planners. In the process of expanding the city in a particular manner, planning has spawned different kinds of land developments.

The definition of an urban area is normally based upon the number of residents, population density, percent of people dependent upon non-agricultural income and provision of public utilities and services. The term 'urban' has its origin from the Roman word Urbanus; which adopted the meaning 'city dweller' in Latin. The precise definition of an urban area can vary from country to country. Some countries define an urban area as any place with a population of 2500 more while some other countries set a minimum population of 20,000 as a criterion. In general, there are no universal standards and therefore each country develops its own set of criteria for recognising urban areas. In India, an area is designated as urban if the population is more than 5000 with a population density of more than 400 persons per sq.km and at least 75 percent of the population is involved in non-agricultural occupations.

Geography of Bangalore City:

Bangalore is located at 12° 59' north latitude and 77° 57' east longitude, almost equidistant from both eastern and western coast of the South Indian peninsula and is situated at an altitude of 920 metres above mean sea level. The mean annual total rainfall is about 880 mm with about 60 rainy days in a year considering the last ten years. The summer temperature ranges from 18° C to 38° C, while the winter

temperature ranges from 12° C to 25° C. Thus, Bangalore enjoys a salubrious climate all round the year.³

History and Culture

Bangalore⁴ is the principal administrative, cultural, commercial, industrial, and knowledge capital of the state of Karnataka. Greater Bangalore⁵, an area of 741 square kilometres agglomerating the city, neighbouring municipal **councils and outgrowths, was 'notified'** (established) in December 2006.

A tiny village in the 12th century, it grew to become one of the fastest growing cities in the world by the 21st century and to figure among the million-plus (in population) cities in India⁶. Bangalore has grown spatially to more than ten times since 1949. Bangalore, in spite of the buzz around IT-based and related commercial activities, has retained much of its unique cultural ties keeping its date with its history, culture and tradition.

The earliest reference to the name, in the form *'Bengalooru'*, is seen in a ninth century Ganga inscription (hero-stone) from Begur, referring to a battle that was fought in that place. The present name of the city, Bangalore is an anglicised form of *Bengalooru*, which according to the popular belief is derived from *Bengaalu* - synonymous of *Benda kaalu* or boiled beans and *ooru* meaning a town. Tradition associates Hoysala King Vira Ballala (12th Century) with the Origin of this name. Vira Ballala, during one of his hunting expeditions in this region, lost his way and after hours of wandering reached the hut of an old woman. This woman is believed to have offered cooked beans to the king. Pleased with her hospitality, the king named the place as **'benda kaala ooru' (town of boiled beans)**. But it is interesting to note that there was already evidence for name of the place much before Hoysalas.

The real founding of modern Bangalore is attributed to Kempe Gowda, a scion of the Yelahanka line of chiefs, in 1537. Kempe Gowda is also credited with the construction of four towers along four directions from Petta, the central part of the city, to demarcate the extent of **city growth. By the 1960's the city had sprawled** beyond these boundaries. The Bangalore is said to have got its name from benga, the local Kannada language term for Pterocarpus

marsupium, a species of dry and moist deciduous tree, and ooru, meaning town⁷.

Later on, the city was administered by the Wodeyars, rulers of Mysore, until it was given as Jagir (with rights for general administration and collection of taxes) to Hyder Ali during late 18th Century. Hyder Ali and later, his son, Tippu Sultan, were responsible for the growth and development of Bangalore in a significant way with the construction of summer palace and Lalbagh. Indeed, Bangalore was already the **commercial capital during Tippu's time and the second important city after 'Srirangapatna', Tippu's capital. During the early nineteenth century, the city was known to have almost all coins in circulation from different places and kingdoms, thus evidencing a flourishing trade and commerce.** The fall of Bangalore in the Second Mysore War of 1792, may also have led to the fall of Tippu Sultan in Third Mysore War of 1799, after which Bangalore became a base for the British troops and saw the establishment of the Cantonment in 1802.

British control over Bangalore was initially established indirectly through the Maharaja of Mysore. By 1831 the administration of the city was taken over by the British, and in 1862 two independent municipal boards were established: **Bangalore City Municipality (in the older areas), and Bangalore Civil and Military Station Municipality.**

Under the rule of commissioners Bangalore reached its level higher, during their period transportation was developed in 1859 the first line was started between Bangalore to Jolarpet, Central College, Bowring hospital, Victoria hospital, Isolation hospital, Attarakacheri, Cubben park and other developments were by commissioners like Mark cubban and Bentham Bowring. In between 1831 to 1881 the city view got started change.

In 1949, the two municipalities were merged and the Bangalore City Corporation was formed. Subsequently, to keep up with the pace of growth and development, there have been reorganisations with respect to the zones and wards within the corporation, rising from 50 divisions in 1949 to 95 wards in 1980s, 100 wards in 1995 and now about 145 wards. With the 2006-07 notification, the Bangalore City

Corporation is now reorganised as Greater Bangalore City Corporation.

URBAN PLANNING IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

The first major physical expansion of Bangalore happened in the early nineteenth century. The British developed Military-Administrative District for the settlement of army personnel and its officers. This happened within the context of the colonial establishment/arrangement in agreement with the Mysore Princely State. In the beginning of the 19th century, the General Post Office was opened and the Cantonment was established nine years later in 1809. In 1831, alleging misrule by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, the British took over the administration of the Mysore Kingdom. The Madras government of the British had chosen some lands near the City of Bangalore. For the purpose the British had approached the King of Princely Mysore to occupy it. The chosen lands were **“readily granted” near Ulsoor. These lands** were occupied in 1807 by British Regiments, and barracks and other military buildings were constructed. The demands of British troops for various goods and services attracted trade and other opportunities for public and private employment.

This created a settlement adjacent to the Military Station. These settlements were subsequently termed as a Civil Station and Military Station for administrative purposes. The people of the Civil Station were the subjects of Mysore Government and paid taxes; and their disputes, civil and criminal were adjudicated upon by tribunals set up by that Government. This arrangement remained intact until the whole area was given to the control of the British in 1881 saw the building of AttaraKacheri.⁸

Extensions and Planning:

In ‘real’ terms the expanded space was set up as an independent unit though it was in some ways connected to Bangalore Town by sheer physical proximity. This implanted town state was termed as Civil and Military Station. This marks the first expansion through a kind of an **“invasion”/“acquisition”**. **Ulsoor which was a village on the eastern outskirts of Bangalore Town became the first expansion.** The British had sought a healthier environment for its troops

which were stationed at Seringapatam after the defeat and death of Tippu Sultan.

The second major expansion was taken up in the 1890s. This expansion included the development of *extensions*, to the city. Many extensions were laid for the first time- Richmond Town, Cleveland Town (Civil and Military Station- Eastern Part) and Chamarajpet (City Area- Western Part). These were the earliest of extensions. The exigencies of plague led to decongestion of the city to settle population in these extensions.⁹ These extensions were laid out in the eastern and western parts of the city. Bangalore City, and Civil and Military Station saw the expansion. These extensions happened through governmental acquisition of land for the extensions and formed the first palliative measure for the relief of the residents of the city.

In 1890s, a number of extensions were laid out in the City by the Government or the Municipal authorities. The third kind of spatial expansion happened for the **‘middle income groups’ settlement. A number of suburbs, known as extensions in the city and ‘Town’ in the C & M Station**, were laid out for the benefit of middle income groups. Basavanagudi, Malleswaram, Shankarapuram, Visveswarapuram and other extensions were formed in the City Area, while in the C & M Station, Frazer Town, Tasker Town, Cox Town, Mc. Iver Town, etc., served the same object. During this period there was a consistent, though gradual, expansion of the city due to the increasing number of extensions in the City area. In the City area, residential extensions were created for the Princely Mysore bureaucracy.

Bangalore City Corporation, the City Improvement Trust Board, and the public agencies were legally entrusted with the responsibility to expand and improve the city. Apart from the maintenance and improvements, these agencies took great interest in expanding the city by forming layouts. There was also an emerging trend, significantly, of private layout residential formations beyond the purview of legality.¹⁰

City Growth and Development:

The spatial spread of the City during 1901 and 1951 remained the same at 25.41 square miles, whereas the population had increased from 1,58,976 to 7,78,977 lakhs (a 400% increase).¹¹ the need of a rapidly growing

population, planners felt that sizeable parts of Bangalore were the product of planned development taken up by Government or the Municipal authorities and much later by the City Improvement Trust Board from 1890 onwards.

Planners co-opted the previous institutions at work in producing space. City Improvement Trust Board (CITB) and the Civil Station Municipality and City Municipality combined into Corporation of the City of Bangalore in 1949 to maintain, improve and expand the city. City Improvement Committees were set up to take up tasks of improvement in the City. Act V of 1945 was passed to constitute Board of Trustees were entrusted with special powers for the improvement and future expansion of the City of Bangalore.

According to the Report of the Bangalore Development Committee 1954 (BDC 1954), Bangalore City was facing problems due to the **preceding decade's growth (1930s-40s)**. The city, which had only capacity to accommodate four lakhs population, had to put up with a population of a million, which In 1960-61 there were 29 layouts to be regularized with plans and estimates of regularization charges, which were ready, but there were many more private and unauthorized layouts which were to be brought **within the purview of Corporation's plans**.¹² All those lay-outs were regularized. Three more unauthorized/private layouts were also regularized. They were - Narayanaswamy Gowda and Krishnappa Layouts, 15th Cross, Malleswaram, Thyagarajanagar, and Mariyappanapalya, Old Kempapura Agrahara - which yielded 170, 1,120, and 213 sites respectively.¹³ Totally 10 more unauthorised layouts were identified and added to the **preceding years' 29 unauthorised layouts** which finally tallied up to 39 unauthorized/private layouts- out of which 22 unauthorised layouts were approved by the Corporation for regularization.¹⁴

The Regularization of private layouts was planned within the CITB limits which were in different stages of implementation. By 1962-63, the total of 39 private layouts/revenue pockets / unauthorised layouts identified for regularization remained static and the approved unauthorised layouts by the Corporation too remained static at 22.¹⁵ There was also a proposal to buy 300 sites and multi-storeyed buildings from the City

Improvement Trust Board for 're-housing' slums.

¹⁶ The Corporation area of the Bangalore City was in the process of expansion. Maruthi Sevanagar, Jayabharathinagar, Thomas Town **and North Road area, Pillanna's Garden behind Civil area Slaughter House, Kadiranapalya, Binnamangala Villages, Gayathrinagar and Prakashnagar** were included in the Corporation limits.¹⁷

Bangalore City Corporation started to expand drastically during the year 1963- 64. Thirty-four villages were added by the Government into the Corporation area.¹⁸ A place known as Agrahara Tank bed was also used up for residential purposes.¹⁹ The Corporation boundary expanded from 27 square miles to 46.5 square miles. The City boundaries expanded 72.22%. The merged Bangalore City Corporation in 1949 had 50 divisions; with this expansion of the City, it increased to 63 divisions.²⁰

In 1967 a notification was issued by the government to determine the land use within the Planning area and in the same year government constituted the Bangalore Planning Authority (BPA) for the BCPA. BPA authority structure was constituted with memberships from- individuals of village institutions, members belonging to democratic institutions and associations and eminent leaders of city.

The new planning authority, BPA, replaced Bangalore Metropolitan Board. Bangalore Metropolitan Board had already prepared the Outline Development Plan (ODP) for the city of Bangalore, but the new planning authority declared its intent to prepare ODP only in 1967. ODP was to be operational in both the City Area and the BCPA which was 193 sq miles. ODP was approved and promulgated in 1972.²¹

The Report on the Comprehensive Development Plan of Bangalore (1976) (RCDP) indicates the first systematic attempt to create **divided planning entities known as "Planning District"** to structure the city accordingly. It was termed as **"Comprehensive Development Plan"**, and it laid down the approach for the **'development and improvement' of the whole local planning area of Bangalore City** in a regulated fashion. This meant that the **planning units were to be brought under 'zoning regulations' of land use; patterned transportation**

network for traffic circulation; spaces for parks, playgrounds, other recreational uses, agriculture, public and open spaces, public buildings and institutions and for all other civic developments; improvement of major roads; areas earmarked for housing, and land areas to be reserved for the future developments to be taken up in different phases.²²

The Second priority of planners concern was industry and industrialization. Bangalore had developed into an industrial city. There were eight industrial areas- Jalahalli, Old Madras Road, Whitefield Road, Rajajinagar and Yeshwanthapur, Mill area, Mysore Road, Hosur Road, and Kanakapura Road and along other Highways too.

Mainly Karnataka Industrial Areas Development Board (KIADB) and private industrialists were involved in the industrial development activities. It was felt necessary to set up industries in all directions of Bangalore city to create work centres wherever they were scarce. For future location of industries, **Bangalore's southern area having state highways- Kanakapura Road and Bannerghatta Road -were identified.** And the Private commercial developments existed in the all parts of the City. The government was promoting organized commercial centres by allocating more lands in the district particularly as district **commercial centre' was to be set up near Voddarapalya** as part of Thavarekere-Madivala Scheme, and as part of Ideal Housing Scheme area, and a strip of commercial development was planned along Bangalore- Tumkur Road near Dasarahalli village. Similarly areas were allocated for small-scale commercial developments in the district.

On the industrial front, mostly the developments were for private industrial developments, except a few large scale public sector units such as Indian Telephone 166 Industries (ITI) and New Government Electrical Factory (NGEF). Many industrial units existed along Hosur Road and Bannerghatta Road and more lands were allocated for further expansion along these routes. In the city some other industrial units existed along Bangalore-Mysore State Highway and more lands were allocated along the same road, and lands were allocated along the Vrushabhavathi valley for the development of medium scale industries.

Planning at this stage, to create recreation centres in the city- parks, playgrounds, etc., existing water bodies and spaces around that were used to develop them and another way to create such spaces was by allocating lands separately. Regarding the public and semi-public spaces, greater area of land was allocated for Bangalore University. And in all other places to some extent was reserved for offices, educational institutions, etc. Given the nature of residential and industrial expansions the allocation of space for transportation in the districts was considerable.

THE EXPANDABLE CITY

Various factors have contributed to the urbanization of Bangalore city and its resultant expansion. Moreover, urban planning has not been merely a response to the urbanization process. In the city there was a mixture of residential land developments- In the city there were older planned layouts viz., Pottery Town and Benson Town, **CITB's planned layouts viz., Jayamahall Extension and Gangenahalli Extension,** and industrial and institutional planned layouts viz., Hindustan Machine Tools Colony, University of Agricultural Science Colony, State Bank Colony, etc. Private housing colonies which were both planned and unplanned too the residential developments followed the pattern of a mixture of old planned layouts viz., Richards Town, Cooke Town, and St. Thomas Town, with the new CITB planned layouts viz., Jayabharathinagar, Maruthinagar and other CITB planned residential extensions- viz., Jayamahall extension and Indiranagar. New planned layouts viz., N.A.L Colony, Jeevan Bheema Nagar, H.A.L. Colony, N.R. colony, Thyagaraja Nagar and Yediyur were old planned residential areas whereas Banashankari II and III were newly developing layouts.

The old areas of the city viz., Austin Town, Gowthamnagar and the new planned layouts viz., Koramangala layout, part of Indiranagar, the most of the residential planned layouts were old ones viz., Shankarapuram, Basavanagudi, Gavipura Extension, Hanumanthanagar, etc.,

In Rajajinagar the Industrial Estate was the oldest industrial area, hospitals, technical educational institutions, parks, burial ground, railway lines, etc. A new predominantly industrial district with its residential suburb. Peenya

industrial estate, the biggest of industrial estate in Bangalore, was part of the district. CITB had already formed residential layouts in the area- Mahalakshmi Layout, West Chord Road Extension, etc. New residential layouts created by house-building cooperatives, CITB layouts, railway lines, a cinema theatre, a large scale industry- Bharat Electronics Limited (public sector unit), technical educational institution, the Agricultural University, cottage and small scale industries, a research institution-Indian Institute of Science, market yard, defence land & its residential colonies, and a water body.

The Central Business District and the oldest part of Bangalore City. Cottonpet, Akkipet, Chamarajapet, Cubbonpet, K.R. Market, Gandhinagar, etc., are its parts. This part of city has important public buildings, government buildings, Central Jail, Maharani's College, Victoria Hospital, Minto Hospital, Medical College, KSRTC bus stand, City Railway Station, many cinema halls, handloom industry, etc., the contiguous to the oldest part of Bangalore's Central Business District, have Malleswaram layout formed in the last decade of the 19th century and Seshadripuram, Guttahalli, Palace area, Vyalikaval etc., formed in the early part of the 20th century. Similarly its adjacent areas Srirampuram, Oakalipuram, Kumara park Extension, Rajajinagar, etc., are also developed.

Planning Approach

Bangalore city has a planning history spanning more than fifty years. The first step towards planning for development of Bangalore city was initiated with the Outline Development Plan prepared by the Bangalore Development Committee in 1952. The city's planning got statutory backing in 1961 when KTCP Act, 1961 was enacted. The Bangalore Development Authority (BDA) is entrusted with the task of preparing a Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) as per the KTCP Act.

It is in the context of increasing emphasis on urban governance and stakeholder participation that the Master Plan-2015 for Bangalore city was published in June 2007. The Bangalore Development Authority (BDA) is the local planning authority entrusted with the task of preparing the Master Plan (MP) for Bangalore city and its environs as per the Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act, 1961 (KTCP Act,

1961). The KTCP Act requires that the MP be revised at least once in every 10 years. **Consequently, the BDA's mandate was to revise** the Revised Master Plan (1995), earlier called the Revised Comprehensive Development Plan of 1995. The Master Plan - 2015 covers a Local Planning Area of 1307 sq km and consists of 387 villages, 7 City Municipal Councils (CMCs) and 1 Town Municipal Council (TMC).

Vislon of Planning: The first systematic and comprehensive attempt to plan Bangalore City can be found in the *Report of the Bangalore Development Committee (1954)* document. In the post-Independence period, the Indian State **initiated broad based 'Planned Development'** for the growth and development of the economy and society. In that context, planning was considered as an essential instrument for **'development' in all spheres and at various levels.** Urban planning as an approach to solve the problems faced by the city was yet to be **conceived. Taking note of the 'haphazard'** growth of cities in America and Britain due to migration of rural population to urban areas and **the growth of the cities into 'unmanageable'** proportions, the report argued for **'comprehensive master plans'.²³**

Underlying all the spatial developments was the conception of *zoning*, BDC's (1954) **idea of incipient classification of various spatial developments into "zones"**- Residential, Industrial, Administrative, Commercial, Open Spaces and Recreational facilities, etc., to segregate various kinds of activities or enterprises, and also to examine which kinds of activities could coexist.

The approved Outline Development Plan (1972) by the Government increased and fixed **the "compact area" of the city from 79 sq. miles to 102 sq. miles.²⁴** By widening the boundaries of the city growth within the context of urbanization of contiguous surroundings of Bangalore city, the plan was characterizing *Bangalore as a Metropolis*, in a way widening the scope for the growth of the City and at the same time linking the city with various places seeking various vantage points, though this was not elaborated. Metropolitan Region was extended up to 193 square miles. It added 43 square miles to the previous 150 miles boundary drawn for Greater Bangalore. During the plan period, much larger spatial view of the Bangalore city which

could be expandable came into view with the announcement by the Government of Karnataka in 1965 of notified Local Planning Area or Bangalore City Planning Area consisting of 218 villages. During the same year the planning legislation 'Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act, 1961(KTCP) too came into effect, thus ODP was to adhere to the planning law. **This kind of planning would finally 'promote general standards of living in the areas'.**

The Metropolitan region

Bangalore city had already gained the character of an urban complex, and a space for national production of various goods and services. In that context, creation of land uses had also meant the creation of residential layouts, industrial areas, and provision of civic amenities and infrastructure. To a greater extent, Bangalore City was imagined to be an Industrial labour community for which the City was to be designed. Different spatial units were to be organized interdependently.

Bangalore Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (BMRDA) is the statutory body entrusted with the preparation of structure plan for the Bangalore Metropolitan Region and the master plan has to be prepared for Bangalore within the framework of the structure plan. Bruhut Bangalore Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) is one of the biggest stakeholders as it is responsible for the implementation of a major part of the MP and is also responsible for formulation of CDP under JNNURM. Bangalore Electricity Supply Company (BESCOM), Bangalore Metropolitan Land Transport Authority (BMLTA), Bangalore Metropolitan Transport Corporation(BMTC), Bangalore Water Supply and Sewage Board (BWSSB), Central Public Health and Environmental Engineering Organization (CPHEEO), Karnataka Power Transmission Corporation Limited (KTCPL),Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation(KSRTC), Bangalore Metro, South Western Railway, Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited(BSNL) are also key stakeholders who provide the necessary infrastructure and utilities in Bangalore. Karnataka Housing Board (KHB), Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB) and Karnataka State Pollution Control Board (KSPCB) are the government agencies involved in various aspects of urban management in the city of Bangalore. A number of private bodies are

involved in the various aspects of the urban development of Bangalore city especially in the infrastructure and housing sectors and they play a vital role in the economic growth of the city. The vibrant private sector also forms an **important stakeholder in the city's development.**

The Plan imagined a self-sufficient community within the given areas and Industrial suburbs known as neighbourhoods or extensions. To contain the strains of increasing scales of concentration of activities in the City - the expanding industrial, administrative, military activities, etc., - a **"policy of decentralization"** was suggested to establish new units of industry, administrative units, etc., in other centres. The Report delimited the Bangalore Metropolitan Region.

Obviously, the plan must take into consideration not only the City of Bangalore but also some of the urban and rural areas surrounding it on account of the socio-economic reactions between them. According to one view, this territory may extend as far as Doddaballapur in the north, Kolar on the east, Channapatna on the south and Tumkur to the west. But practical considerations of time and other factors make it necessary to confine our attention to a much smaller area. And we have accordingly decided to include with the Region only the City of Bangalore and such other areas adjoining the **city as the Government have so far notified...** The Metropolitan Region as so defined covers an area of 193 square miles and extends to a distance of 5 miles from the Corporation Boundary.²⁵

The metropolitan region was to consist of spatial jurisdiction of the City of Bangalore Municipal Corporation, areas formed by CITB, Municipal Councils, Bangalore South and North Taluk Boards, and H.A.L. Sanitary Board, which were to be under the planning authority later. The Plan for Bangalore was conceived in three phases.

For the future expansion of the City, the BDC classified the City into two broader administrative planning divisions- **"The area of the Bangalore City Corporation would be approximately 40 sq. miles and that of the Trust Board (i.e., Greater Bangalore) about 150 sq. miles."**²⁶

Two Main Development Bodies of Bangalore City

Bangalore Development Authority (BDA)

The Bangalore Development Authority (BDA) came into being with effect from 6th January 1976 under a separate Act of the State Legislature viz. the BDA Act 1976. This Authority combined in itself the Planning functions of the City Planning Authority and the developmental functions of the erstwhile CITB.

BBMP (Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike) After Indian independence, the two Municipal Boards were merged to form the Corporation of the City of Bangalore in 1949. The name of the council changed — first to Bangalore City Corporation (BCC) and then to Bangalore Mahanagara Palike (BMP). In April 2007 renamed 'Bruhat Bangalore Mahanagara Palike'(Greater Bangalore Municipal Corporation).

Bangalore Metro Rail Corporation Limited

Bengaluru Metro is a rapid transit system serving the city, the Construction work for Phase 1 of the project was scheduled to start in 2005. The section opened to the public on 20 October 2011. Bangalore Metro Rail Corporation Limited (BMRC), a joint venture of Government of India and Government of Karnataka is a Special Purpose Vehicle entrusted with the responsibility of implementation of Bangalore Metro Rail Project.

Bangalore Metro, christened as "Namma Metro", not only adds to the beauty of Bangalore skyline, but immensely adds to the comfort level of travel. Besides this, Namma Metro is a major environment friendly addition to the Bangalore City as it significantly contribute to the reduction of carbon emissions. The project has an East-West corridor - 18.10 km long, starting from Baiyappanahalli in the East and terminating at Mysore Road terminal in the West and a 24.20 km North-South corridor commencing at Nagasandra in the North and terminating at Puttenahalli in the South. This is the First Metro rail project in India commissioned with 750V DC

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2. Bangalore City Corporation 1954.
3. Sathpal Pulliani (Ed) 2005, *The Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act, 1961, Notification* No. PLM 42
4. MNP 65, dated 1-11-1965, Karnataka law journal publications, Bangalore, pp. 118, & 121-122.
4. Administration Report, Corporation of the City of Bangalore, 1960-61.

Third Rail on Standard Gauge. The metro network consists of two colour-coded lines, with a total length of 42.3 kilometres serving 40 stations. The system has a mix of underground, street level, and elevated stations using standard-gauge tracks. The metro has an average daily ridership of 400,000 passengers. By 2023, the system is expected to complete its phase 2 network and provide connectivity to the city's important tech hubs of Electronic City and Whitefield.

Conclusion

All these measures were to organize the whole developed and developing areas of Bangalore city into different zones for development- 'residential', 'commercial', 'industrial', 'public and semi-public', 'parks and playgrounds' and 'agricultural zone'. Planners conceived and divided the city into many districts for the development and expansion of Bangalore city in an orderly manner. Now Bangalore is home to numerous institutes of higher learning and research, which is evident from the establishment of premier centres like Indian Institute of Science (IISc), Indian Institute of Management (IIM), Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Indian Institute of Information Technology (IIIT), National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Tata Institute for Fundamental Research (TIFR), Jawaharlal Nehru Centre for Advanced Scientific Research (JNCASR), Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), National Aerospace Laboratories (NAL), Central Power Research Institute (CPRI), Central Manufacturing Technology Institute (CMTI), various research centres of Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), and several professional engineering and medical colleges at undergraduate and graduate levels. In tune with recent trends, Bangalore now has numerous malls and multiplexes that are swarmed during weekends. With an active nightlife and Bangaloreans penchant for fast-food, a large number of restaurants, pubs and 'eat-outs' throng the city.

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End Notes

1. BDA
2. Almost on par with San Francisco (USA), while Silicon Valley (USA) is number 1 with a score of 16.
3. BDA
4. The name, Bangalore has been proposed for **renaming to 'Bengalooru' by the State government** following suit of Bombay to Mumbai, Madras to Chennai and Calcutta to Kolkata. However, **'Bangalore' will be used all through**.
5. The Urban Development Department, Government of Karnataka has issued gazette notification vide No. UDD/92/MNY/2006, dated 2.11.2006 for constituting the Bruhat Bangalore Mahanagara Palike (Greater Bangalore City Corporation) merging the existing area of Bangalore City Corporation, 8 Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and 111 Villages of Bangalore Urban District.
6. Bangalore is the fifth largest metropolis in India currently with a population of about 7 million.
7. Suryanath U Kamath **Karnataka state gazetteer: Bangalore district**, 1990.
8. Report of the Bangalore Development Committee 1954: 4-5
9. The Outline Development Plan for the Bangalore Metropolitan Region, 1963, p. 2
10. Kothandaramapuram, Swimming Pool Extension, Journalist Colony, and Kalasipalyam New layout were the few residential layouts formed by the Bangalore City Corporation.
11. Subsumed areas were Benson Town, Cleveland Town, Richmond Town, Binny Mills, Chamarajpet, Seshadripuram, Basavangudi, Malleswaram, Fraser Town, Sankarapura, Indian Institute of Science, Gavipuram, Srirampuram, Visveswarapuram, Minerva Mills, Austin Town, Cox Town, Tasker Town, Guttahalli, Kalasipalyam, Cooke Town, Richards Town, Gandhinagar, Government Electric Factory, Kumara Park, Narasimha Colony, HAL Sanitary Board, HAL Township, Wilson Garden Extension, Jayanagar, Sunkenahalli Extension, Vyalikaval Extension, ITI Notified Area, Jayamahall Extension-villas, and Rajajinagar
12. Administration Report, Corporation of the City of Bangalore, 1960-61, p. 48
13. Administration Report, Corporation of the City of Bangalore, 1960-61, pp. 175-76.
14. Administration Report, Corporation of the City of Bangalore, 1961-62, p. x
15. Administration Report, Corporation of the City of Bangalore, 1962-63, p. 169.
16. Ibid, p. 169
17. Ibid, p. 58
18. Ibid, p. ii
19. Ibid, p. vi
20. From the point of view of Bangalore City Corporation, inclusion of new areas into the City fold meant the **classification of areas into 'undeveloped' or 'under-developed' areas that needed attention concerning the civic services and infrastructure** (Administration Report, Corporation of the City of Bangalore, 1964-65, p. ii).
21. Subbanna v State of Karnataka and Others, Writ Petition No.12200/1987, The High Court of Karnataka/Karnataka Law Journal, [1996(5)], pp. 195-196; The Report of the Outline Development Plan 1963, p. iv; and Bangalore Planning Authority, 1968, pp. 1-2.
22. RCDP 1976, p. iii.
23. Report of the Bangalore Development Committee (1954)
24. Outline Development Plan (Approved by the Government of Karnataka) 1972, p. iv.
25. BDC 1954, pp. iv
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LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF PUDHUVAI SIVAM

R. Velmurugan

INTRODUCTION

The western education and its political ideology brought a general awakening in Pondicherry. The development of social and the intellectual movement has unparalleled credit to the leaders in Pondicherry. Poet Sivaprakasam, popularly known as Pudhuvai Sivam is one among the leaders in Pondicherry. Such a man of eminence has inspired many Tamil people in this territory. He is a contemporary of twentieth century Tamil poets Subramaniya Bharathi and Bharathidasan. The growth of his talents of equality liberty and fraternity in his poetical works is a major contribution to the growth of Tamil literature in Pondicherry. He also rendered service to the growth of Tamil culture in Pondicherry. He is an unstinted admiration for his poetry and political courage.¹ A review of literature is a pre-requirement to identify the research works already undertaken in the area of study to understand the different dimensions of various scholars in this field. The research reveals in the available sources to bring out new dimensions of life and contribution of Pudhuvai Sivam. This research paper is to highlight the life and achievement of Pudhuvai Sivam an ideal man and social reformer in Puducherry.

EARLY LIFE

Pudhuvai Sivam was born on 23 October 1908 at Muthialpet in Pondicherry. He is the first son of Shanmuga Velayutham and Visalatchiammal. Nadasabapathi, is his younger brother. Pudhuvai Sivam began his education in thinnai school. He studied French and Tamil in government school. He had his primary education from 1914-1924. He was well-versed in his mother tongue Tamil.² After passing 'Brevet' he served as a Tamil Teacher. He was inspired by the poems of Mahakavi Subramania Bharathi. His revolutionary spirit took up arms against the alien French rule. His grandfather, Talava Veerasamy Naicker was a Land Lord of Sancheevarayampet in Pondicherry. Pudhuvai Sivam had been involved in agriculture even in his youth. His father died when he was twenty-year-a old in 1928.³ After the demise of his father he continued in

agriculture work and worked at in the textile loom at Muthialpet.

In 1926, the Magazine "Kudiyarasu" was published at Muthialpet by E.V.R. Periyar. The authors of the magazine were Janaka Sankara Kannappar, and Chidambaram. On this occasion, Pudhuvai Sivam impressed E.V.R. Periyar with his rationality and ideas of eradicating superstition in the society. E.V.R. Periyar appreciated him on this event. Then, **Pudhuvai Sivam began to carry out Periyar's** ideas of self-respect movement in Pondicherry. He organised a **Labourer's Reform Conference** in 1930. He highlighted the problems of cotton mill workers of Pondicherry.⁴ They demanded eight hours of work and right to form unions. Sivapragasam motivated and constantly encouraged the workers through his inspiring and vibrant songs and writings.⁵

Poet, Pudhuvai Sivam ran a publication of the journal "Pudhuvai Murasu" in coordination with poet Bharathidasan in the year 1930. He was the managing editor of the Journal. He wrote various articles and editorials in "Puduvai Murasu". These articles were against the British supremacy. The Journal was banned in British India. In 1932, he was imprisoned by the French Colonial Government for his publications. He was fined five hundred Francs and six-month conviction. He continued to fight against French rule ever after his arrest. He supported the **agitation of the mill workers in 'Savana Mill' in 1936.**⁶ Through his pamphlets and poems, he supported the labourers agitation. He kindled the spirit of freedom in his poems and articles published against the French rule. Pudhuvai Sivam was married to Jagadambal, daughter of Nataraja Pillai from Kottakuppam on September 15, 1940 at the age of 32. This reformed marriage took place under the leadership of Bharathidasan. They had five children namely Ponmani, Poongodi, Madhizhayagam, Ilavazhagi and Ilango. He involved himself in respect and Dravidan Movement through his literary contribution to Tamil poetry in a proper manner to the external world.⁷ Pudhuvai Sivam taught Tamil in school for twenty five years from 1940 to 1965.

CONTRIBUTION TO TAMIL LANGUAGE

Pudhuvai Sivam's contribution to Tamil language and literature is immense. He taught Tamil language and speech training freely to the Tamil society system. In Pondicherry, 'brevet' was the curriculum of French education. Those who were successful in this 'brevet' examination became teachers in the Government school. Sivam organised the Tamil classes in his residence and conducted 'brevet test' periodically. He also taught French and maths subjects. He treated all of them who joined as teachers as equals.⁸

His fifty collections of Tamil songs and poems and ten plays created equality in the society. The poems also narrated the Liberation of Women, the ideology of socialism, rights of workers, self respect movement. Dravidian ideology, Labour problems and widow's marriage. He organized anti-Hindi agitations. His collections of poems such as 'Marumalarchi Kavithaigal', 'Marakkudi Magalir', 'Kaimmai Verutha Kanigal', and 'Thamizhar Thanmathippu Padalgal' spoke for the emancipation of women and the development of Tamil language. His lyrics greatly contributed to Tamil music and drama. His plays were staged in 1930. His plays were performed in Pondicherry, Tamil Nadu, and Malaysia. His plays 'Kokilarani', 'Sithaintha Vazhvu' and 'Samuga Sevai' were published in the form of books. Eventhough, he was not financially sound, he started a publishing house of his own.⁹ He published books through his own 'Gnayiru Publication' for the development of Tamil language. Poet Pudhuvai Sivam also published journals and magazines like 'Puduvai Mursu', 'Kavithai Mandalam', 'Thozhilalar Mithran', 'Gnayiru Sudaroli', 'Porwal', etc. The works of several writers like Periyar, Anna and Bharathidasan were also published.

In 1940, literary movement was established in Pondicherry by Pudhuvai Sivam Bharathidasan as its leader and Siva Prakasam as Secretary.¹⁰ This movement discussed the importance of the self-respect through their scientific and rational approach in their literary works and agitation. Freedom cannot achieve until they free themselves from the caste discrimination, inequality, superstition and religion. He brought out the racial discrimination and contradiction between the Tamil and Aryans.

AS A SOCIAL REFORMER

The Tamil society got ruined by superstitious beliefs and practices. His motive was the upliftment of the society by his writings. He preached for an undivided humanity and advocated for a literate India. He thought that the problems of Women in India could be resolved by their emancipation through proper education. His thought-provoking ideas on women's rights advocated inter-caste marriage and widow re-marriage. He was dead against child marriage. He wrote poems on these themes. He himself arranged and performed reformatory marriages of which most were widow re-marriages. He fought against the caste system.¹¹ He took it as a challenge to bring out a caste free socialist society. His thoughts and actions bring out aimed at the eradication of superstitions of the society. He also fought for poverty-free society. His dream of a society was completely free from the barbarous and inhuman atrocities of religion. His writings on social reform, rationalism, socialism, women's liberation and labour welfare. He condemned method of marriage ride of religious rituals. Pudhuvai Sivam lands the love marriage in his song. He expresses that love marriages lead to mutual love in married life. He attacked on supersititions religions and inequality.¹² Sivam's poems, essays, songs and plays proved to be the off springs of his progressive thoughts.¹³

SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

Poet Pudhuvai Sivam respected all sections of the society. Self-respect and Dravidian movements were led under his leadership in Pondicherry. Poet Pudhuvai Sivam joined hands with his contemporaries like poet Bharathidasan. In Pudhuvai Sivam passed in the 'brevet' examination, but he did not join the government school. He worked as a Tamil teacher in a private school of Societe Progressite. He continued to work in a school upto 1934 with a low salary. The self-respect movement was spread in Pondicherry through Periyar ideology.¹⁴ In 1965, the Self-respect movement headed by Periyar attracted a great social reformer, Sivam. This Dravidian movement made use of visual arts for their propaganda. The drama was a very powerful medium of the movement. The dravidian ideas reached the common people. Arignar Anna and Kalaingnar Karunanidhi also wrote plays of the same kind to spread

rationalistic ideologies.¹⁵ Pudhuvai Sivam policies of self-respect movement were abolition of caste system, superstition, rationalism, self-respect, equality, anti-colonial, anti-slavery, upliftment of Tamil and solidarity of the Tamils. His poems express the socio-political objectives of the self-respect movement in Tamil Nadu. They need for political independence of Dravida Nadu which was the slogan of the Dravidian movement.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Poet Pudhuvai Sivam kindled the spirit of freedom in the hearts of the people through his poems and articles. **Publication of 'Tamil Musical Songs' supported the agenda of DMK to participate in public election and form liberation front to organise struggle for merger of Pondicherry with independent India.** He was an ardent supporter of Annadurai from DK and started DMK in Pondicherry and became the Chief organizer in 1949.¹⁶ Pudhuvai Sivam was campaigning for Puducherry to join the Indian Union. DMK leaders from Tamil Nadu invited him to speak and support of French India freedom struggle. He met Anna in Chennai and he explained political situation in Pondicherry. Then Anna promised to support DMK in Tamil Nadu for the French India freedom struggle. Later, Pudhuvai Sivam was very actively involved in the French India freedom struggle. He led the freedom struggle in Pondicherry along with Thiru. R.L.Purushothaman Reddiar of Irulansanthai, Thiru. S.R. Subhramanian, and Thiru. V. Subbiah.¹⁷ He played a major and significant role in the convergence of Pondicherry with the Indian Union.

POLITICAL LIFE

Poet Pudhuvai Sivam was a close Associate of Bharathidasan, Thanthai periyar, and Arignar Anna who emerged in Tamil Nadu as political leaders. In 1944, the Dravidar Kazhagam was established at Salem conference. It was organised by the Justice Party. The same party was started in Pondicherry in 1945. Advocate S. Perumal was elected the Chairman and Pudhuvai Sivam was elected the Secretary. Pudhuvai Sivam organised a public meeting on behalf of Dravidar Kazhagam. It was opened in every villages of Pondicherry. He invited leaders from the Madras to spread their policies and ideologies of the Dravidar Kazhagam.¹⁸ In 1949,

Annadurai and his supporters away from **'Dravidar Kazhagam' and he started Dravidar Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu.** Pudhuvai Sivam, became the founder of the Dravidar Munnetra Kazhagam in Pondicherry. Anna was the Chief of organised of DMK in Pondicherry. He was the main advisory member of the DMK, and he became a member of DMK general body in Tamil Nadu. He formulated the policies, regulations, and operational mechanisms of DMK. In 1954, DMK was registered as a political party in Pondicherry. Poet Pudhuvai Sivam involved in full time politics in Pondicherry, and he organised DMK state conferences.¹⁹ He was responsible for the spread of DMK Party in Pondicherry. He was a hard-core politician. In 1964, he lost the assembly election the Kasukadai constituency. Then, he was elected Deputy Mayor of the Pondicherry Municipality in 1968. In 1969, he was elected a Member of Rajya Sabha in the parliament (1969-1975), when DMK Party ruled in Pondicherry.²⁰

He delivered first Tamil speech in Indian parliament voicing the problems and grievances of Pondicherry in the Rajya Sabha. During his tenure, he placed several demands for the Welfare of Pondicherry i.e., State finance, separate train facilities to Chennai through Cuddalore, Pondicherry and Marakkanam, fulfilling the reasonable demands of freedom fighters of Pondicherry, the identify of Pondicherry, statehood for Pondicherry, procuring the rights of French citizens of Pondicherry, postal stamp for his mentor poet Bharathidasan, and expansion of urban area in Pondicherry and so on.²¹

These problems were brought to notice in the parliament by Pudhuvai Sivam. A poet and social worker at heart, Pudhuvai Sivam was one of the leading contemporaries of social and political leaders of Pondicherry, like E. Goubert, R.L. Purushothaman Reddiar, Venkata Subba Reddiar, V. Subbiah, and Ansari P. Duraisamy, and he was very successful as an honest politician in Pondicherry.²²

Pudhuvai Sivam organized Tamil literary as well as service organization. He formed various literary and social organizations. In 1983, Tamil Nadu Government conferred Paventhar Bharathidasan Award with golden shield.

Pudhuvai Sivam, multi-faceted personality, marked a great difference as a teacher, poet, writer, dramatist, editor, journalist, social reformer, freedom fighter, and politician. Above all, he became a renowned personality with clean hands in Public Life. The Tamil poet Pudhuvai Sivam passed away on August 31, 1989 at the Government General Hospital in Pondicherry at the age of eighty two.

The Government of Pondicherry has been celebrating his birthday as a Government function. His poems and plays are published by the Government of Pondicherry through the Department of Art and Culture. In 1993, a literary association in the name of Pudhuvai Sivam foundation was established to honour Tamil

writers in Pondicherry. In 1997, Art and Culture Department of Pondicherry published the collected poems of Pudhuvai Sivam.²³

CONCLUSION

Pudhuvai Sivam was the first of **Bharathidasan's disciples and he has always** been recognized as a hero of Self-respect Movement in Pondicherry, Pudhuvai and as the father of the Dravidian resurgence. The Tamil society in Puducherry is greatly incepted to the social and political reformations of an ardent writer, whose dexterous, vibrant and untiring efforts would always be remembered in the socio-political history of the Union Territory of Puducherry.

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'REDEFINING THE DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE WITH REFERENCE TO KORAGAS OF KASARAGOD, A PRIMITIVE VULNERABLE TRIBAL GROUP'

Dr. K. Vijaya Kumari

Introduction

Tribal communities are at different stages of economic development. Tribes in India have been socially oppressed, culturally subjugated and politically marginalized for centuries and forced to lead a way of life in which dignity and self-respect and individual freedom denied. They

experience oppressed exploitation, isolation and negation for long centuries.

Caste system considered innumerable aborigines as depressed and downtrodden classes. Francis Day wrote that an Ezhava must keep 36 pace from a Brahmin and 12 from a Nair while Kaniyan pollutes a Namboodiri Brahmin at 24 feet and a Nair by touch.¹

Barbosa make the observation about the caste Hindus.² In Malabar there existed class of slaves and semi slaves.³ They regarded themselves as **their masters' property**.⁴ Accordingly, they were degraded and driven away to remote places, even beyond see able distance by treating as untouchables or slaves. Thus aborigines were compelled to live in inaccessible places, primarily forests and hills. Tribal people groups who are food-gatherers and engaged in their traditional occupation without the habit of agricultural practice, with diminishing population and very low literacy rates can be called as Primitive Tribes.⁵ Reliance on these factors with geographical isolation, primitive traits, unique culture and so forth contributed to consider the Koragas as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group.⁶ They have been primarily residing in the district of Kasaragod, in the northern part of Kerala. They are quite and inoffensive, and live in the outskirts of villages⁷.

Objectives

To understand historical background of marginalisation of Koragas and find a relationship between prevalence of slavery among Koragas in the past and vulnerability in the present

To address some of the pertinent problems of adivasis through a new development concept

Hypothesis

Koragas lived under centuries of colonial oppression and the prevalence of slavery led to their marginalization

There is a need to redefine the Tribal development concept

Methodology

Analytical historical methodology has been followed through the wide use of primary and secondary sources together with field study.

Discussion and Analysis

Koragas of Kasaragod⁸ lived in 52 colonies. There are 445 families of Koragas in Kasaragod.⁹ Koragas lived under centuries of colonial oppression and marginalisation. They followed different customs which validate the prevalence of slavery among Koragas. One 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.¹⁰ 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. To marry a Koraga woman, a male member has to get the permission of the owner.¹¹

Another custom prevailed here shows that if the landlord or owner dies, soon after hearing this news, Koraga elderman should shave his 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. Studies show the existence of slavery among Koragas for centuries. This long time slavery, oppression and exploitation made them more subjugated.

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. 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. They live only in the **huts of leaves called "Kappus"**. They were agrestic slaves, bought and sold with land till recent times.¹² 19 They were forced to beat ritual drums during festivals, run before buffaloes during a local festival, checking the soil by their bare foot. For rendering these services, they are entitled to collect some leftover food and old cloths.¹³ In the field study, it is evident that they ate whatever they got, they wore the dress given by others.¹⁴ The study reveals that, even about two decades back, the Koragas were given water, tea etc., in coconut shells. Ajalu practice is eradicated in 2000 even though there exists its after-effects.¹⁵ Based on inhuman treatment and subjugation, Koragas become mild, docile and fearful.¹⁶ The study reveals that the non-inclusion of Koragas even into the four fold caste system forced them to lead despicable life in society. Today, they are

largely regarded as a sub-human race and are enslaved within the Hindu caste system. They faced highest degree of untouchability which resulted in social oppression.

Tribal communities are at different levels of development hence each tribal community needs to be addressed differently since there are variations at different levels of the development ladder.¹⁷ State Planning Board of government of Kerala, has identified seventeen alarming issues in the tribal problems.¹⁸ Tribal communities faced numerous problems such as the loss of their lands to plainsmen and traders, chronic indebtedness to the money lenders, the tyranny of petty officials who force free labour and supplies, lack of facilities for cheap credit on fair terms, dearth of medical and veterinary aid, lack of organised help to sell their produce to their best advantages- all these handicaps are experienced by these tribes.¹⁹ Poverty deprives Koragas and their ability to fulfill basic needs. Studies have shown that they were more exploited, isolated, deprived and remained below the subsistence level of economy and faced the threats and challenges of survival.

The tribal world reacted to these situations in terms of withdrawal, submission and flight and some were violent. Despite the provision for prevention of land transfers from tribals to non-tribals, land alienation through debt mechanism, tenancy and other unfair practices continued unabated in many parts of tribal India.²⁰

Findings

Koragas were called as a wild tribe of basket makers and labourers.²¹ The Koraga settlements are not fertile. They had only primitive knowledge about agriculture. They involved in minor forest produce collection. The chief occupation of the Koragas is basket making.²² Even though they worked hard to prepare variety of baskets and handicrafts, irrespective of difficulty in getting raw materials they get only cheaper rates for their products. For example they earn only 15 rupees from a strainer, and if the shop owner is not satisfied with their work, he may return it. Families may go to sleep empty stomach as they earn nothing for a long day of tedious efforts.²³

Koragas are skilled artisans as they manufactured baskets of various types, mats, wooden spoons, and objects needed for domestic purposes as well as occupational needs. They are experts in basketry and weaving a variety of items such as winnowing fans, cradles and baskets are made. Some are skilled in the manufacture of cradles, baskets, cylinders to hold palsy, winnowing and sowing baskets, scale pans, boxes, and rice water strainer, ring stands for supporting pots, coir or rope, brush for washing cattle. They also manufacture various domestic utensils with cheap rate. They are inadequately paid for their baskets. They are forced to have their own colonies on the outskirts of the villages. Even in the cities their colonies are segregated from the rest. Their houses are either incomplete or not in a qualitative nature. They led a satisfactory life in forests. But when they forced to abandon that life and to live in concrete houses, they felt problems of adjustment. According to their customs, they couldn't continue life in a house where any person died. That means they rejected or abandoned a house in which death happened. During field visit, researcher had seen a number of unfinished structures of houses and toilets. Food support programmes were provided. Rice, pulses, oil, sugar, are supplied. But these are not essential. Yearly repairing of houses is needed due to low quality nature. Their pathetic living condition continues even today, to a considerable extent²⁴. They face problems and challenges in getting a sustainable livelihood and a decent life. Most of the Koraga families are still devoid of basic facilities such as proper housing, sanitation system, electricity, drinking water, health care facilities, ample transportation etc.²⁵

Koragas were educationally backward. There are only first generation learners.²⁶ It is clear that only a small percentage of Koraga children who enter into school, complete formal school education. School authorities are not able to intervene effectively regarding students who have discontinued from the schools. Majority of Koraga parents are not aware of the importance of education for their growth and development. It was understood that breakfast is not being prepared in most of the Koraga houses and the hungry students find hard to attend classes seriously. The dropout rate among Koraga schoolchildren is alarming

irrespective of various steps taken by state governments to check dropouts. They still face the practice of social exclusion.²⁷

On analysis, it can be stated that, the deterioration in socio-economic status of tribals due to loss of tribal lands and common property resources, increasing dependency on non-tribals, lack of raw materials for traditional occupation, unhealthy conditions of work, heavy alcoholism, low price for handmade goods including baskets, lack of market mechanism and heavy reliance on social security assistance from voluntary and government agencies put the Koragas in to subservient status in society.²⁸

Conclusion

It is pertinent to note that the tribal people are facing the challenges of marginalization, discrimination, social protection, poverty, land alienation, exploitation and denial of forest rights. These issues have to be addressed properly and an accurate profile of the problem can be arrived and thereby suggest practical solutions. As the primitive tribals historically subjugated and were the victims of human rights violations and faced psycho-social problems It is necessary to investigate their psycho-social problems, emotional aspects and policy makers can give due importance to solve these problems of tribals. Adivasis want a development that will preserve the best parts of their culture, their sense of collective life, community sharing of resources, protection and continuation of their livelihood, preservation of traditional knowledge, equalitarian life and freedom and sustainable future of adivasi communities. The genesis of discontent among Dalits lies in the age-old caste-based social order. The Constitution of India and various legislative and policy measures have created entitlements to undo this structure of oppression.²⁹ But still there is significant gap in human development indices between Scheduled Tribes and others.³⁰ PVTG groups are among the most vulnerable sections of our society as they are few in numbers, have not attained any significant level of social and economic development and generally inhabit remote localities having poor infrastructure and administrative support.³¹ The present tribal welfare measure is found to be inadequate. Even though Constitution provisions and several policies and Acts, tribals

are lagging behind in the aspect of socio economic development.

Studies have shown that they are more exploited, isolated, deprived and remained below the subsistence level of economy and faced the threats and challenges of survival. Studies revealed that the tribes continues to live below the poverty line, have poor literacy rates, suffers from malnutrition and disease and are vulnerable to displacement. Displacement for development **projects has deprived tribe's folk of their land and forests** from which much of their food came. The basic human rights to food, to clothing, to shelter, to education, to health and employment are not protected for the tribes. Without securing these rights the other human rights are futile. Even after seventy years of independence of our nation, tribals continue as one of the most marginalized communities and always figures at the tail end in the parameters of development. There are many laws and different rights allotted to the tribals by the Constitution of India, but the pathetic condition of tribals never changed but going to worse. The concept of a tribe has undergone a change from that of a political unit of olden days to a group of people identified with poverty and backwardness. Centuries old exploitation and oppression has resulted in a complete loss of their nerves. It is difficult to reconcile their glorious past with the preset state of misery. However, they are gradually waking up from centuries old slumber. The young generation particularly the educated class have now come to realise their potentiality and are anxious to face the new challenges.

The tribal society had been once self-reliant. They had a community-based, eco-friendly and self-governing political life till the time outside intervention of the settlers. They experienced utmost humiliation and discrimination and thus marginalized throughout history and became vulnerable communities afflicted with abject poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, displacement and landlessness and always figures at the tail end in the parameters of development. They were displaced without considering their life, needs, livelihood, sustainability and survival.

Suggestions

On the basis of reality that the livelihood of PVTG and their culture are intertwined with land

and forest. There is a need to develop livelihood strategies and design development programmes for the PVTG that are right based, factor in the felt needs of the community, taking into consideration their special vulnerabilities and empower them to negotiate their livelihood concerns. Alienation of land in PVTG habitats must be prevented, they should aware of their rights, develop livelihood strategies by considering the culture, traditional knowledge, skill and also by respecting the diversity of livelihood systems. Another important suggestion regarding value additions in minor forest produce for PVTG who depend sustainability on collecting and selling this produce could be ensured by requisite training and capacity building to enhance their income. To make the PVTG self-sufficient, the land and resources should be protected. Both policy and implementation levels should be streamlined and channelized in the best interest of the tribes. There should be a greater stress on development than welfare. Therefore, policy makers and administrators should take into confidence the native tribal population. The participatory approach is specifically meant for the economic and social development of the **rural poor. Such holistic forms of people's participation** are certainly required

It is globally significant that indigenous people their life, culture, tradition, knowledge to be protected and to be incorporated in sustainable livelihood and development. Every nation can follow and implement Sustainable Development goal by considering the regional variations and local needs of the indigenous people. To plan and implement it nationwide it is essential to formulate comprehensive policy and programmes by considering the regional variations, geographical features, living status and peculiarities of the tribal communities, their traditional knowledge, skills, their felt needs, and

problems and involving them in policy making, designing of development strategies for the sustainable development of vulnerable tribal communities. To put in to practice, grass root level planning by prioritizing the felt needs of the tribals are essential. The traditional knowledge of indigenous tribal groups can be reminisce, highlighted and preserved. Traditional knowledge and Skill of these indigenous people can be shared and transmitted to the younger generations in a systematic way. Any educational policy would need to take account of their distinct culture.

Adivasis want a development that will preserve the best parts of their culture, their sense of collective life, community sharing of resources, protection and continuation of their livelihood, preservation of traditional knowledge, equalitarian life and freedom and sustainable future of adivasi communities. Development concept of adivasis is different from that of the concept of policy makers and authorities belong to mainstream which is based on western model, such as providing road, bridge, buildings etc. There is a need to redefine the development concept according to the locality, region, culture, tradition, physical and psychological traits, geography, regional variations, climatic change, livelihood, the needs, interests and opinion of tribals etc. It should be implemented through participatory approach in a decentralised governance system. Empowerment should not be measured solely on the basis of quantitative indicators but by actual improvement in the well-being of the people. Steps can be taken to foster community-based resource management systems that work on a co-operative model. Strict monitoring mechanism needed for ensuring that the tribal funds are effectively channelled to the intended beneficiaries to avoid corruption.

Notes and References

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2. Duarte Barbosa,quoted from Padmanabha Menon,p.377. 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
3. See. S.Subbarama Aiyar, *Economic life in Malabar village*, Print and Publishing Company, Bangalore, 1925, pp.17-20
4. *Ibid*, pp.20-23
5. Ministry of Welfare (Tribal Development),Government of India, National Conference on Problems of Scheduled Tribes, Vigyan Bhavan, p.1:31.3.1990
6. Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group are also known as PVTG, hence written hereafter as PVTG

7. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission Notes on Tribes and their Welfare in Kerala, Government of India, SC and ST Commission, National Archives New Delhi, File No. 23/5/60-TC, p.19
8. Analysis of Data collected from field study by the researcher among the Koragas of Kasaragod during field visits done during April 2015 to October 2016
9. Altogether, 445 families of Koraga community are settled in 11 Grama Panchayats and one Municipality in Kasaragod District. In Kasaragod District, Koraga live in 52 settlements distributed in Kasaragod and Manjeshwaram blocks. As the population of Koraga community is 1644, their family size works out to 3.69. The population consists of 802 males and 842 females and hence the sex ratio is 1000:1050
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18. State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, CESS Monograph, Economic Review, 2011, p.24-28, (i) Extreme levels of poverty, deprivation and vulnerability; (ii) High levels of exclusion both developmental and social; (iii) Extremely low levels of empowerment (political, social and economic); (iv) Rapid marginalization due to unfair, unequal and exploitative relations of production and exchange between tribal communities and others; (v) Low level of access to entitlements; (vi) Practically zero participation in development matters with no autonomy in any form of decision making; (vii) Abnormally huge siphoning of developmental resources and benefits meant for tribal people by middlemen; (viii) Poor human development with low levels of literacy and access to health care; (ix) Rapid alienation of assets like land; (x) Alarming depletion of social capital especially traditional forms of organization and leadership; (xi) Quick deterioration of traditional knowledge systems and cultural attainments; (xii) Fast increasing tendency to use tribal people as cat's paws in criminal activities such as illicit distillation, cultivation of narcotic plants, stealing of forest wealth, etc.; (xiii) High levels of exploitation of women by outsiders; (xiv) Weak delivery system of public services; (xv) Dependency-inducing developmental programmes relying on distribution of benefits rather than building up capabilities; (xvi) Implementation of ad hoc and stereo-typed developmental programmes in the absence of proper planning; (xvii) Very weak monitoring systems
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23. Source: Data from Field Study-- Interview with Koragas on 18.4.2014, 16.5. 2015 and 24.4.2016 at Koraga settlements at Kasargod and Manjeshwar
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DIALOGUES ON ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINANTS OF HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

A.S. Vysakh

Environmental history/Ecological history, the macro term would be ecological history, because, ecological history or ecology is in fact a derivative of biology. It is derived from the Greek word *Oikos* which actually denotes, 'study of the relationships between organisms and their environment'.¹ We interact directly or indirectly with the environment or the organisms around us. Environmental history/Ecological history deals with enormous stuffs such as organisms, food, fuel, fodder, animals, hills, forests, trees, streams, rivers, oceans, minerals and their interaction with mankind. It further enquires how man has interacted with them and how man was helped by the environment, to further facilitate his progress as a civilization. Looking at the history of Environmental history/Ecological history, as a subset of history, it is a comparative new comer.

On studying environmental history one has to look keenly on the sources of it. The sources of environmental history are not confined only to archival material. It is not solely concerned with documentary material or not even literature. It is concerned with tribal art, sculpture, bio-archives and so on. Geo history and geo archives which studies on land patterns and understand the past too forms an integral source. Hence, environmental history in the strict sense of the term is an interdisciplinary discipline. It is more interdisciplinary than any other subset of history. It is more interdisciplinary than political history or social history or economic history. It is so because environmental history involves Biology, Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Geography and a host of other sciences including meteorology.

It was born in 1970's, long before political history and social history began to be written. Gazing at the developments of the various subsets of historiography, like micro history, it originated in Italy. Thenceforth, we see social history, anthropological history developing in England. The Annales historians, especially, the founder being Henry Berr,² had written extensively on nature, and how nature and environment impacts upon history. This was taken up by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre who were officially the founders of the *Annales*

school. When the *Annales* historian led by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch in the earlier part of 20th century started the Journal called *Annales* from which their school came to be known, they gave importance to 'Total history'.³ And in Total history, Environmental history was very much an important part. The relationship between man and nature, the result of this interaction, was studied by the French in the concept of Total history. Studying about the environment, climate, climatic changes, the psychology of the people, all these became very vital. But in spite of the Annales effort and the importance that it gave to environmental history, environmental history as a discipline did not take off. It did not take off because, the other subsets of history such as the social history, micro history, local history etc. gained predominance.

Marc Bloch in his work *Feudal Society*,⁴ has done a brilliant labor on the interaction between man and nature, the interaction between soil and man, the interaction between organisms and man, the interaction between the environment and man. Similarly his co-founder, Lucien Febvre, who was a historian and a geographer, he started the concept long after Friedrich Ratzel (who actually laid the foundations of Human Geography and notable for first using the term *Lebensraum* or "living space").⁵ Lucien Febvre in his *A Geographical Introduction to History*,⁶ exposed how man interacted with nature for his own progress. He emphasized the multiplicity of human responses to cope with particular environmental surroundings. And many a time, the progress of man proved detrimental to nature. It led to unpredictable devastation, despoiling of nature, pollution, environmental hazards, floods, landslides, catastrophes, famine and what not. Even famine, pestilence, cholera, plague are concerned with ecological history. And in that sense environmental history is important as class analysis and is as important as any other branch of history. It is as important as the history of Power and the uses of power.

Initially, Environmental history was not entertained in England, European countries, Asia or even India. But environmental history

was entertained in the United States of America. It was in USA that serious studies on environmental history began. Environmental history in a sense was born from an highly industrialized country, it was receiving the battering of industrialization. England and America are two countries which benefited largely from industrial revolution. And after the industrial revolution we see a surfeit of factories coming up. We see pollution, the exploitation of nature and natural resources, mineral resources etc. And as this started/ increased the historians started bestowing their attention on the environment. Because there was problems like fog, pollution, poisoning of rivers and streams, uni-crop patterns of cultivation, deforestation, climatic changes, and the environment changed. And as such what happened was that the Americans especially the industrialised countries started bestowing their attention to this area because they started to sense the ill effects of environmental degradation. In the late 19th century, historians generally defined history as **'things worthy of being remembered by one age of another age'** and if one would have to define environmental history it would have been the **opposite i.e 'one age remembering unworthy things of another age'**. All the unworthy acts of the man vis-à-vis the environment, the degradation, contamination, exploitation of the environment by the private players, by the capitalists, by the colonialists etc. What were the effects of these on the environment?!

When one look at the area where it started initially, the first person who wrote the history of the environment was a historian called Roderick Frazier Nash. **He coined the word 'Environmental History'. In 1967, he wrote about the American wilderness-an American thinking.** Wilderness means deserts or denuded areas without forests. He thus wrote about American Wilderness and American thought. He also wrote about how the Americans conquered the wild West and its devastation. He wrote about large scale capitalist farming, industrialization and **pollution that occurred due to man's intervention with nature.**⁷ After Nash, we find other historians especially the historian Alfred W. Crosby who wrote a work on Columbian Exchange.⁸ Today, the book is a founding text of the field of environmental history. Here, he wrote about colonialism in the 13 American colonies. **The historian discusses the 'ecological impact' of**

Columbus' landing in 1492 on the Old World and the New World. He specified how Britain not only brought about armies or military conquests, or ammunition, but brought with it disease, poison, new cropping patterns, new bacteria, a new intellectual mind and a new culture. These not only hegemonised the colonies but also polluted the colonies also. He thus very deeply in this work *Coloumbian Exchange*, writes about the colonial devastation of the environment.

The same occurred in India also. Right before the British came to India, the environment was worshipped by the Indians. If one looks at Hinduism, Jainism or Buddhism, there is ample philosophy of worship of Nature, worship of vegetation and both the flora and fauna, in the philosophy of these religions. But when the British came to India, they started encroaching into the forests, started cutting timber, railway tracks were laid deep into the forests. Teak wood was exploited and they were used as sleepers for the railways. The Teak wood and other durable woods were exported through the ports to Europe. In Kerala, railways were run deep into the forests of erstwhile Nilambur, Cochin territories. Our forests were denuded and hence, the whole natural environment changed due to the devastation of the forests. Colonialism exploited the mineral resources and raw materials of India. Colonialists set up huge plantations. Thenceforth, our rich varieties of forests were replaced with single cropping pattern, which were harmful to the environment. For instance, huge variety of forests with rare trees were cut down and Teak wood were planted. In certain areas the variety of forests were smashed and coffee and tea plantations were set up. For e.g. looking up at Munnar in Kerala,⁹ the natural environment of the region has disappeared and replaced with tea plantations, an area which were once rich in flora and fauna. The habitat of the natural flora and fauna was taken over by the human beings for their greed. The capitalist interest of the colonialists looked at every aspect of the environment as the source of making profit and this quest/ greed or the thirst for profit actually led to the devastation of the earth. Even today as the New Economic Policy was inaugurated by the Indian Government, huge companies like the Vedanta Group have been mining huge areas of Odisha, of Jharkhand, of Bengal for ores. And the habitats of the *adivasis* and the natural

habitats of the other flora and fauna had all been destroyed, bringing about huge changes in the environment. If such changes occur in the environment it questions the very survival of the mankind. In the recent huge floods that inundated Kerala, it was partially because of **man's cruelty towards nature, man's lack of understanding of nature.** The natural ways of the rivers/streams/rivulets have all been taken over by the greed of man. The pathway of the rivers have been stolen by man. The natural varieties of trees that gripped the soil and which absorbed the rainwaters have been replaced by rubber, **coffee and tea. That's why there occurred huge** devastations in Wayanad and Idukki and almost the whole of central Kerala. This is even seen even in the Himalayan areas. The famous movement of clinging of the trees or the Chipko movement took place against the capitalists cutting the trees of the Himalayan valleys. These in fact would change the whole climate of the Himalayan area. There would be melting of ice, floods in the great rivers originating from the Himalayas and if so the whole of North India would be submerged in the flood waters. There would be soil erosion, silting in the floors of the dams, leading to the breaching of the dams and thereupon will be forced to opening of the dams. **This situation occurs due to man's inability to understand nature. Man's lack of dialogue with nature.** Unless man conducts a constructive dialogue with nature and unless he recognizes the space of every organism that they legitimately has, man would be prone to the devastations of nature. There are huge national highways running across the forests. There is a path the elephants travel or the elephant path. And we construct path crossing it, and blame the elephants for the hazards/objections caused. One sees the elephant, the vegetation etc. as commodities to enhance profit or greed. And then the nature hits back. Man needs to understand that every tree, organism, the climate, and even the flapping of the wings of the butterflies determines the climate. If the butterflies die out, if the birds die out it means a catastrophe is in waiting.

Another wonderful book that laid the foundations of environmental history is Donald **Worster's *Dust Bowls***.¹⁰ In this he wrote that the whole of America is converted into a desert i.e. Wheat Desert. There were so many trees there **originally, but man's quest for profit, the**

industrialisation of agriculture led to miles and miles of forest land being reclaimed for cultivation. And as a result, instead of multi cropping patterns, single cropping patterns were adopted, where they selected a profitable crop. i.e., Wheat in America. They cultivated wheat in thousands and thousands of miles and thus one **finds deserts of wheat. In the 1930's America faced a terrible 'dust storm' that lasted** for weeks and devastated America. Howling winds followed by huge dust storms. That was all because the original vegetation has been slaughtered by mankind for the quest to make profit. For the quest to export Wheat, Americans began to bargain with wheat with the Soviet Union, and with other countries, as America is the largest country which produces the largest amount of surplus wheat in the world. Thus, through **Worster's *Dust Bowls***, he actually frames a concept on writing a methodology of environmental history, largely following the materialist school of thought in which he finds out how the materialist needs of man were responsible for the devastation of nature. Plastic waste has become a grave concern. And now in the Pacific Ocean, there is an area bigger than France filled with trash and even the sea animals consuming these shredded debris.¹¹ (The patch is so big that environmentalists called on the United Nations to declare the Great Pacific **Garbage Patch a country, called "The Trash Isles," complete with its own passport and currency, called debris.**) It is harming the ocean life, the man kind, the ground water level etc. So **man's needs forgetful of nature's compatibility** are devastating nature and in the end it will lead to the devastation of mankind. All these life style we follow is not compatible with nature. Donald Worster has written the kind of manures applied on the soil, its effects on the organisms, and reduction of productivity of the soil leading further to the slow desertification of the land. In the famed Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh,¹² written **prior to Hommer's *Illiad and Oddysey***, Gilgamesh the hero of the epic is confronted with the holocaust of nature, mainly because civilization denuded the Cedar trees of the area. On studying the various civilizations inclusive of the Indus valley civilization, the Russian Hydrological studies have shown that the Indus valley disappeared because of the flooding of the river Indus. Because the bed of the Indus began to rising because of the silting of the soil and led

to flooding of the cities. One finds so many layers, one layer above the other in the buildings /citadels in the excavated sites. The Russian historian who used the Hydrological techniques for the study especially Bongard -Levin,¹³ says that the Indus valley was destroyed by the mismanagement of the rivers. There is another theory that says that it was destroyed by deforestation as cropping became impossible owing to loss of fertility and the population had to move away to look for new areas for farming. **This is a problem when one doesn't comprehend nature properly and doesn't enter into an constructive dialogue with nature.** Thus the scientifically acclaimed great civilization or the Indus valley civilization was destroyed due to the mismatch with nature. The interface with nature was wrong. And as a result of that several civilizations disappeared. Even the Chinese civilization and the river Huan-Ho, in the Mesopotamian Civilization the flooding of Tigris or Euphrates, and flooding was always due to the incapacity of the rivers to hold water to a capacity which it normally did. That was due to deforestation leading to silting. All our dams are in danger; right from the Bhakra Nangal to the Mullaiperiyar is in danger due to the silting. This is a huge problem that we have not addressed as yet. The second aspect that Worster deals with is the political aspect of the environment. Because of the craze for power, largely propelled by capitalist philosophy, one finds that nature has been exploited. Sometimes the National highways or factories have been set up by the political decision and not due to the need of the people. Many a time these political decisions were no way concerned with the needs of the people. For eg., if you look at the Coco plantation in Kerala, it was a political decision. Once, when the prices of Coco went up with the original producers in Africa, the Americans looking for cheaper Coco and they lobbied with the Indian parliament and got the then Agricultural Minister to encourage Coco plantation. And all our planters in India, they cut down their coconut trees and planted Coco.¹⁴ Subsequently when the original Coco producers in Africa reduced its price, the Americans went back to them and the Indian producers were left with no purchasers. Our farmers had to once again cut down the Coco. **Thus many a time's political decisions determine the crops of cultivation.** Weather the planters of India or Kerala should grow coconut

or rubber is many a times is a result of political decision. International relations also affect the same. It might be because of inter-state relations also. For e.g., the Centre takes a line which is antagonistic to the state, they take a decision which is detrimental to the coconut producers. Political decisions in the international scenario are also decisive. Pertaining to Kerala, if this injustice, ceaseless exploitation of the nature continues, Kerala would go back to the ocean, if the mythology is to be believed. The demand for the military for Iron ore, in fact iron ore mining started with the militaries of the world started expanding, in order to build huge ships, artilleries, tanks etc. For the aircrafts Aluminium was inevitable. For instance, in Odisha, a huge hill worshipped by the tribals as the dwelling place of their gods, the whole hill has been purchased and mined by a mining company called the Vedanta Group, owing to the large deposit of Bauxite ore in it(which is needed for producing Aluminium) .The company is one of the leading multinational mining company , the shares of the same were even owned by the political giants and ministers.¹⁵

The intellectual and cultural determinant is yet another determinant of Environmental history. **One's culture, one's way of thinking, one's intellectual perception etc., determines one's interface with the environment.** A connoisseur of nature would look at the nature with passion, whereas a businessman would look at it with the malicious eyes of profit making. The plants, crops being sown and the type of fertilizers used largely determine the future.

Environmental History, though it came to the USA, mainly because it was the first country to suffer from environmental degradation, mainly because capitalism was running riot in the US. They were looking every object (inclusive of religion, institutions) in the point of view of the profit. Jayaprakash Narayan who was once student at the Wisconsin University of USA, wherein the erudite Professor of Environmental history Donald Worster himself was teaching, JP quotes how he worked as a labourer in farms¹⁶ and also among the Loggers(Forest fellers), who cut sold the forests for various purposes.

Thus the forests, just like the animals were used for satisfying the capitalist greed of mankind and this greed is going to prove very costly. However, India had a noble value to

boast off compared to other nations then. India had a culture of protecting environment in many ways since antiquity. Nonetheless, it changed silently. **Certain rulers don't understand the environment.** If one looks at the degradation of the Kerala environment and the first floods in the beginning of the 20th century, it is perhaps due to the wrong use of land. Going back to history, earlier rulers of erstwhile Travancore (especially Marthanda Varma) prodded on by the colonialists, who started at looking at agriculture as cash crop, as an object of profit. Infact before the onset of colonialism, the spices were produced for meeting the needs of the family and not for the need of the market. As the colonial powers reached one after another seeking spices, we were insufficiently producing spices to meet their demands.¹⁷ Suddenly, Marthanda Varma on assuming the power started insisted the farmers for not producing the spices. He gave distinct quotas to the farmers in areas to produce and supply spices. Henceforth, insisted on producing pepper instead of rice or coconut. For the same large areas of land were freshly cultivated. Forest areas were turned into spice plantations. And henceforward, the whole cropping pattern of Kerala underwent a change. Even after Marthanda Varma, the other native rulers and feudal potentates were not very environmental friendly. The huge plantations were established after the after the *Pandarapattom* legislation etc., and the huge plantations started by the colonialists were started by the native rulers of Travancore, in which the whole Munnar area were colonized by the Britishers. In Munnar, the colonialists, took over the *adivasis*, made them their agents and labourers and started planting tea and coffee; and the whole Munnar belt became a very fragile area. This capitalist tendency, which changed our culture and the way we look at the environment and even religion changed. Earlier on, all our gods were nestled in forests, or in the midst of forests and now the forests have become sites of International Tourism. In one instance, when the Kerala government wanted to proclaim Sabarimala as a national Centre of pilgrimage, the central government intervened and nodded to make it as International Centre of **pilgrimage. in the 2000's there were 1,65,000** private vehicles plying to Sabarimala; which is very fragile ecological zone. In 2005, it increased to 2,35,000 and now it runs unrestrained.¹⁸

Imagine the havoc that was being caused by the increasing vehicular congestion upon the flimsy ecosystem! The original tradition of carrying the ritual baggage, food, water and the paraphernalia **on one's head on trekking to Sabarimala. Now** one gets everything on the way, and with huge shopping establishments within the premises. This neo-culture has destroyed the fragile ecosystem of Sabarimala and not to mention the pollution. The fury of nature, was well witnessed during the recent hefty flooding in the River Pampa, washing off everything on its way. The traditions pertaining to the purity of rituals inclusive of barefoot walking have changed. And the environment is taking the beating all along.

All knowledge is universal and unless one **understands the universal, one won't understand the local.** On studying local history; one shall not forget the Universal history. One should look at the particular with the point of view of the general. As **Fernand Braudel said, if you don't understand the universal history, you don't understand the local history.** After Febvre, **Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée*,**¹⁹ brilliantly emphasized on the environment. He established how the environment determines the progress of man. If man thinks in his arrogance and he could trample over nature, he is proven wrong. Nature has a way of hitting back that man cannot stopover.

Fascinatingly, long before these European scholars, Ibn Khaldun, the prominent West Asian historian, in his *Muquaddima*, has amply portrayed on the importance of environment and climate,²⁰ its powers and its need for being protected for posterity, thus making environmental history most important. Though for Ibn Khaldun, environmental history was only a subset of economic, political and cultural history; he drew attention to environmental history.

The Continuity and Discontinuity Theory and Environmental History in India

Historiography on the environment in India is divided between the advocates of change and continuity. The advocates of discontinuity emphasized the sharp divide between the pre-colonial and colonial periods. And consider the colonial rule as the harbinger of destructive policies. On the other hand, the votaries of

continuity argues that there has been an intrusion on ecological resources since the times of the earliest civilizations. However, the continuity theorists also agree that colonial rule particularly since the 19th century introduced policy changes and exploitation of material resources with far reaching consequences.

In fact, Gandhi was the 'early environmentalist' and critique of Colonial exploitation and thereby ramblingly holding discontinuity, though Dadabhai Naoroji²¹ and R.C. Dutt had pioneered in critiquing the colonial drain of material wealth from India. World renowned thinkers and policy makers have expounded that Gandhian philosophy holds key to prevention of exploitation of natural resources. Gandhian ideology is unique as based on interdisciplinary approach. Its emphasis on optimum use of natural resources, sustainable and close relation with environment, preventing indiscriminate exploitation and potential to curtail environmental degradation besides tracking the key issues of poverty puts the ideology into a high pedestal for human sustenance.

Undoubtedly, the general consensus of Indian environmentalists appears to be that Gandhi inspired and even perhaps, in a manner of speaking, fathered the Indian environmental movement. He cannot, however, be likened to John Muir or Aldo Leopold, and much less to Thoreau, but he had his own domain in the environmental space.²² Ramachandra Guha, who scholastically traced the global history of environmental movements,²³ initially critiqued Gandhi as an "early environmentalist" for his poor recognition of the problems of urban areas, yet in his later impressions he acknowledged, as do most others, that the impress of Gandhian thinking is to be felt in the life and works of many of India's most well-known environmental activists. As Guha identified, may it be the Crusading Gandhians, Appropriate Technologists or the Ecological Marxists,²⁴ it is obvious that all these distinct strands in Indian Environmentalism, visibly or invisibly adopted and employed the Gandhian strategies to radicalize ecological movements.

The Gandhian epitome and ecological concerns meandered into the plains of the 21st century Indian society through his direct and indirect disciples, Mirabeau and Saralabehn,

Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Vimla, Sunderlal Bahuguna, Baba Amte, Kumarappa, Medha Patkar or through the many non-Gandhians, but the spirit of Gandhi has undoubtedly moved Indian environmentalists.²⁵ This form of environmentalism touched by Gandhian ideas made it possible to see an interconnectedness among environment, development, survival, sustainability and peace. The Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess,²⁶ with whose name 'deep ecology' is preeminently associated, was an ardent student of Gandhi's thought and work & influenced by his metaphysics, found in Gandhi a political philosopher who most clearly shows the way to the conflict resolution and balanced living, and led Naess to delve into the problems of environment. The movement led by the Petra Kelly (German Green Party) or Nobel Laureate Wangari Mathai owes to the natural coexistence dictum of Gandhi in many aspects. Countless are the men and movements, in the past or the present, who had least encountered the Gandhian way of environmentalism while linking their movements or deliberations with larger concern for human sustenance.

Gandhi's environmental vision sought to extract from nature what is necessary for human sustenance and development and showed a total sustainable way of organizing human affairs and for the world today it has become compelling to adopt the practical positives of Gandhian principles and policies towards life through practicing the self-reliance and self governance; which ultimately would help to achieve environmentally sustainable development. The distant dream of Greener Globe could be less tedious to achieve, once the humanity arises to the dwindling situation, hence secure the boons of nature to the future generation. To Gandhi environmental degradation is in the mind of individual and hence he should change himself from inside out.

In India, Ramachandra Guha's *The Unquiet Woods* is considered to have inaugurated modern environmental history in India. It is a social history of a protest movement, the 'Chipko movement' in the 1970's which brought out the greater role of women in local ecological preservation. Guha focuses on the traditional values of peasant society in Uttarakhand and critically views various policies of the state from this angle. He

also thinks that traditional knowledge about the environment found in the peasantry's precepts and practices is better, intimate, and more nature-friendly than those held by specialists and scholars. The egalitarian culture of the largely homogenous peasantry in the mountains keep a **'reservoir of local ecological knowledge', which cares about nature and maintains a balanced relationship between environment and society in the midst of 'a century of alienation and protest'**.²⁷

Pertaining to studies on environment, there has been a very fine work *The Asian Elephant: Ecology and Management* by Raman Sukumar. He portrays how the ancient elephant is important enough to manage the ecology, i.e., on the ecology of the Asian Elephant and wildlife-human conflict. He underscores how even the mite in the tongue of the elephant is important and effects of when a tiger disappears.²⁸

History is littered with environmental disasters, but few compare to the one kicked off in 1958 in China. An instance of destroying the birds/sparrows feeding upon the millions of food grains during the time of cultural revolution of Mao Zedong in China. The Chinese Communist party felt that more than 10 million tons of food grains (to feed the people's army) were eaten up by the sparrows. Thus in 1958, Mao Zedong ordered all sparrows to be killed or otherwise the Great Sparrow Campaign (apart of the broader Four Pests Campaign). Hundreds of millions of sparrows were killed during the campaign, but it **wasn't long until the imbalance in the ecosystem** became apparent. As a direct result, millions of people starved to death. In the next year, the whole fields were swamped by insects, pests, worms etc., and regrettably, instead of 10 million they lost 50 million tons of grains and human fatalities as high as 45 or even 78 million.²⁹ This incident pestered the Communist party to once again encourage the breeding and feeding of birds in each household, by 'importing' sparrows from Soviet Russia to fight the plague of vermins and preserve their crops. So there is affine balance in nature. When the balance is disturbed by the greed of man the whole ecology changes. This problem was highlighted by Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha in one of their master pieces, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India*, being the first book which is deep and profound, analyzing the history of India

in all its ramifications vis-a-vis the environment. In this work, the authors analyse the manifold ways of resource use by pre modern as well as modern industrial societies in India. They argued that the customary practices and the caste system ensured the judicious use of natural resources.³⁰ The colonial policies upset the balance that the earlier periods had maintained between humans and the environment.

Richard Grove's work, *Green Imperialism*, discusses the character of the scientific community under colonialism, which was seen in conversation with local and indigenous knowledge and which pioneered some conservationist policies.³¹ It observes that the earliest writers to comment specifically on rapid environmental change in the context of empires were scientists who were themselves often actors in the process of colonially stimulated environmental change. The Scottish medical scientists such as William Roxburgh, Edward Nalfour, Alexander Gibson, Hugh Cleghorn and et.al., wrote alarmist narratives relating deforestation to the danger of climate change, as they could use the historical evidence of environmental change in government records and thus became *de facto* environmental historians. Sumit Guha in his *Environment and Ethnicity in India*,³² strongly argued against viewing precolonial period as homogenous and questions the discontinuity theory. Chetan Singh's *Natural Premises: Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalaya*³³ presents a continuity argument related to human impact on the environment in Himachal Pradesh around 1800-1947. To him colonialism only superficially affected the nature, economy and culture of the area. Mahesh Rangarajan's *India's Wildlife History*³⁴ traces over a long period of time the processes and policies that have led to the degradation of wildlife in India. scholars such as Rangarajan³⁵ and Satya³⁶ have shown, colonial forest policy drained India's natural wealth, alienated its population and compounded the impacts of droughts and famines during the late nineteenth century. It outlines the role of colonialism in creating a critical situation for forests and the animals. Although the British colonial regime initiated forest conservation policies, it was during this time that many species of animals became extinct. Velayutham Saravanan's *Environmental History and Tribals in Modern India*, offers a

comprehensive account of India's environmental history during both colonial and post-colonial times, subaltern struggles, and contributing to the current environmental policy debates in Asia.³⁷ Few new works pertaining to environmental historiography are Richard Grove and et.al, *Nature and the Orient*, **Vasant K.Saberwal's Pastoral Politics: Sheperds, Beaurocrats and Conservation in Western Himalaya**, Ajay Skaria's *Hybrid Histories:Forests, Frontiers and Wilderness*, **Ravi Rajan's Modernizing Nature**, **K.Sivaramakrishnan's Modern Forests**, Arun Agarwal and K Sivaramakrishnan (eds.) *Agrarian Environments: Resources, Representations, and Rule in India* and so on.

Pertaining to Kerala, there remains a void in the writing of its Environmental history, other than representations by few scholars within their broader framework. However, Sebastian Joseph's³⁷ work *Cochin Forests and the British Techno-ecological Imperialism in India*, is an exclusion. He delivers a penetrating analysis of deforestation in Cochin, that offers a thorough analysis of ecological, political and socio-economic conditions in the princely state, as it fell under the grip of this unique manifestation of

colonial techno-imperialism and global capitalism. Joseph focuses on the exorbitantly destructive capacity of the tramway to penetrate **deep into the heart of the region's 'virgin forests'** by the British in 1907, in order to access supplies of prized teak, ebony and blackwood in 1907.

Presently, the environmental history of South Asia is taking place simultaneously on multiple interconnected fronts that in disciplinary terms may be identified with the sociology of knowledge or history of science, linking such intellectual or cultural histories with the material and ecological histories and correlated social transformation in India. Environmental history further looks forward to searching traditional methods of land use, water management, non-intrusive technologies and alternatives for the irrevocable impairment caused by and being caused by pillagers of nature. Hence, the need for **developing a culture that doesn't pollute, a culture that is environmental friendly, a culture which respects the other inhabitants of the planet earth has become inevitable for future.** Only on realizing these cultures of natural co-existence one would become a good student of environmental history.

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STATISTICAL AND HISTORICAL COMPILATIONS OF TIRUCHIRAPPALLI UNDER THE EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE

S. Xavier

Introduction

The history of Tiruchirappalli is contributed with a great number of historians and eminent writers under the governance of both East India Company and England. They write history based on their serious researches and field works. The colonial administrators worked hard to bring out the historical account of Tiruchirappalli in the form of statistical compilations, manuals and gazetteers. They make history of Tiruchirappalli as vibrant and informative. Their contribution in compilation of historical past of this region is to be commended. The antiquity of this place attracted many people and still evinced the interest. It is the need of the hour to study the biographical sketches on these history writers. The research activities make the history of historic Tiruchirappalli into vibrant. Hence, the purpose of this article is to present a brief biographical profile on a few statistical and historical compositions of Tiruchirappalli.

Makers of Manuals and Gazetteers

Gazetteers are the publications of the Government of Tamil Nadu on its various districts. They are written, as per the uniform

guidelines prescribed by the Government of India, by an Editorial team headed by an Editor. After acquiring the territory in the South, the English East India Company carved out districts and placed them under the administration of the Collectors. In the absence of any comprehensive guidebooks on districts, the Government ordered for the preparation of the Manuals for the districts. The District Manuals are the precursors of the District Gazetteers. M.C.S. Lewis Moore who was the then Acting Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Trichinopoly compiled '**A Manual of the Trichinopoly District in the Presidency of Madras**' published in the year 1878.¹ It is the first ever kind of it. Its content is vast and more comprehensive. 22 chapters in this manual present a complete account on the various aspects of Tiruchirappalli.² **It's heartening** to note on the possibility of compilation of such a massive work in those days since the modern transport and communicative devices were not available. When the District Manuals became out of date, they were revised and retitled as District Gazetteers. The first such District Gazetteer by W. Francis for Madurai District was published in 1906 followed by various districts.

Tiruchirappalli Gazetteer was published by F.R. Hemingway in 1907.³

Lewis Moore

Trichinopoly Gazetteer is authored by Lewis Moore. Manual of the Trichinopoly District in the Presidency of Madras is an unchanged, high-quality reprint of the original edition of 1878. The concepts of individual district gazetteers originated in the mid-19th century. The Madras District Manual published by J. H. Nelson in 1868 was the first of its kind. This was followed by the South Arcot District Manual (John Henry Garstin, 1878), Trichinopoly District Manual (Lewis Moore, 1878) and other districts.⁴ By the early 1900s, however, these manuals had become obsolete. Hence, they were revised in detail and expanded and re-published as district gazetteers. The first of the gazetteers appeared in 1906. Since then, there have been plenty of gazetteers published both in British as well as independent India.

The original 'District Manual' of Trichinopoly, written by the late Mr. Lewis Moore, I.C.S., was published in 1878. The book contains I to XXII chapters with variety of details and ends with statistical information.⁵ The present volume, which owes much to its predecessor, follows the plan for the new 'District-Gazetteers' prescribed by Government and, under instructions, it treats the taluks of Karur and Namakkal, which are to be transferred to the district from Coimbatore and Salem respectively, as though they were already part of it. The separate statistical Appendix, which was compiled in advance, omits these two taluks, but this defect will be remedied when it is re-issued after the census of 1911. The history of Trichinopoly is largely on the history of the Cholas and the Nayakkans, and Chapter II has consequently indented freely upon the corresponding portions of the Gazetteers of Tanjore and Madura, in which districts the chief capitals of those powers were respectively situated.

F.R. Hemingway

F.R. Hemingway is the author of Trichinopoly Gazetteer printed and published by The Superintendent, Government Press of Madras in 1907. Tiruchirappalli was the third most important fortified post in the Madras Presidency (after Fort St George and Fort St

David). The rectangular fort was built to enclose the Rock, one of several natural outcrops of volcanic gneiss which rise abruptly from the plain. The greater part of the fort of Trichinopoly and most of the city was built in the reign of Viswanatha, King of Madura, from 1559. The work of FR Hemingway has been selected by scholars as being culturally important, and is part of the knowledge base of civilization as we know it. This work was reproduced from the original artifact, and remains as true to the original work as possible. Chapter I to XVI contains physical description, political history, the people, agriculture and irrigation, forests, occupations and trade, means of communication, rainfall and seasons, public health, education, land revenue administration, salt, akbari and miscellaneous revenue, administration of justice, local self-government, gazetteer and Pudukkottai state and finally ends with index.⁶

The Trichinopoly Gazetteer follows the **plan for the new 'District - Gazetteers' prescribed** by Government and under instructions, it treats the taluks of Karur and Namakkal, which are to be transferred to the district of Coimbatore and Salem respectively as though they were already part of it. Having little personal knowledge of Trichinopoly the author has been obliged to rely upon information supplied by various officials and individuals.⁷

Popular Scholars

Abbe J.A. Dubois (1765-1848)

Abbe J.A. Dubois or Jean-Antoine Dubois (January 1765 - 17th February 1848) was a French Catholic missionary in India, and a member of the 'Missions Etrangères de Paris'. He was called '**Dodda Swami**' by the local people. In his work '**Hindu manners, customs and traditions**' he presented Indian cultures, traditions, thoughts and varnasrama system in his work. After some years he returned to France, and authored the book *Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies*, a valuable work of Indology. He is remembered locally for having adopted the way of life, clothing, food (vegetarianism) and language typical of a Hindu monk, and to have thereby earned the trust and respect of the local people. However, he failed in his mission of converting Indians to Christianity, and often expressed the opinion, in writing and in

conversation, that the project of bringing the Indians to Christ is doomed to failure.⁸

His most notable work was *Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies*. Although Dubois disclaimed the title of author, his collections were not so much drawn from the Hindu sacred books as from his own careful and vivid observations, and it is this, united to a remarkable prescience, that makes his work so valuable. The book contains three parts: a general view of society in India, and especially of the caste system, the four states of Brahminical life and religious practices - festivals, feasts, temples, objects of worship.⁹

Lord William Bentinck purchased Dubois's French manuscript for eight thousand rupees for the British East India Company in 1807. In 1816 an English translation was published, and about 1864, a curtailed reprint of this edition was issued. The Abbé, however, largely recast his work as *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde* (published in Paris in 1825), and in 1897 this revised text (now in the India Office) was published in an edition with notes by H. K. Beauchamp.¹⁰

CD Maclean (1843-1916)

C.D. Maclean was born in the year 1843 at Cambridge, United Kingdom and died in the year 1916. C. D. Maclean and C.P. Brown were the authors of 'Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency' published by Asian Educational Services in the year 1887 contains 1436 pages. Most of the pages have been taken from the portions of the Madras Administration Reports for 1872-73 and 1875-76 which dealt with standing as opposed to current information regarding the different departments. This volume does not attempt in any sense to be a Gazetteer of the Presidency the few remarks of that nature which will be found have been introduced only because there is at present no Presidency Gazetteer.¹¹ Vol. I consist of Chapters 1-9 containing the Principal articles of the manual arranged so as to conform to the order of subjects in the yearly presidency administration report. Vol. II consist of appendices containing articles and statements, supplementary of the articles of vol. I arranged under general heads. It also consist of glossary of the Madras Presidency

Gazetteer and Economic Dictionary of the Province and other information.¹²

Edgar Thurston (1855-1935)

Edgar Thurston (1855- 12 October 1935) was a superintendent at the Madras Government Museum who contributed to studies in the zoology, ethnology and botany of India and published works related to his work at the museum. Thurston was educated in medicine and lectured in anatomy at the Madras Medical College while also holding his position at the museum. His early works were on numismatics and geology and these were followed by researches in anthropology and ethnography. He succeeded Frederick S. Mullaly as the superintendent of ethnography for the Madras Presidency.¹³

Edgar Thurston was the son of Charles Bosworth Thurston of Kew, London. Schooled at Eton College, he then studied medicine at King's College, London, qualifying as LRCP in 1877. He worked as a medical officer in Kent County Lunatic Asylum and became a curator of the museum at King's College before joining the Madras Museum in 1885 as a superintendent.

Aside from his role at the Madras Museum, Thurston was for some time Honorary Secretary to the now-defunct Fine Arts Society of Madras and was influential in promoting the artistic works of Raja Ravi Varma and his brother C. Raja Raja Varma.¹⁴ Thurston was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, first class, on 2nd June 1902. He was made C.I.E. in 1909. He retired to England and spent his winters at Penzance where he studied the local plants and regularly hosted a New Year party for the local botanists. He died on 12th October 1935 at Penzance.

In 1901, Thurston was appointed to the Ethnographic Survey of India project, established at that time following the success of Herbert Hope Risley's Ethnographic Survey of Bengal.¹⁵ Risley was an adherent to the theories of scientific racism and had been appointed as director of Ethnology in India. Thurston worked as a part of this project to collect accurate anthropometric measurements. These included a number of measurements of the skull and derived indices or proportions such as the nasal index.¹⁶ He did this work alongside his role as

superintendent of the Madras Museum, a position that he did not leave until 1908.¹⁷

Among other published works, Thurston wrote the seven volumes of *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, published in 1909 as part of the Ethnographic Survey of India. In that work he was assisted by K. Rangachari, a colleague from the Madras museum who had also assisted him in a 1906 ethnographic study, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*. Rangachari had supplied most of the forty photographs used in this earlier study.¹⁸ The September 1910 edition of *Nature* described the 1909 publication as a monumental record of the varied phases of south Indian tribal life, the traditions, manners and customs of people.

Thurston also authored *Coins – Catalogue No. 1: Mysore* (1888), *Catalogue of the Batrachia, Sallentia and Apoda (Frogs, Toads, and Coecilians) of Southern India* (1888), *Coins – Catalogue No. 3: Sultans of Dehli* (1889), *History of the coinage of the territories of the East India company in the Indian peninsula and catalogue of the coins in the Madras museum* (1890), *Notes on the pearl and chank fisheries and marine fauna of the Gulf of Manaar* (1890), *Coins – Catalogue No. 2: Roman, Indo-Portuguese, and Ceylon* (1894), *Pearl and Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar* (1894), *Anthropology of the Todas and Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills: and of the Brāhmans, Kammālans, Pallis, and Pariahs of Madras City* (1896), *Kadirs of Anaimalais – Malaialis of Shevaroy – The Dravidian Head – Dravidian Problem* (1896), *Monograph on the silk fabric industry of the Madras presidency* (1899), *Anthropology: Notes on some of the people of Malabar – Mala Vedars of Travancore – Miscellanea* (1900), *Monograph on the ivory carving industry of Southern India* (1901), *Anthropology: Visions of the Uralis and Sholagars – More Marriage Customs in Southern India – Hook-Swinging – Paliyans* (1903), *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (1906), *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*. New York: McBride, Nast & Company (1912) and *The Madras Presidency, with Mysore, Coorg and the Associated States* edited by T. H. Holland in 1913.¹⁹ Besides the above he also authored two other works on provincial geographies of India and on flora of Madras Presidency.

Fr Henry Whitehead (1853-1947)

Henry Whitehead (19th December 1853 – 14th April 1947) was an eminent Anglican bishop. Whitehead was educated at Sherborne and Trinity College, Oxford. Ordained in 1879 his first post was as a preacher at St Nicholas, Abingdon. He then emigrated to India where he was principal of **Bishop's College, Calcutta** from 1883 to 1899.²⁰ On St Peter's Day (29th June) 1899, he was consecrated a bishop by Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, at St Paul's Cathedral, to serve as the fifth Bishop of Madras an office he held for 23 years. In 1903 he married Isabel Duncan. A noted author on his adopted country, he died on 14 April 1947.²¹ He had become a Doctor of Divinity (DD).

He was the author of *The Village Gods of South India* (1916) published by Humphrey at Milford. He was also the author of *Indian Problems in Religion, Education, Politics. Constable in 1924, Christian Education in India (1932) published by Macmillan*. This work has been selected by scholars as being culturally important, and is part of the knowledge base of civilization as we know it. This work was reproduced from the original artifact, and remains as true to the original work as possible. Therefore, you will see the original copyright references, library stamps, and other notations in the work.

The material for this account of the village gods of South India²² has been gathered almost entirely from his own observation and inquiry. This was the first attempt at dealing systematically with this aspect of Indian religion. It does not pretend to be anything like an exhaustive account of all the various rites and ceremonies observed in the worship of the village deities. The variety of ritual and ceremonial in the different districts of South India is almost endless. A Glossary of Indian Terms and several Indices have been included in order to facilitate reference to the large amount of unfamiliar detail which the book contains.

Conclusion

Based on the above passages it is evident that the history of Tiruchirappalli is contributed with many numbers of historians and eminent writers of European powers. Their contribution in compilation of historical past of this region is to

be commended. The antiquity of this place really attracted many people and kindled their interest. It is noteworthy that only these energetic people and their research activities make the history of historic Tiruchirappalli into vibrant. These historians left many research into half way. Hence, the duty of present history researcher is to carry forward the new findings and new

methodologies, which will add strength to the history of Tiruchirappalli as well as to history of Tamil Nadu. The European scholars not only produced valuable, theoretically oriented works on Indian rural culture, but also inspired young and old anthropologists to take up similar researches on Indian villages and caste system.

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THAHREEDH : SITUATING A 16TH CENTAURY ARABIC TEXT

K. Abdul Vahab

The present paper entitled 'Thahreedh : Situating A 16th Century Arabic Text' is an attempt to analyze the historical significance of an Arabic text written in 1521 by Sheikh Zainudheen Ibn Ali who is considered the first Makhdoom (accepted scholar cum judge in the Ponnani tradition). He was the grandfather of Sheikh Zainuddin, author of Tuhfat al Mujahiddin, the first written history about Kerala. The book was written in the context of the Portuguese invasion of Malabar. The full name

the text is 'Thahreedh Ahlii Eemaan Ala Jehadi Abadathi Swalban : Situating A 16th Century Arabic Text' (It means : Motivating believers for struggle against Cross - worshippers). The paper is prepared based on the original text. *Tahreedh* is a poetic outburst of rancor at the event of colonialism couched in eschatological references and expressing the tone and concern of a pamphleteer. The event of colonialism lies at the background of the book.

SURFACE EXPLORATION AT UZHAKUDI AND KALIYAVOOR

M. Arumuga Masana Sudalai & K.S. Sasikala

Tamirabarani River which originates from the Pothigai hills of western ghats and flows through Tirunelveli and Tuticorin districts of Tamil Nadu. Village of Uzhakudi lies around 12 kms from Deivacheyalpuram.. The urns or the **'muthumakkal thali'** are used in war times to bury people in areas where there cannot be any other occupation. Sometimes they were concealed to prevent the epidemic spread out in the country. I started my research from kaliyankadu and found an urn used to bury people. The first ever urn which was used in the area was also recovered in a fine state. The quartz stone found in the riverbed are used as tools. They are known as Meta Morphic Rock Likewise, animal bones and tree branches were also used. A stone tool is found in my research. Stone tools were carved out of large stones. All these evidences suggest that this rich culture should have been created before two million years in the southern part of

India. Recent studies say that this civilization has been an old and large civilization. The antiquities that I found in research such as Black and red, polished black, inner black-outer red earthen materials, Water filter made of sand, Mud ring used to place pots, play things resemble the things got from Keezhadi excavation. From this we can know that they belong to the ancient period. Moreover, the earthen materials from the recent excavations had been inscribed with Tamizhi scripts. But earthen materials from Uzhakudi and Kaliyavoor excavations had no scripts inscribed. So we can learn that the people lived in Uzhakudi and Kaliyavoor belonged to the period before the letters appear. In the history of India, Tamil civilization has been the ancient and aged civilization. It is much older than the now known civilization of Indus valley. The world needs to know this truth.

WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: REQUIREMENTS AND MEASURES

S. Benazeer

Water is one of the most essential natural resources for sustaining life and it is likely to become critically scarce in the coming decades, due to continuous increase in its demands, rapid increase in population and expanding economy of the country. Variations in climatic characteristics both in space and time are responsible for uneven distribution of precipitation in India. This uneven distribution of the precipitation results in highly uneven distribution of available water resources both in space and time, which leads to flood and drought affecting the vast areas of the country. Better and scientific structural and non-structural measures are required for mitigating the floods and droughts. Mathematical models are needed for forecasting the monsoon rainfall accurately, which utilized by the decision makers and farmers for adopting appropriate strategies for management of droughts and floods. There is need for increasing the availability of water and

reducing its demand. For increasing the availability of water resources, there is need for better management of existing storages by constructing small, medium and large sized dams considering the economic, environmental and social aspects. The availability of water resources further enhanced by rejuvenation of drying lakes, ponds and tanks and increasing the artificial means of ground water recharge. In addition to these measures, interbasin transfer of water provides one of the options for mitigating the problems of the surplus and deficit basins. However, for inter basin transfer of water the scientific studies need to be carried out for establishing its technical and economic feasibility considering the environmental social and eco-hydrological aspects. This paper traces different measures to solve the sustainable requirement of water and measures towards its conservation and utilization in the present scenario.

PERIYAR VIEWS ON EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

K.N. Manjunath

Periyar's struggle for the cause of women has few parallels in the history of women's liberation in India. Amidst various social reformative activities, he gave priority to **women's upliftment. The Self - Respect Movement**, the brain - child championed by Periyar has contributed greatly for the upliftment of women by creating rationalistic thinking. Periyar stands unique and highly practical in his approach to the problems of women. He understood the deep rooted social evils of the marginalized section and took up as his life mission right from the day he entered the public

life to eradicate child marriage, to encourage widow remarriage, to provide education for women, to uproot male chauvinism and their right to property and to abolish Devadasi system. The myths which extol servility in women as virtue and all atrocities committed on women were exposed, ridiculed and condemned by Periyar in public meetings, marriage ceremonies, political platform and writings. He wanted to put an end to all kinds of unjust discrimination and to promote social justice and rational outlook and supported rational and secular ethics based on the values of freedom, equality and justice.

HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF N.S. RAJAPUROHITHA-A REVIEW

R.D. Pavamana

Second half of 19th century and early half of 20th century is important period in the history of modern Karnataka. Many of the intellectuals of the period particularly from Hubli, Dharwad and Belgaum were more inclined towards Tilak and Tilakism. In the kind of writings that emerged during this period, attempts were made to project historically and culturally greater Karnataka. Narayana Shrinivasa Rajapurohitha was a renowned, litterateur, translator, social worker and a historian of late 19th and early 20th century Karnataka. He was a witness to significant historical developments of modern Karnataka and India. He has authored a number of books including books of Karnataka history. An attempt is made in this paper to review his historical writings.

The cultural revivalism that emerged in the 19th and early 20th century got manifested in several ways. One significant aspect was taking pride in the past. Veneration for cultural and philosophical achievements of the past, importantly the Hindu past was one of the significant aspects. Such a keen spirit of revivalism was quite profound in Western India. Coinciding with the cultural revivalism was a tremendous political ferment especially with the

emergence of the new ideology within the Indian National Congress. Developments in Poona and Bombay had an implicit effect upon the Kannada provinces placed under Bombay Presidency. Kannada provinces had been dismembered and placed under the Bombay and Madras Presidencies besides the several Princely states. Kannada speaking provinces under the Bombay Presidency known as Bombay Karnataka and Southern Maratha provinces. The region saw the emergence of several intellectuals who invariably fell under the influence of one or the other of the ideologies or movements that emerged in Presidency. Undeniably, many of the intellectuals particularly from Hubli, Dharwad and Belgaum more inclined towards Tilak and Tilakism.

Of the period under study, there were several who wrote profusely on the history, culture and language of Kannada provinces. There was keen sense of pride in the past, the **'Kannada Past' very much in tune with the developments at the nationalist level.** In the kind of writings that emerged attempt were made to **project historically and culturally 'Greater Karnataka'. Significant in this direction.**

MARITIME ACTIVITIES DURING VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

C. Santhosh Kumar

Since from 3000 years ago India have been well known about the maritime trade. The same tradition was also continued in the reign period of Vijayanagara Empire. Geographically this empire was situated in the deccan plateau, and obviously it was having a huge coastal line as a part of its kingdom. It had many important ports to have maritime trade, viz., Honnavar, Bhatkal, Mangalor, Barakur. Cananore and Goa etc. With the help of these ports, it was imported many things like Horses, Pearls, Eleph ants, Copper, Coral, Mercu ry, Vermillion, China Silk and velvet. And exported goods like Cloth, rice, iron, Saltpetre, Sugar ai1d spices. There are many

references to these. Not only trading but there are also references for ship building activities. Nicolo Conti who visited the empire during Devaraya I, had made his reference about ship building. **There is also reference in the 'Amuktamalyada'** authored by Sri Krishnadevaraya about salt production in the empire. Until 16th century AD, Arabs had played an important role in the maritime trade. But, by the advent of the Europeans, especially Portuguese, total scenario of the maritime trade had been changed. Vasco Da Gama, a sailor from Portugal found a sea route to Calicut, India. He started exploiting the local rulers as well as merchants of this soil.

BRITISH RAJ AND HAJJ PILGRIMS: QUARANTINE REGULATIONS IN THE MARITIME MADRAS (1850-1900)

T.A. Shameer

The proposed paper tries to understand the patterns of changes in the Quarantine among the Hajj pilgrims in British regime in Madras. The period of study will encompass from 1850 to 1900 in which the British introduced more regulations related with quarantine rules among the Hajj pilgrims. The paper also endeavor the Quarantine regulations in the ships as well as ports in the Madras presidency from 1850 to 1900. The major reason for introducing the quarantine regulations among the pilgrims was larger response from the colonial metropolis regarding

the spreading of various contagious diseases in the metropolis. The paper tries to understand, how the British institutionalised the quarantine regulations in among the Hajj pilgrims who were travelling to Mecca for the religious ceremony. The present paper has divided into two parts according to themes, first, to understand the nature of quarantine changes in the maritime Madras during British period. Second, to analyses the quarantine regulations among the Hajj pilgrims and to trace the ways in which it implemented in the ships and ports in Madras presidency.

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE GENEALOGICAL RECORDS OF HELAVAS

V. Shashi Kumar

Helavas, traditional archivists, have documents containing the genealogy of almost all families in every village. The Helavas sing family genealogies from carefully kept records. Songs of the past: **How a nomadic community preserves records of Karnataka's ancestral bloodlines, Helavas preserve** their ancestral archives with utmost care, as the bundles that they carry contain documented information dating back centuries(in Chippodu, copper and bronze palates) Perhaps, it is the only community in India that has made archiving a source of livelihood. Families offer them money, gold and silver articles, and foodgrains in return. Their inherited skills of archiving can leave modern archivists awestruck. Like most other tribal heritages, the exceptional Helava practice of narrating genealogies is also fast diminishing with the advent of modern technology and computerization.

ENDOWMENT LECTURES
KASTHURI MISRO MEMORIAL LECTURE
THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS OF *MATANGI* OF MADIGAS INTO
HINDU PANTHEISM
Prof. Thallapally Manohar

Esteemed president, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, at the outset I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to the distinguished members of the executive council of the South Indian History Congress for selecting me to deliver Kasturi Misro Memorial Lecture on the occasion of 40th Annual Session of the South Indian History Congress being held at Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar. I am extremely thankful to Prof. Misro and his family members for creating this lecture in the memory of their beloved daughter. It is a rare privilege and honour bestowed upon me. But I am conscious about my limitations. An attempt is made in this lecture to study "The Assimilation process of Matangi of Madigas into Hindu Pantheism", as revealed through the historical sources and extensive field work.

Madigas are Telugu speaking people found in the South Indian states of Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. They were considered as untouchables, perhaps due to their eating habits or profession. They live on the outskirts of the villages mostly on the North-eastern corner in many cases close to the water bodies. They eke out their livelihood through leather work. They cleanse the animal skins and prepare a variety of equipment with the hide. They acted as one of the servicing castes of the village agricultural communities and perform the work of agricultural labourers. They consume the meat of the animals they skinned both alive and carrion. They are tall and dark with well-built bodies and are scantily clothed. Besides pursuing their traditional occupation of tanning and leather working, they play drums (*Dappu*) during both auspicious and inauspicious occasions in the villages.¹ Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan in his book *Castes and Tribes of H.E.H Nizam's Dominion* listed a number of equivalent words for Madiga like - "*Madigodu, Madigaru, Dher, Chandala, Antyaja, Ettivandlu, Peddinti Vallu, Matangi Makkalu, Gosang, Kamati, Bendar* and

Chambar."² The first comprehensive census operation carried by the British government in 1881 categorises the Madigas as non-Hindu or aboriginal castes and tribes along with *Holayas*, another outcaste.³ But many historians contested the intention and rationale of the British Indian census reports on the ground that it was meant to divide the people on caste and religious lines. Notwithstanding the reasons behind categorizing the largest untouchable community as non-Hindus in the Census Report of the British Government during the 19th century, there is a need to examine the ancient belief systems of the Madigas and the changes they have undergone with the passing of time, the reasons thereof, and how the tutelary deity *Matangi* has been alienated from them and assimilated into Hinduism. The primary objective of the present study is to examine all these aspects with the available sources. In the present paper an attempt is made as to how *Matangi*, the tutelary deity the Madigas, was Hinduised and transformed into one of the principal deities of Hindu pantheon with various names and worshipped in diverse ways.

Origins of Madigas:

*Jamba Purana*⁴ is the origin myth of the Madigas. The dependent castes of the Madigas like **Nulkachandayya, Dakkali, Chindu's recite**, narrate and perform the *Purana* in their own styles. The *Nulaka Chandayyas* otherwise known as Madiga *Jangams* melodiously recite the *Purana* from the paper rolls they carefully preserve for generations, the *Dakkalis* narrate it using artistically painted scrolls, and the *Chindu* Madigas dressed as *Gosangis* depict it in the form of a dance drama. Some of the legends were recorded and quoted in the ethnographical reports of the colonial period. Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari in their book *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* in form that "**Yugamuni, the son of Jambavan, enticed by Sankhyamuni killed the**

Divine Cow Kamadhenu, cooked its meat and consumed it. As a result of this trespass, Lord Siva cursed Yugamuni. The descendants begotten by Yugamuni and his wife *Matangi* are the Madigas.”⁵ Similarly, Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan in his *Castes and Tribes of H.E.H Nizam's Dominion* narrates the story of Jambavan and *Mala* Chennaiah to reveal how the name Madiga came into existence.⁶ A closely related story of Vellamanu was cited by Edgar Thurston⁷ Based on the narratives cited above, it can be concluded that there are quite a number of stories as to how they came to be named as the Madigas and why they are considered untouchables.

Madigas – Descendants of *Matangi* – Literary Evidences:

There are oral and literary evidences galore to state that Madigas are the original descendants of *Matangi*. The Telugu dictionaries reveal the meaning of *Matanga* as Madiga. According to Gustav Solomon Oppert, the word '*Matangi*' is a compound word formed by '*Mang*' and '*Madiga*'.⁸ Further, he opined that the word *Matangi* refers to a 'tribal mountain climber'.⁹ Strengthening this opinion of Gustav Oppert, Nanjundaiah and Ananthakrishna Iyer have stated that the Sanskrit word *Matangi* variously means a savage, a mountain climber, and an uncivilised person.¹⁰ Edgar Thurston states that *Matanga* means *Chandalas* or men of the lowest caste, or *Kirata* mountaineers, uncivilised, children of *Matangi*, or *Matangi Makkalu*.¹¹ Though the word has several meanings, it may signify a 'tribe of the lowest caste'. Scholars agree that the term Madiga is derived from the ancient term *Matanga*. Moreover, there is a large subdivision of the Madigas called *Matangi*. And the Madigas of the Canarese country call themselves *Matangi-Makkalu* which means 'children of *Matangi*'.¹² In their article published in *Madras Mail*, Thurston and Rangachari stated “**Madigas are *Matangi Makkalu* or children of *Matangi*, or as the descendants of Durga, and that she is their tutelary deity**”, which is further confirmed by Nanjundaiah and Ananthakrishna Iyer.¹³ However, according to Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan and Emma Cough “the Madigas have, to elevate themselves, declared themselves as *Matangi Makkal* and also as the descendants of *Matangi*, who is the daughter of Sage Jambavan.”¹⁴

Ramayana and Mahabharata state that the Madigas are the descendants of an untouchable sage.¹⁵ According to Thurston and Rangachari there are references to Matangas in Ramayana and in Banabhatta's *Kadambari* which states that the name of the leader of Cabaras is Matanga.¹⁶ However, according to the genealogy of Madigas, Matanga is the son of Sage Jambavan. His daughter was Arundhati, and she was the wife of Sage Vasishtha.¹⁷ *Matanga Jataka*, one of the *Jataka* tales, describes the former births of the Buddha as Bodhisattvas in which the Buddha was born in a village as Matanga belonging to the Chandala community, but because of his greatness, he had achieved the status of a Brahmin.¹⁸

Edgar Thurston, while referring to Madras Census Report (1891), and the writings of H.A. Stuart, states that the Madigas are the descendants of *Matangi* and were known as *Matangi Makkalu* (children of *Matangi*). According to Stuart, the Madigas consider themselves to be the successors of the rulers of Matanga kingdom in the present Karnataka region. Similarly Fleet in his book *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency* (1882), states that the Matangas and Kalachuryas have relationship with Mangalesa – the younger brother and successor of Kirtivarma I, who ruled the kingdom between 89 Saka Era (567-68 CE) to 132 Saka Era (610-11 CE). Fleet further states that the successors of Mangalesa are known as Matangas.¹⁹

The same conclusion is elaborated by Emma Rauschenbusch Clough in her work *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of Telugu Pariah Tribe*. She says, “**If a record of the Madigas, as a tribe among other tribes, could be found in an inscription, it would at once take their history out of the region of the merely conjectural and legendary and place it on a somewhat firm foundation. I thought I had found a record of this kind. It dates back to the year 634 A.D., when Mangalisa, a king of the Chalukya dynasty, conquered the Katakchuris, one of the early Dravidian dynasties. The inscription is engraved on a stone tablet let into the outside of the wall of a temple at Aihole in the Canarese country, and contains the following sentence: 'His younger brother Mangalisa, whose horses were picketed on the shores of the oceans of the east and the west and who covered all the points of the compass with a canopy through the dust of**

his armies became king. Having with hundreds of scintillating torches which were swords dispelled the darkness which was the race of the Matangas, in the bridal pavilion of the field of battle he obtained as his wife the lovely woman who was the goddess of the fortunes of the **Katachchuris**.²⁰ Fleet found an inscription and he deciphered and interpreted it as 'some aboriginal family of but little real power.' While reinterpreting his work, a few years later, he says, **"Examining the verse again, I consider that the components of it are connected in such a way that the word Matanga must be taken to denote the elephants of the Katachchuris."** Thus the supposition that the Madigas were meant in the inscription is rendered very doubtful.²¹ In all probability, as per the present author's opinion, Mangalesa and his forces defeated king Matanga and annexed his kingdom and Mangalesa married the wife/daughter of Matanga, besides accepting their tutelary deity - *Matangi* as their deity. Whatever the conclusions and opinions of the historians, the Madigas believe that they are the descendants of *Matangi*.

***Matangi* – Tutelary deity of Madigas:**

Matangi is basically related to the forest and nature. According to many scholars, *Matangi* is stated to be the deity of the untouchable or lower-caste hunters.²² The *Matangi* must be worshipped by the devotees only while being impure and offered only impure items. Being impure, implies that the devotees are not required to have bathed before worshipping her, nor are there any restrictions like being on fast or follow a vow. Even the menstruating women can worship her, besides offering her the clothes soaked in menstrual blood.²³ Such mode of worship is forbidden in Hindu religious practices. Hence, it appears that worship of *Matangi* is an absolute contrast to the Hindu religious tradition.

Throughout the world, woman was considered as synonymous to the fertility of earth and hence feminine was made as a divinity and worshipped in many world civilizations including that of India. Perhaps, due to this reason matriarchal cultures prevailed in the world and the residues of that culture can be noticed in India even today. The Madigas practicing the *Matangi* system worship *Matangi* in the form of *Yoni* the female reproductive tract. It is learnt that worship of the *Yoni* began in the primitive ages itself according holiness to the

organ that is the root for their birth. There are historical evidences to show that the worship of *Yoni* is prevalent across the globe. Based on the artefacts found during archaeological excavations concerning the first civilisation of India – the Indus Civilisation – the people of Indus are said to have worshipped Mother Goddess in the form of *Yoni*. It can be said that every society or community that worshipped the *Yoni* has accorded a respectful status to women too. Hence, it can be said that the Madigas have, in the same way, worshipped *Matangi* in the form of *Yoni*, thereby according primacy to worship of Mother Goddess.

A study of the ancient Matriarchal system reveals that the women of the ancient past had the liberty to copulate with a man of her choice. D. D. Kosambi asserts that some of the women of the ancient Mesopotamian civilisation namely Goddess *Ishtar*, and that of the Indus civilisation in the name of Mother Goddess have copulated with the men of their choice.²⁴ In tune with the same traditions, the *Matangi* system as representative of Goddess *Matangi* in the physical world, prevailing among the Madigas need to be understood. In accordance with the tradition, some of the Madiga families dedicate their daughters to their deity *Matangi*, the practice being called *Jannekiduchuta* in Telangana parlance, to follow ritual prostitution.²⁵ There are many such stories on dedication of Madiga girls to their deity *Matangi*. In these, one of the prominent folklore of Madigas is Renuka Yallamma²⁶ story narrating by Baindilas. The Madigas have been following the custom of dedicating their first born girl as *Matangi* not only as act of penitence for blasphemy but also to provide them succour. The Madigas in some regions are still practicing the *Matangi* system, though officially abolished by law. Based on this, it can be learnt that the Madigas originally followed the Matriarchal system and the residue of the practice is *Matangi*.

Assimilation of *Matangi*:

According to the Sanskrit-English dictionaries, the word *Matangi* has multiple meanings – mythologically belonging to the race of elephants, a *Chandala* or *Kirata* woman, Goddess Durga – one among the ten incarnations, and mother of Sage Vasishtha.²⁷ Similarly, the Telugu-English dictionary of C P Brown gives the following meanings - Goddess

Parvati, Sage Vasishtha's wife, a siren, a wonderful nymph, a ghost, an untouchable woman, the tutelary deity of sailors of Madras, and a seller of alcoholic liquor.²⁸ As already stated, Thurston and Rangachari have identified her as Goddess Durga. In the same manner, while Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan opined that she was Jambavan's daughter, Emma Clough states, like the Sanskrit dictionary, that Arundhati and *Matangi* are the wives of Sage Vasishtha and that *Matangi* belonged to Madiga community and is venerated as Mother Goddess *Ellamma*.²⁹ Similarly, during the early years of 20th century, Chilumuri Srinivasa Rao, after extensive field studies in Nellore district stated that *Matangi* is the tutelary deity of Madigas, and that Goddesses Kali, *Matamma*, and *Ellamma* are her other forms.³⁰ All these definitions clearly reveal that *Matangi* was identified with Durga / Parvathi in the process of assimilation of the great tradition-Hinduism.

Inclusion of *Matangi* among the Ten Mahavidyas:³¹

The first traces of *Matangi*, the tutelary deity of the Madigas, was found in *Divyavadana* – the compilation of Buddhistic stories in a rudimentary form. Based on the stories, *Matangi* is said to have been a girl belonging to a lower caste, who enticed one of the disciples of Buddha.³² But it seems that *Matangi* was appropriated initially by the tantricism. According to the sources, *Matangi* is considered to be the ninth among the ten *Mahavidya Avatars*. The *Mahavidya Avatars* are ten in number.³³ The number may at times be increased by three to six more *Avatars*.³⁴ These *Mahavidya Avatars* came to limelight from the 10th century onwards.³⁵ Considering them to be the various forms of the same Goddess, the devotees worship them and get their wishes fulfilled.³⁶ Each *Mahavidya* is a great Goddess in her own right.

Matangi is described in the tantric texts as a beautiful maiden of dark complexion with long hair, drowsy eyes, and surrounded by all the elements of Nature.³⁷ She is described to be seated on a diamond studded throne, or on a corpse.³⁸ She holds a variety of articles in her hands, prominent among which are *Veena*, skull, sword, sound, a wand, armour, and a *Chekola* (baton).³⁹ She is depicted to represent sapphire and green colour. However, some depict her as representing a dark colour and restrict the

definition to black. *Kubjika Upanishad* states that *Matangi* appears in a blue attire, wearing blue ornaments and bluish scents, and possesses a blue coloured parrot.⁴⁰ When *Matangi* is depicted as having four arms, each arm represents one *Veda*.⁴¹ Alternative names like *Raja Matangi*, *Sumukha Matangi*, and *Uchhishta Chandalini* have been created for *Matangi* as per the respective attributes.⁴² Although there are a variety of descriptions of *Matangi*, each one of them describes her as a popular deity.

A story related to the birth of *Matangi* is found in *Sakti Sangrama Tantra*, according to which *Matangi* emerged from the food left-over by Lord Siva and Goddess Parvati. Lord Siva declared that the boon of *Uchhishta Matangi* is the best one among all the boons. According to the Hindu tradition, the left-over food is considered to be an impure one not fit for offering to the deities. However, *Matangi* wishes that her devotees offer her the left-over food, and thus wishes that the offering be made through wet hands and through the mouths of the devotees (*Uchhishta*). These offerings are known as *Chavas*.⁴³

Matangi can be said to be the tutelary deity of the untouchables or the lower castes. Two of the stories relate her to the untouchable caste. According to the first tale appeared in *Pranatosini Tantra*, Siva tests Parvati's trust in him. Even Parvati goes to Him disguised as a *Chandala* woman to test Him. She (the *Chandala* woman) pretends love towards Siva, who gets entrapped in her love. She then seeks the boon that was bestowed by Lord Siva. As per that she became eternal in the form of a *Chandala* woman as *Uchhishta Chandalini*. Thenceforth, Parvati continued to be worshipped as *Uchhishta Chandalini* or *Matangi* – the tutelary deity of the lower castes. According to another tale, *Matangi* is Lord Siva's sister. Unable to bear her behaviour, Siva banished her. Later, when she began bad-mouthing about Lord Siva, Goddess Parvati cursed her to take birth in an untouchable family. The distraught *Matangi* then sought the advice of her elder brother Lord Siva, who blessed her to be worshipped by the devotees on their way to Varanasi.⁴⁴

Matangi is considered to be a deity who lives in the forest, who knows all about the forests, and the one who enjoys the forests – as Savari.⁴⁵ The *Swatantra Tantra of Raja Matangi*

Purana depicts the roots of the birth of *Matangi*. *Matangi* helps in controlling all the living beings. Hence, she is equated with Savareswari Devi. In the *Sandhyavarta Tantra*, there are *Slokas* related to *Matangi* along with those of Savareswari Devi. The *Sarada Tilaka Tantra* describes *Matangi* to have leaves on her forehead and garlands of flowers in her hair. All these are indicative of her relationship with Savareswari Devi.⁴⁶

Matangi is said to be the daughter of Matanga.⁴⁷ She is also described as the goddess of the hunters. She protects the living beings in the nature. She is also called as the power of the elephants. In *Matangi Tantra* it is said that meditating upon her is considered to be the power of elephants and as happiness of the world. It is said that she is seated on a throne of ornaments and that the gods prostrate at her feet. She is also considered to be the goddess of romance and is compared to a she elephant.⁴⁸

Matangi can be said to be a goddess who has intoxicating organs. Some scholars consider her to be another form of Saraswati the Goddess of culture and knowledge.⁴⁹ A look at the traits of Saraswati and *Matangi* reveals that both of them are goddesses of music, knowledge, and bestowers of wisdom that would liberate the worshippers.⁵⁰ In summary, *Matangi* can be said to be a Goddess possessing multiple traits and of various forms. She is the guardian of people.

Like the other *Mahavidyas*, *Matangi* too possesses great supernatural powers.⁵¹ She possesses the power to fulfil the wishes of her devotees, and in controlling and attracting them too. Moreover, she can annihilate the enemies of her devotees. She can make them rich and powerful too.⁵² To seek her benevolence, the devotee has to chant the *Matangimantra* while offering various herbs into the fire.⁵³ To achieve the power to attract others, one must offer salt and honey to Agni. Similarly, the rituals related to *Matangi* must be concluded only at mid-night, and sacrifices offered.⁵⁴

Worship of *Matangi* as Renuka *Ellamma* or Lajja Gouri:

In his book *Religion in Andhra*, B S L Hanumantha Rao states that Mother Goddess was initially worshipped in the form of shapeless stones and later in the form of a pot decorated with flowers. It was for this reason when she is

worshipped in the form of *Yoni*, she is called as *Garigamma* (a small earthen bowl called *Gurigi*, which represents the *Yoni*).⁵⁵ Based on this, *Matangi* - the tutelary deity of Madigas, being worshipped by the upper castes as a principal deity is, in fact, a naked goddess worshipped in an iconic form of *Gurigi*, *Gavvalu* (cowrie shells), *Nagapadige Chekola* (a baton with its head in the shape of the hood of cobra) and *Veeratradu* (long rope made of coir). Though the times are changing, in the effort to accord a form to *Matangi*, the practice of worshipping her in the form of *Yoni* or *Nagnakabandham* - the female reproductive tract - continued.

Idols in an iconic form of *Nagnakabandham* are found in temples located at Aihole, Badami, Mahakuta, Siddanakota, Jalahaal, Panchalingala, Kudavelli, and Alampur. It is learnt that worship of *Matangi* / *Ellamma* is also performed in these temples. The idols in these shrines would leave the visitor in a mix of emotions - inspired and wonderstruck. These idols appear with a head that is symbolically substituted with a large lotus-flower, with strong breasts, and the legs folded at the knees and in splayed position with a fissure between them like the *Yoni*. These idols were easily comprehensible and clear postures were found to be erotic, hence the scholars have considered them as the idols of a 'Shameless female deity' and 'Tutelary deity of reproduction'. Likewise, the goddess is known as 'Lajja Gowri', '*Ellamma*' and *Nagnakabandam*.⁵⁶

After conducting extensive field studies in Nellore and surrounding areas during the early decades of the 20th century, Chilumuri Srinivasa Rao concluded that *Matamma* and *Ellamma* are the alternate forms of *Matangi*.⁵⁷ Based on this, it can be said that *Matamma* herself has transformed into *Ellamma*. In other words, in due course of worshipping *Matangi* as Jagadambika (The Mother of the Universe), the Madigas began worshipping her as *Ellamma*. There are famous shrines galore across South India where *Ellamma* is also worshipped in various an iconic forms like stones or baskets, to which turmeric and vermilion are applied as part of the ritual. The Sundatti *Ellamma* shrine in Karnataka is one such famous shrine. The *Matangi* Devi shrines Surabheswara Kona and at Mogilicharla, where the Kakatiya rulers worshipped, are famous as the shrines of *Ellamma*. Similarly, *Ellamma* Rangapuram temple in

Mahabubnagar district is noted for the shrines of *Ellamma*. Idols of *Matangi* were found in the front yards of the shrines of *Ellamma* at Surabheswara Kona, Mogilicharla, and *Ellamma* Rangapuram.⁵⁸ In light of the above, by being worshipped as *Ellamma*, *Matangi* has lost her identity itself. It is learnt that in their writings the Hindu scholars and historians have strived to popularise *Ellamma* as a form of *Matangi* and have succeeded in transforming *Matangi* as *Ellamma*.

Renuka's story in Literary Works and Oral Traditions:

According to the tale of Renuka in *Mahabharata*, Sage Jamadagni married Renuka, the daughter of King Prasenajit and took her to his hermitage. She gained fame as a *Pativrata* (virtuous woman). The couple had five sons, the last of whom was Parasurama. Once Renuka went to a nearby tank to bathe and while returning she saw King Chitravrata enjoying bath along with his wives, which raised uncontrollable desire in her, thereby making her impure. Jamadagni discerned her mental status and felt that she had become impure. He then ordered his sons to kill their impure mother, but they refused. The infuriated Jamadagni cursed them. However, the fifth son – Parasurama – obeyed the father's orders and severed his mother's head. The pleased Jamadagni asked him to seek a boon. Parasurama sought his father to restore life to his mother and free his brothers from the curse. Jamadagni consented and fulfilled the son's wishes.⁵⁹ The same story is narrated in many literary works and oral traditions with slight modifications here and there.

Emma Rauschenbusch Clough narrates a story which reveals how *Matangi* / *Ellamma* came to be worshipped as the tutelary deity of the Madigas. The story goes thus: Parasurama was the son of Brahmin woman *Matangi* / *Ellamma*, who is the wife of a great sage. With the power of her purity, she converted water from River Kaveri into balls and rolled them to their hermitage to be used by her husband during *Yajna*. One day, on one of these balls of water, she saw an image. She lifted her eyes to see Gandharvas moving in the sky. She was awestruck looking at their beauty. Consequently, she lost her virtue and could not convert water into balls. When she revealed this to her husband, he said "*Pativratas* would not raise their eyes, nor would they be awestruck looking at

Gandharvas. Hence, you have lost your *Pativratya*." He then, out of anger, summoned his sons to sever **their mother's head. It was only Parasurama who agreed to obey the father's order. In the meantime, Ellamma flees to a Madiga family to seek refuge.** Parasurama then slaughters the Madigas who have sheltered his mother, and also his mother, thus **fulfils his father's order. When the pleased father asks Parasurama to seek a boon, he requests the father to bring life to his mother.** The father accepts the request. Parasurama then carries the severed head of his mother to the Madiga hamlet and fixes it to the severed body of a Madiga woman instead of that of his mother. However, the sage did not accept her as his wife. Finally, she became the tutelary deity of the Madigas. Thenceforth, according to Clough, the Madigas continued to worship *Ellamma*.⁶⁰

According to yet another narrative, Lord Siva gave his daughter *Ellamma* in marriage to Jamadagni, the son of Ahalya and Gautama. After some time, Jamadagni left for the forests to perform penance. Intent upon meeting her husband, *Ellamma* decorated herself and carried a *Bonam* (Pot filled with cooked rice). Predicting that her presence would disturb Jamadagni's penance, God created three infants and sent them to meet *Ellamma* on the way. She ignores the pleas of the infants for food and reaches Jamadagni, who instructs her to bring water in a sieve. With the power of her *Pativratya*, she was able to comply with the instruction. The pleased Jamadagni sits in readiness to eat. But, when she was about to serve, half the food in the *Bonam* vanishes. Jamadagni uses his supernatural vision to know the reason and instructs her to feed the infants first. The infants request her to be naked while feeding them food. She complies with the request. After this, Jamadagni instructs her to make a pot using sand and then fetch water in it. She makes a pot of sand, and while filling the pot with water, she happens to witness the copulation of a pair of frogs. Considering her to have become impure for having witnessed the copulation of the frogs, Jamadagni orders his sons to kill her. When Parasurama accepts the order and chases his mother to kill her, she hides herself in a wide mouthed trough (*Landagolem* – the trough in which animal hide is soaked for treatment) lying in the house of Madigas. On reaching there, Parasurama picks-up a thin layer of skin soaked in the trough and using the nerves of a cow from

its leg sewed the skin into a *Jamidika* and started drumming it up while with a loud voice commanded her to emerge from her hiding place. Hearing the sounds emitted from the *Jamidika*, the frightened Renuka emerged. Thenceforth, the *Baindilas* say, the *Jamidika* became their principal instrument of music, using which they sang the ballads of *Ellamma* to earn livelihood. They declare that Parasurama is their primogenitor and the *Baindilas* of the present day, call themselves his descendants.⁶¹

According to the oral tradition (genealogy of Madigas) narrated by the *Baindilas*, the dependant castes of Madigas, fearing for her life Renuka flees to Jambhalagiri, where she seeks refuge with Jambavan, the primogenitor of Madigas, for protection from her own son Parasurama. She then hides herself in the *Landatotti* (wide-mouthed trough) and warns Jambavan not to reveal her place of hiding, failing which a great power would emerge and engulf all the Madigas. However, Parasurama finds her and kills her. As a result, a great power emerges out and goes forth to engulf all. But, Jambavan calls for Chindu Jihvamahamuni and pleads with him to pacify the Power; the latter disguises himself as a *Gosangi* and pacifies the Great Shakti.⁶² Thenceforth, Renuka *Ellamma* found in the *Landatotti*, is venerated as an incarnation of Goddess Shakti. It is for this reason that the Madigas worship the *Landatotti* as an aniconic representation of *Ellamma* every Tuesday.

According to the oral tradition in Kannada, Renuka after being cursed by her husband Jamadagni became a leper. Out of hunger, when she plucks a cucumber in a field, the farmer and his friends chase her. Fleeing them out of fear, she hides herself in the house of *Matangi*, a woman belonging to the *Chandala* community. Unable to enter the house of that *Chandala* woman for having provided shelter to Renuka, the farmer chops off the nose of *Matangi*. Over a period of time, Renuka is cured of her leprosy by Ekaiah and Jogaiah, who used their mantric powers to achieve this. After being cured of the disease, when Renuka approaches her husband Jamadagni, he orders their son Parasurama to slay her. Parasurama complies with the order by severing the head of Renuka. However, he **brought back life into her after Parasurama's request.** She then became a goddess and bestowed a boon upon *Matangi* who sheltered her. *Matangi* and her descendants, thenceforth,

worship Renuka *Ellamma* as their tutelary deity.⁶³ The Madigas, while migrating from the Telugu region to the Kannada regions, might have continued their worship of *Ellamma* even there.

It may be surmised that the primary reason for creating such mythological stories is to appropriate and assimilate Goddess *Matangi* / *Ellamma* of the Madigas into Hinduism. The intention seems to be incorporating the aboriginal Madigas into the fold of Hinduism to exploit their expertise of leather working for the larger benefit of agriculture and warfare.

Worship of Renuka *Ellamma* as Jogulamba at Alampur:

The attempts to popularise through various stories in literary works and Puranas by transforming the Mother Goddess *Ellamma* of Madigas into a female divinity of mainstream Hinduism. The Researcher intends to explain the cult and worship of Jogulamba of Alampur of Telangana state, one of the eighteen Saktipithas, for introspection after an extensive field study.

As per the Stalapurana of Alampur, Daksha Prajapati, one of the *Navabrahmas*, gave one of his daughters Sati Devi in marriage to Lord Siva. After some time, Daksha Prajapati decided to perform a *Yajna*, and to invite his son-in-law Lord Siva he went to His abode. Lord Siva, being in meditation, did not speak to him. The infuriated Daksha Prajapati invited all the Devatas but avoided Siva. Upon seeing the Devatas and learning about the *Yajna*, Sati Devi out of **affection towards her parents sought Lord Siva's permission, which He rejected.** She went to the *Yajna* without His knowledge, was insulted by her father there and unable to return to Lord Siva, she created fire and immolated herself. Upon learning about the fate of Sati Devi through the *Pramadha Ganas*, Lord Siva was highly infuriated. He then plucked a lock from his hair and flung it down. Out of this emerged **Virabhadra, who following Lord Siva's orders** killed Daksha and spoiled the *Yajna*. Lord Siva then carried the body of his consort Sati Devi on his shoulders and performed *Pralaya Tandava* (Dance in violent mood), which shook all the three worlds. When the Devatas prayed to Lord Vishnu, He smashed **Sati Devi's body into eighteen pieces using his Sudarsana Chakra. These eighteen pieces of Sati Devi's body have** fallen at various places across the country, and

the places where they have fallen came to be known as *Ashtadasa Shakti Peethas*. The shrine at Alampur – Jogulamba is one such *Shakti Peetha*.⁶⁴

But as per local legend the original name of Alampur was *Ellammapuram*. The same tradition informs that long ago Jamadagni had his Ashram at Alampur and his wife Renuka Devi used to go the River Tungabhadra every day, make a pot with the sand, and fetch water in it. Once, she witnessed a king happily enjoying bath along with his wife. She was all praise of the **couple's luxury and their fortune. She felt depressed and because of it she could not make the pot with sand.** When she returned to the *Ashram* without water, Jamadagni learnt what has happened through his supernatural vision and got infuriated. He ordered his sons to kill her. It was Parasurama, who severed her head and pleased his father, who wished to bestow a boon on the son. Parasurama requests his father to bring life back into his mother. However, when she was severed, the head flew and fell at the front-yard of a *Chandala* family. Because of this, Jamadagni said that the head has become impure, and hence cannot be joined with the body. He declared that henceforth this head shall be venerated as *Ellamma*, the village deity of the *Chandalas*, and that the body without head shall remain in the shrine of Bala Brahmeswara henceforth and the body remained as Bhudevi in Alampur and is being worshipped by women.⁶⁵

According to the tradition, a head is being worshipped in the Madiga hamlet of Undavelli village near Alampur as *Bhudevi*.⁶⁶ Similarly, the headless body is located beside the Bala Brahmeswara shrine, one among the Navabrahma shrines, on the southern side, along with a *Nagnakabandham* in a room. The idol appears as if the body is in a position for copulation with both the thighs raised high and in splayed position clearly showing the *Yoni*. There are two mango fruits in both the hands of the idol. The head is, however, substituted with a flower. One cannot find such robustness in any other idols there. The people call her Renuka *Ellamma*. Archaeologist Madho Sarup Vats renowned for the excavations at Harappa, upon looking at this idol remarked that it resembles the idol of the Mother goddess found at Harappa.⁶⁷ Considering her as bestower of children, the idol is being worshipped by barren women to beget children. Women, who could not

conceive, worship her by cleansing the idol with water or milk, decorating it with turmeric and vermilion powders, applying honey or ghee on the *Yoni* and then licking it. Doing thus, they believe, would bless them with children.⁶⁸

However, the idol of the presiding deity Jogulamba at Alampur, who is considered to be the consort of Bala Brahmeswara (the presiding deity of one of the Navabrahma shrines) and also known as Renuka *Ellamma*, was hitherto placed in a shrine located on the south-western side. When the shrine became dilapidated, a new shrine was built at the same place. At present, the idol has been installed on the north-eastern side of the Bala Brahmeswara shrine.

There are three more Sakthipithas in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh – at Srisaillam with the presiding deity known as Bhramaramba, at Pithapuram known as Puruhutika, and at Draksharama known as Manikyamba. At all these three places, while the idols of the Goddess and the associated *Yantra* are located apart from one another. The shrine dedicated to *Ellamma* or *Ellamma* at Vegayammaapeta near Draksharama (the site at which Daksha Prajapati had performed *Yajna*) is considered to be a pilgrim site. She is venerated here as the *Gram Devata*. It is also known as Mukti Kshetra. But, the idol of Manikyamba is installed at a separate shrine within the precincts of Bheemeswara Temple at Draksharama. However, at Pithapuram in the same district, the *Mukti Kshetra* or *Yastrasthana* is near the *Gali Gangamma* shrine of the same village. The presiding deity here is known as Gali Gangamma and Puruhutika. But, in the Kukkuteswara temple of Pithapuram, a separate shrine has been built and the idol of Puruhutika Devi is installed. Similarly, at the Srisaillam Hill shrine located in the Eastern Ghats of Kurnool district, the presiding deity is Srisailla Mallikarjuna or Chenchu Mallaiah. His consort, Bhramaramba has a separate elevated shrine for herself behind the one dedicated to Lord Mallikarjuna. Likewise, Jogulamba too is worshipped in a separate shrine dedicated exclusively to her. Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi says that though shrines dedicated to the respective male deities are closer to those of the Mother Goddesses, the latter retained their identity by being worshipped separately and on par with the respective male consorts. During the

field study of the four *Shakti Peethas* located in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, the present author noted that while being installed in their own shrines known as *Muktikshetras* associated to the shrines dedicated to the respective male consorts, they are all worshipped as Mother Goddesses. Though they are being worshipped at all the *Ashtadasa Shakti Peethas* as consorts of the respective male Divinities, at the four *Shakti Peethas*, it is clear that Jogulamba, Bhramaramba, Puruhutika, and Manikyamba are all Mother Goddesses having their own importance.⁶⁸

It must have taken quite a lot of time to transform the Mother Goddess *Ellamma* as Jogulamba, to be incorporated in the shrine as one among the *Ashtadasa Shakti Peethas*. It seems that nine shrines dedicated to Navabrahmas were constructed later, and made Jogulamba as the consort of Bala Brahmeswara in the process of assimilation. Many *Puranas* were written, rather used to validate the assimilation process. It was through this literature that Mother Goddess *Ellamma* was transformed into Jogulamba as one among the *Ashtadasa Shaktis* and then as the consort of Bala Brahmeswara. Just the way India was the main theatre of many battles, it is also home to many communal clashes. The **religious beliefs of the tribal's and non-peasants** along with their Mother Goddesses and

Nagadevatas found a place in the main stream Hinduism.

Conclusion:

The Madigas are the largest leather working community found in both the Telugu speaking States apart from Karnataka and Tamilnadu. They had been identified as the *Panchamas*, and ghettoised to the outskirts of the villages. The Madigas have been worshipping *Matangi* as their tutelary deity as the Mother of all or *Ellamma*. Literary works have been created to link her with Renuka and to bring her into the Hindu pantheon, perhaps to incorporate the Madigas into the fold of Hinduism for material benefits by exploiting their expertise in leather working. However, the Madigas continued to worship her as *Ellamma*. Renuka *Ellamma*, who was hitherto worshipped as a naked goddess, has been transformed into Alampur Jogulamba, the consort of Lord Siva. There are evidences to prove that *Matangi*, the tutelary deity of the Madigas was incorporated in Hinduism initially in *Sakthism* as one among the *Dasamahavidyas* and later as the presiding deities at *Astadasa Shaktis Pithas* of Goddess Parvathi as the consort of Siva in Saivism. The irony is that their goddess *Mathangi* was kept away from the Madigas by barring them from entering into the Hindu temples.

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4. According to the Jamba Purana, Jambavan is considered to be the progenitor of the Madigas. It depicts the emergence of the Universe, followed by that of Jyotirmaheswara (the Supreme Spirit) and then of the sacred sound Om. The narrative goes on to depict the emergence of the Lotus influenced by the sacred sound Omkara, the origination of the Conch shell through which the birth of Adi Jambavan, and the subsequent emergence of Adi Shakti. As a result of her union with the Supreme Spirit, the Goddess transforms into a peahen and lays three eggs, which hatch as Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara. When Goddess Adi Shakti appeals to them copulate with her, the divine Trinity steal her eye aided by Jambavan and then reduce her into ashes. They divide these ashes into five heaps, out of which emerge Saraswathi, Lakshmi, Parvathi, Jalaveerakanyaka and Kamalakshi. While Lord Brahma married Saraswathi, Lord Vishnu married Lakshmi, Lord Siva married Parvathi, Jambavan married both Jalaveerakanyaka and Kamalakshi. Sage Matanga was Jambavan's progeny and his daughters are the ancestors of the Madigas. Besides depicting these cosmic originations, the Jamba Purana narrates the emergence of the pantheon of gods, the demons, and also that of the Madigas, the Malas and their sub-castes. Jambapuranam is narrating by the dependent castes of Madigas like Nulkachandayya, Dakkali and Chindu. Their performance is quite deferent and story also little variance but the theme of Jambapuranam is same mentioned above. Cited from, *Vikram Harijan* (Ed), Problem of Castes in India - Investigating History and Historiography., *Theegala Sreenivas & Thallapally Manohar*, Origin Myths of Shudras and *Ati-Sudras* as Depicted in *Jamba Purana* narrated by *Nulkachandayyas*, Meena Book Publications, New Delhi, 2019, pp. 40-55.
5. This narrative is a legend related to *Jamba Purana* and cited in the *Census Report of Mysore State* (1891). According to the legend, Rishi Jambavan lived in his hermitage along with **his son named Yugamuni Matangi & Yugamuni's wife. For**

- sustenance, the Rishi prayed to Lord Siva who gave him Kamadhenu – the Divine cow that yields all that is desired – as a boon. The Rishi's family lived happily on the milk and curd the cow yielded. Jambavan attended the court of the Lord only after taking care of his son's welfare. One day Sankhyamuni visited the hermitage in the absence of Jambavan. Yugamuni treated him hospitably with the milk and curd yielded by Kamadhenu. On tasting them, Sankhyamuni enticed Yugamuni into killing the cow and serving its meat. In the meantime, Jambavan returned home to see his son and the visitor relishing the beef. He went straight to Lord Siva and narrated the incident, who summoned Yugamuni and Sankhyamuni to his court. While Sankhyamuni stood on the right side, Yugamuni stood on the left side in the court. Lord Siva cursed Sankhyamuni to be born as Holayas – the right-sided caste. He then turned to Yugamuni and cursed him to be born as a *Chandala*, and to survive by making footwear out of cow hide – the life of a left sided caste, cited from Thurston, Edgar & K. Rangachari., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Volume-IV, Government Press, Madras, 1909, pp. 315-316.
6. Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan in his book *Castes and Tribes of Nizam Dominion* (1920) narrates that Jambavan had seven sons who were killed by Lord Brahma to create the world and populate it. "Brahma killed Heppumuni and out of his blood and flesh he created the land, Jalamuni to create water, Ghatamuni to create the mountains, Raktamuni to create blood, Palamuni to create milk, Nilamuni to create the blue sky, and Gavumuni to create the Madigas." This narrative reveals that the Madigas are the first human beings. The narration continues: "Around the same time, Goddess Parvathi was menstruating and left the soiled clothes underneath a tree to bathe. Out of these soiled clothes emerged a boy called Chennaiah. The Goddess appointed him to guard the Divine Cow, Kamadhenu. When Chennaiah tasted the milk yielded by the Cow, the evil desire to taste its flesh overwhelmed him. Under the influence of the desire, he killed the Cow. The carcass of the Cow was so heavy that even the gods could not move it. Lord Siva then summoned Jambavan "Tataal Maha Digi Ra" (Oh great one! Come down). Thenceforth, Jambavan came to be known as Mahaadi or Madiga. Upon being summoned, Jambavan descended, moved the carcass, and cut it into pieces. Lord Siva then ordered Chennaiah to clean and cook the meat, and invited the gods to feast on it. The already craving Chennaiah picked-up a piece of meat that had fallen out of the cauldron, blew over it to cleanse it and put it back into the cauldron. The gods, who had witnessed this, left the place saying that the meat has been defiled. An irate Lord Siva cursed Jambavan and Chennaiah to transform into baseborns. Thus, the descendants of Jambavan continued to be Madigas, and those of Chennaiah as Malas." Based on the narrative, it can be said that after Lord Siva summoned Jambavan "Maha digi rad" the descendants of Jambavan came to be addressed as *Maha-Dige-Varu*, which later on became corrupted to become Mahadigevaru and much later became Madiga. Cited from Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan., *Castes and Tribes of HEH Nizam's Dominion*, Op cit, pp. 410-411.
 7. The story goes thus: "Kamadhenu is a Divine Cow, which yielded milk to all the gods. Vellamanu, a Madiga boy was craving to taste the milk, but Jambavan forbade him from doing so, which however did not deter Vellamanu. Hearing his craving for the milk and its flesh, the Divine Cow dies. The gods cut the carcass into four pieces and send a piece to Aadijambavan. The gods, later on, change their mind and decide to bring the Cow back to life. In the meantime, the over-desirous Vellamanu starts cooking a part of the piece sent to Jambavan. In the process of cooking, to check if the piece is cooked sufficiently, he picks-up a chopped piece of the beef from the cauldron, blows over it, since it is very hot, and drops it back. As a result of his blowing over the piece his saliva was sprayed over it rendering the beef defiled. Because of the defilement, all attempts by the gods to bring the Divine Cow back to life failed. The enraged gods degraded the Madigas in social status, as a curse." From then onwards, Thurston states the Madigas lived in humiliating status. Like the earlier story, although the cause for curse was defilement of the cut of beef, thus defiling the whole carcass of the Divine Cow, in the present story, the act of Vellamanu, resulted in lowered social status for him and his descendants, who until then were living in an eminent position. Cited from Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Op.cit, pp. 315-316.
 8. Oppert, Gustav Solomon., *On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha or India*, Asylum Press, Madras, 1893, p. 66.
 9. Ibid, p.17.
 10. Nanjundayya, H. V and L. K. Ananta Krishna Iyer., *Castes and Tribes of Cochin*, Madras, 1909, p. 126
 11. Thurston, Edgar & K. Rangachari., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Op.cit, 1909, p. 317.
 12. Ibid, p.23.
 13. Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Op.cit, p. 298 and H. V. Nanjundayya and L. Anantakrishna Iyer., *Castes and Tribes of Cochin*, Op.cit., p. 132.
 14. Syed Siraj ul Hassan., *Castes and Tribes of HEH Nizams Dominion*, Op.cit. p. 409 and also see Emma Rauschenbusch Clough., *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of Telugu Pariah Tribe*, Hodder and Stoughton Paternoster Row, London 1899, p. 24.
 15. For the story of Matanga in Mahabharata see Kisari Mohan Ganguly Tr., *The Mahabharata*, Book 13, Section. XXVII, p. 142, (Sabari was the disciple of Sage Matanga and he cursed Vali, the brother of Sugriva. See Ralph T.H. Griffith, Tr., *The Ramayana of Valmiki Translated into English Verse*, Trubner and Co., London, 1870-1874, Book- III, Cantos. LXXIV to LXXVI and Book- IV, Canto. XI.
 16. Emma Rauschenbusch Clough., *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of Telugu Pariah Tribe*, Op cit., p. 25.
 17. Pulikonda Subbachari, (Ed), *Kolunupaka Nulaka Chandayyala Adi Jambava Maha Puranam* (Telugu), Dravida Viswavidyalayamu, Kuppam, 2008, pp. 70-71.
 18. For more details see E.B. Cowell, (Ed), W.H.D. Rouse, Tr., *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births* University Press, Cambridge, 1901, Vol. IV, Book. XV, Visati- Nipata, No. 497, *Matanga-Jataka*, pp. 235-244.
 19. Ibid, p. 317.
 20. Emma Rauschenbusch Clough., *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of Telugu Pariah Tribe*, Op cit., pp. 22-23.
 21. Ibid, p.24.
 22. White David G., *Tantra in Practice*, Mothilal Banarasidas Publishers, Delhi, p.469.
 23. Kinsley, David., *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine*, University of California press, Delhi, 1998, p.216.

24. D. D. Kosambi, An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1956, p. 60.
25. Manohar Thallapally & Veeranna Guguloth, Social Evils among Madigas - Matangi System - A Perspective, Proceeding of the International Conference on Trends in Social Sciences and Humanities (TSSH-2016) at Istanbul, Turkey, 4th June, 2016 to 5th June, 2016, pp. 50-56.
26. In *Kritayuga* Goddess *Adi-Sakti* took the reincarnation of *Renuka*. One day when she went to bathe in a well leaving all her clothes on the rim, the *Madigas* who came there in search of the bark of *Tangedu tree (Tanner's Cassia* - the bark of this tree is used to clean the animal hide) saw her and started passing lewd comments about her body. An irate *Renuka Ellamma* curses them thus: **"Blind with lust you have not recognised me the *Adi-Sakti*. Henceforth, the first girl-child born in your families shall be dedicated to the society and shall be lasciviously laughed at as *Matangi by one and all*". Cited from Thallapally Manohar (Ed), Akulapelly Kumaraswamy at all, Cultural History of Madigas - A Brief Study, Op.cit, pp.46-47)**
27. Monier Monier-Williams., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically Arranged With Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1960 (First Published in 1899), p. 806.
28. Charles Philip Brown., *Telugu- English Nighantuvu*, Marwah Publications, Delhi, 1982, (Second Edition Published in 1903), p. 977.
29. Clough, Emma Rauschenbusch., *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of Telugu Pariah Tribe*, Op.cit, p. 56, 63.
30. Chilumuri Srinivasa Rao., *Madigala Charitra- Samskruthi*, (Telugu), Jyothi Grandhamala, Tirupathi, 2010, p. 129, 130, 171.
31. When Lord Siva tried to dissuade his consort Sati from attending Daksha's *yajna*, Sati became furious and to show him who she really is, she assumed the form of the Divine Mother, who in turn multiplied herself into ten different forms. These ten forms are known as the Dasha Mahavidyas.
32. Kinsley David., *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine*, Op cit., p.212.
33. Donaldson, Thomas E., *Tantra and Sakta Art of Orissa*, Volume-II, DK Print World, Ltd, Delhi, 2002, p.597.
34. Thakur Manoj K., *The Tantras: An Introductory outline*, Book Land Publishing Co., Delhi, 2001.p.69.
35. Kinsley David., *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine*, Op cit., p.1.
36. Ibid. p. 2.
37. Kinsley David., *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine*, Op cit, p.14.
38. Donaldson, Thomas E., *Tantra and Sakta Art of Orissa*, Op.cit, p.599.
39. Ibid.
40. Gourdriaan, Teun., *Ritual and speculation in Early Tantrism*, Sri Satguru Publication, Delhi, 1993, p. 320
41. Donaldson, Thomas E., *Tantra and Sakta Art of Orissa*, Op cit, p.597.
42. Ibid, p. 599.
43. Kinsley David., *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine*, Op cit, pp. 213-218.
44. Ibid, pp. 213-228.
45. Ibid, p. 219.
46. Ibid.
47. Donaldson, Thomas E., *Tantra and Sakta Art of Orissa*, Op cit,p.212.
48. Ibid, p.596.
49. Kinsley David., *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine*, Op cit, p.218.
50. Donaldson, Thomas E., *Tantra and Sakta Art of Orissa*, Op cit,p.597.
51. Kinsley David., *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine*, Op cit., p.220.
52. Ibid, p. 220.
53. Ibid, p. 221.
54. Gourdriaan, Teun., *Ritual and speculation in Early Tantris*, Op cit. p. 320.
55. Hanumantha Rao, BSL., *Religion in Andhra: A Survey of Religious Developments in Andhra from Early Times Upto A.D. 1325*, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of A.P, 1993, p. 33
56. Manohar, Thallapally., Mother Goddess Jogulamba-Renuka-Ellamma at Alampur- A Study, K.Krishna Naik & E. Shivanagi Reddy (Eds), *Cultural Contours of History and Archaeology- in Honor Prof. P. Chennareddy*, Volume -5, Art, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 2015, p.87.
57. Srinivasa Rao, Chilumuri., *Madigala Charitra-Samskruthi*, Op cit., p. 130, 171.
58. Yadagiri, G., *Ellamma Rangapuram Grama Charitra*, Swechha Publications, Hyderabad, 2011, p. 36.
59. Kisari Mohan Ganguly (Tr)., *The Mahabharata*, Book 3, Section. CXVI, pp. 249-250.
60. Clough, Emma Raushenbusch., *While Sewing Sandals: Tales of Telugu Pariah Tribe*, Op.cit pp. 84-86.
61. Sreenivas, Theegala., *Nallagonda jilla Nakrekal Mandalam Baidlavari Jeevana Vidhanam - Oka Parisheelana (Lifestyle of Baidlas)*, Unpublished M. Phil dissertation, submitted to History, Culture, and Archaeology Department of Potti Sriramulu Telugu University, Srisaillam Campus, 2010, pp. 20-21.
62. Venkateshwarulu. B, (Ed)., *Jamba Puranam (Madiga Kula Samskrutika Chitramu): Chindu Bhagotam*, (Telugu), Janapada Kalaparishodhana Vedika, Hyderabad, 1997, pp. 17-18.
63. Manohar Thallapally (Ed). B. Ramachandra Reddy., *Traditional Economy and Religious Life of Leather Working Madigas*, Institute of Studies on Leather Workers (ISLW), Warangal, 2018, p. 66-67.
64. David Kinsley., *Hindu Goddesses, Vision of the Devine feminine in Hindu Religious Tradition*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1987, pp.36-41.
65. Manohar, Thallapally., *Mother Goddess Jogulamba-Renuka-Ellamma at Alampur- A Study*, Op. cit, p.86.
66. Ibid, pp.86-87.
67. Ibid, p.87.
68. Ibid, p.88.
69. Researcher field trip at Alampur Srisaillam, Draksharama and Pithapuram.

Prof. T.R. RAMACHANDRAN ENDOWMENT LECTURE
CONTRIBUTION OF THE VISVAKARMAS TO THE SOUTH INDIAN
ART AND ARCHITECTURE

(with special reference to Karnataka)

Prof. Iranna Pattar

Introduction:

Honourable President, General Secretary of South Indian History Congress distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen and student friends at the outset, I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude and thanks to the Executive Committee and members of the General Body of the South Indian History Congress for nominating me to deliver Professor T.R. Ramachandran Endowment Lecture. I am indeed very fortunate to deliver this endowment named after revered Professor T.R. Ramachandran. I deem it a great privilege to accept it with all humility. I am extremely thankful to all the members of his family for creating an endowment, lecture this congress. When invited to deliver this endowment lecture, I took me decision to present the paper on **Contributions of the Visvakarmas To The South Indian Art and Architecture (with special reference to Karnataka)** So far very few scholars made their attempts to construct the history of the Vishwakarmas, hence, I selected this theme.

I shall begin my lecture with a literary source on a verse from the Mahabharata which **refers to the celebrations' of the Vishwakarma** details are as follows

“Vishwakarma, Lord of the arts, master of a thousand handicraft , carpenter of gods and builder of their palaces divine, fashioner of every jewel, first of craftsmen, by whose art men live, and whom, a great and deathless God, they continuously worship”.¹

Visvakarmas are treated as Visvabrahmana, Devabrahmanas, Panchalas, etc. They are said to be originated from the five sons of lord Visvakarma and they scattered in various places in India and outside and contributed lot to the art and architecture, epigraphy etc, right from the beginning of historical period. The Indian historical source materials like stone inscriptions, copper plate inscriptions, monuments are providing considerable information about the

contributions of the Visvakarmas. The Indian heritage is generally focused through the splendid monuments like temples, forts, towns, wells, epigraphs etc. They exhibited their technical innovative ideas both in the religions and secular literary works for building monuments etc. With the help of literary background the religious edifices and the images appears at least one in a colony of any village or town or city in India and south East Asia. The people gave high respect to worship with great devotion. The paper deals with the contributions of the Visvakarmas in the field of art and architectural production including chiseling the memorial stones, images of gods and goddess, stone inscription and copper plate inscriptions right from the beginning to Vijayanagar period

Origin of Viswakarmas

Viswakarmas trace their ancestry from the five sons of Visvakarma, namely *Manu* (blacksmith worked in iron), *Maya* (carpenter worked in wood), *Thwastha (Tvastra)* -(bronze smith, worked in brass, copper and alloys), *Silpi* (stone carver,), *Visvajna* (goldsmith worked in gold, silver, and jeweler), The community is spread widely throughout India and played socio-economic role and status varied from a very high level to the low level in different parts of India. They earned high wages in towns because of their factory employment and low wages in villages.

As it was explained above they are descended as five sons of Lord Visvakarma. The five occupational sects from one compact community, and are not mutually exclusive; the son of any one may follow any of the five crafts at will. Probably many individuals practiced more than one craft. For examples, an inscription of 1088 C.E. mentions a carpenter Ketoja of Chunbagi who is said have engraved the inscriptions. (*Chubina badagi Ketojana Khandarana*). Another inscription of 1174 C.E. refers to Badagi Barmoja, son of Ballaoja of

Neregala who has engraved the inscription. (Nereyangalla Ballojana maga Badagi Barmmojana kandarani) Another inscription from Tavarakere states that blacksmith Vikramaditya had engraved the inscriptions (*Besageydo Koyatura Kasigam Vikramadityam bahuguna tejan*)² An inscription dated 1130 A.D. mentions that a goldsmith Jakoja, son of Huliycari engraved the inscriptions (karavidiyakkasale huliycariya putra Jakojana kelasa)³ All these refers to the engraver of inscription only.

Anand K. Koomarswamy says that “the kammalar (i.e. Panchal) were known as Visva or Dev Brahmans or Dev Kammalar. They spread gradually towards the South, and then reached Ceylon, Burma and Java. The Kammalar claim to have been at one time spiritual guides and priests to the whole people, of which the position trace their survives in the saying, that “the Kammalar is guru to the world.” They still have their own priests, and do not rely on Brahman; they also perform priestly rites in connection with consecration of images. They claim and possess various special privileges which they have always upheld with much vigor; in some cases. They claim a rank equal to that of Brahmans.⁴ “He also mentions” throughout the rest of ceremony all priestly offices had been performed by the craftsman themselves, acting as Brahman priests.⁵

The Vishwakarma Brahmins have contributed greatly to Indian civilization and culture as temple builders, architects, engineers and artists without their immense contribution, Indian civilization would be very poor indeed. Visvakarmas of Karnataka, also known as Achary or Viswabrahmins or Devabrahmana. They are classified into various sub-groups like, Akkasale, Aksali, Achari, Badiger, Konkani Achar, Viswa Brahmin, Daivagna Brahmin, Kammar, Kambar, Kamsan, Kanchagar, Kanchoore, Kammalan, Lohar, Kamsal, Panchal, Panchala, Sutar, Badaga, Sonar, Pattar, Gejjejar, Silpi, Tachchan, Thattan etc.

Vedas mention Visvakarma: in tenth Mandal of Reg Veda Suktans 81 and 82 which belongs to Viswakarma suktas. The Sixth sloka of 82 Sukta of tenth Mandala mentions the navel of the unborn lord who lies in water again hinting that the verse is actually meant for Lord Narayana who creates the world in the form of

Brahma. Yajurveda pictured him as the Prajapati and in the Atharvaveda he is mentioned as Pashupati. Shwethashwatharopanished describes him as Rudrasiva the one who is dwelling in all living forms. (Internet)

Visvakarma in Puranas

The Vedic Visvakarma refers to God as the creator while Puranic Visvakarma is the artisan of the Gods. In Vishnu Purana calls him the son of the Vasu Prabhas and Yogasiddha, the sister of Devaguru Brihaspati. (Chapter 25 of Book 1)

Shiva Purana (Section 1.2.14) mentions the following. **“Once, Brahmaji went Kshirasagar (the abode of Vishnu) accompanied by the deities and asked lord Vishnu how a man could be liberated from his sorrows. Lord Vishnu answered them that this objective could be met by worshipping Shiva-Linga. “Viswakarma then made a Shivalinga for Kubera, Dharmaraj, Varun, Vishnu and Brahmaji, etc.**

In *Varuna Purana* (section 1.17.4), “after reaching Mandaar Mountain Lord Shiva instructed Viswakarma to construct a home. Therefore he constructed a spacious home for Shiva which was spread in the area of 64 *Yojans*. The home was decorated with swastika symbols and its walls were made of gold. *Skanda Purana, Bhagvat Puran* (section 1.10.46) mentions that Viswakarma construct the Dwarikapuri and other cities.(Internet)

In ancient days the sculptural art and architectural aspects were inherited from father to son. It has been mentioned in number of epigraphs. For example (Dasoja son of sculptor Ramoja ⁶ Chavana the, son of well know artist Dasoja of Balligame⁷ Nagoja, son of the sculptor Bupoja⁸ Thus the art skill was practiced by the members of the same family. These artists are sculptors. They believe that they are the descendants of Vishwakarma, the divine architect in heaven

Artists are the scientists of engineering knowledge. They are referred to as *Sutradharis, Kallakuttiga, Ruvari, Rupakara, Stapati, Upadhyaya*, etc. In Inscriptions and sculpture of Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal, Balligave, Gadag, Lakkundi, Degave, Halebidu, Belur, Somanathapura, Annigeri, Doddagaddavalli, etc **the architect’s signatures are helping in identifying their respective works.**

The names of artists have suffixes ‘*acarya*’ (*acar*) or *Oja* (*upadyaya*), *manic*, *ruvari*, *rupakara*, *Sutradhari*, etc. Use of such suffixes may be noted in the case of Sarvasiddhi acharya, Gunda Anivaritacari and Duggi-acari in early Chalukya period, Gangacari Saralacari, Binamacari, in Rastakuta period, Kalacari, Ikkudacari under the Chalukya of Kalyana. Gangacari-Vardhamanacari, Poysalacari, etc under the Hoysalas.

The suffixes *Oja* appears in many names. For example Revadi Ovajja, Kalloja, Maroja, Masanoja, Dasoja, Tippoja, Malloja, Maniyoja, etc. The term *Oja* is probably derived from the Sanskrit word *Upadhyaya* (in Prakrit *uvajjha*) the terms *ruvari*, *silpi* and *oja* denote artist who are usually sculptors, but the same terms are applied to scribes or stone-masons (*Kalkutigas*), smiths (*Karmacaris*), carpenters (*badiger*) and goldsmiths (*akkasalis*) as well. Besides these we come across terms like *Sutradharis* and *Sthapatis* who are obviously master architects and sculptors.⁹

In Early Chalukyan context we find the suffix ‘*manchi*’ also. For instance Kottimanci¹⁰ Kolimanci¹¹ Singamanci¹², Kondimanci¹³, Pelamanci¹⁴, Kantimanci¹⁵ etc. are appeared in the epigraphs. An inscription found on the Malegitti Sivalaya at Badami implies that manic ending names were borne by architect craftsmen. The inscription states that the temple was created by Aryamanci-Upadhyaya.¹⁶

The Vishwakarmas are able to work in different media like stone, wood, gold, iron and copper and they are called sculptor, carpenter, gold-smith, black-smith and copper-smith respectively.

In Hoysala period architect Hoysalacharya endowed with all titles, the illustrious Maya, Visvakarma and Totakacarya skilled in all handicraft like gold work, metal work, stone work, jewel work, wood work, painting calligraphy, iconography, and all other skilled handwork, a descendant of Visvakarma was Gavaracarya; his son born in that family was Hoysalacharya;

(*Swasti samasta prashastisahitarappa sri manumayam visvakarma totakacharyarappa hastakusaleyalu hemakarmma, lohakarmma, silakarmma, ratnakarmma, Kastakarmma,*

*citrakarmma, patrakarmma, pritamalakshana samasta hastakusaleyulla visvakarma nirmitamappa Gavarocarya natana putrakulodbavanappa Hoysalacharya natanaputram bahukulanvaya gotram XXX tranappa Suracaryanavara piriyyamma Kallaboja Manikacari mattu Surojanam Kireyyagalu Jayagondacari siruvagunda mareyanegalu Ketoja mahacari Nakharacari Mulloja antu kulanvaya kottali sahita madisida dharmapurobhivradaiyantendade.....)*¹⁷

Previous works on Artisans

The role of artisans has been studied by very few scholars. The artisan may be classified into several groups they are the producing the monuments, inscriptions, copper plates etc. While editing the volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica by B.L.Rice, it has pointed out some **artisan’s names**. While writing the description of Hoysala temples by R.Narasimhachar and M.H.Krishna has mentioned some of the artisan names in MAR reports.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, one of the earliest historians took interest to study the artisan of India, in his book on ‘*The Indian Craftsman and History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. He has mentioned some of the names of artisans. Later Vincent smith, Dr M.Seshadra, Dr S. Settar, Dr A.V.Narasimha Murty, Dr M.S.Nagaraja Rao, Dr S.Rajashekara, Dr Seelakanta Pattar, Dr S V Padigar, Dr Srinivasa Ritti, G.Seturaman,(Kammalas in the History of Tamil Nadu,(Prof. T.R. Ramachandran Endowment lecture . XXXIV, SIHC Poondi,2014) Vijaya Ramaswami, (Vishwakarmas in South Indian History, key note address of the XXX VIII,SIHC, Calicut, 2018) have also mentions some artisan of the ancient and Medieval South India

Book like Kelleon Collyers “*The Hoysala Artists* their identity and styles Published by Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1990 appear as the first full scale work. It refers to Hoysala artists and their socio-economic statues and their styles. Similarly K.Sundaram’s ‘*The Artisan Community of Medieval Andhra* (A.D. 1000-1600) gives information on artisan community of Andhra Pradesh. Dr. S. Settar’s book on *Hoysala Temples, in Second Section of that book “Artists and Craftsmen including Their social and*

Economic life, Peregrination of artists and artist is work also discussed .His another book Ruvari,(Kannada Naadina Vastu Shilpigala Charitrika Hinnnele) Abhinava Prakasana, Bangalore,2019.gives the information's of sculptures of Karnataka. Settar S. and Gunther D. Sontheimer; (Ed) on *Memorial Stones*, a study of their origin, significance and variety, (Institute of Indian Art History , Karnatak University, Dharwad and South Asia Institute University of Heidelberg, Germany.1982.) “ is the first comprehensive study of the memorial stones of India and he tries to focus attention on the vast archaeological and literary wealth of the country and on the salient features of the cult-practices prevalent in the past and in the present.”(Preface).It also included the three articles on artists of Memorials. Another work of Dr. Settar, *Halegannada Lipi, Lipikara,lipi Vyavasaya*(Kannada)(Ancient Kannada Script, Scribe and Cultivation of Letters) (Abhinava Prakasana, Bangalore 2014).The book of Kumaraswamy. K.S. on *Bruhath Karnatakada Shilpaachaariyara Charite, (Kannada) (Kanva prakashana, Bangalore, 2013)*;K.P.Iranna, on *Shasanokta Viswakarmara Veerajivana,(Kannada)(Sri Bhuvaneswari Sahitya Prakashana, Shirahatti, 1993). Siddalingam B.G.Artisans in Medieval Karnataka (Sanush Publications, Hubballi,2017)discussed about the artisan of Karnataka.*

Jan Brouwer, who has done extensive study on Vishwakarmas, calls them ‘The Makers of the World’ (Caste, Craft and Mind of South Indian Artisans) of these five groups of Vishwakarma. (OUP. 1995)

The role of Vishwakarmas started from the period of Shatavahana. For example the Vasana inscription (Nargund Taluk, Gadag district) of king Pulumavi refers to the construction of Chandashiva Mahadeva temple (Ayata). In the name of predecessor Chandasiriya said to be remembering of the service of local Vardhaki and he could be identified a scribe or artist or carpenter for the construction of temple. This Vardhaki who could be the family name Vardhaki.. Unfortunate that the portion of the name of this carpenter is effaced and retained part refers to *teii*, which could be derived from (Kateti- pra = Kritaiti- sam).The credit of building this Shiva temple and engraver of this inscription goes to the carpenter Nirgunda.¹⁸ If this person

belonged to carpenter community the temple could be in all probability built with wood. The location of inscription shows the remains of the temple like brick bats of the period. Shown by Dr.R.M. Shadakshar Therefore the temple could be built with bricks as well as wood.

Malavalli pillar of Kalleshvara temple contains two inscriptions. One is referring to the grant of village by Vinukada Chutukulananda Shatakarni,(250 C.E.) Another inscription belonged to Kadamba Sivaskandavarma (300 C.E.), refers to *Uktam khando Vishvakam*. This is the earliest reference to Visvakarmasa. As far the order of Malapali deva it appears that Visvakarma chiseled out this temple¹⁹

The inscriptions of Gangas refer to largely the engraving of stone inscriptions and copper plate inscriptions. For example Kudluru copper plates of Ganga Harivarma refers to Visvakarma Chayana which could be Charyana satana (Kidam). The copper plate inscriptions of Tumbala in T Narsipura Taluk said to be written by Kammar Kongani Acharya. Both are obviously belongs to the Visvakarma scribes,Both the copper plates belonged to the reign of Harivarma and they were the earliest copper plates and the name of Visvakarma achary and Kammar Kongani achary are the first Kannada scribes.²⁰

Visvakarmas continues to appearing in Ganga inscriptions from C.8th century onwards Hallegere copper plates of Shivamara refers to *Visvakarma samanenna Visvakarmacharya* who could be a well versed in Sanskrit . The copper plate contains set of five plates with writings on nine faces and sixty eight lines in the mixer of prose and poems in Sanskrit. The text contents largely Kavya style. The copper plate of the Ganga period brought to light who the *Brahmadehas* were built and who they given *Brahmasvam*²¹

These copper plates are belonging to 748 to 819 and are belonging to the reigns of three kings Shripurusha, Marashimha and Rachamalla. The credit of engraving the copper plates goes to Visvakarma acharya. It appears that they were listening the orders and write the documents in detail and he worked long period begin with the age of 25. When we see the Perjarangi inscription of 819-20 C.E. It can be calculated that he lived about 100 years. It refers to two

grants for the Jina, (Sripura & Manne) ,for four *Brahmadeha* (Agali, Peenne, Kottinba and Perjarangi) in this five inscriptions, two belonged to Marasihma, another two belongs to Sripurusha and one belongs to Rachamalla. Two more copper plates are indentified for this scribe (750-51).He is describe as *Sarvakaladharabutena Chittrakalabhijnena guru shisya*²²)

In Salem copper plates of 771 A.D refers to the epithet of his person. Another Visvakarma name appears in the Ganga inscriptions 904 CE ²³ He was well versed in the bronze work and also described as court engraver. (Visvakarmacaryarena likhitam)²⁴

In Karnataka between sixth century to fifteen century tremendous temple building activity was done under the Chalukyas of Badami,Rastrakutas of Malkheda, Chalukyas of Kalyana, Hoysala of Dwarasamudra, Kalachuries of Karnataka, Yadavas of Devagere, Vijayanagar and other feudatory rulers(like Kadambas of Goa, Kadambas of Hangal, Rattas of Soudatti, Santaras etc) The Vishwakarma artisans are the creation of work in the building of temples like Sangameswara and Virupaksha temple at Pattadakalla, Cave temples at Badami, Kasivisweswarra temple at Halluru, Nannaya temple at Sirivala, Kasivisweswara temple at Lakkundi,Kedareswara temple at Balligave, Mahadeva temple at Itagi, Chennakeshava temple at Belur, Hosaleswara temple at Halebidu, Lakshmidevi temple at Doddagaddavalli, Keshava temple at Somanatapur etc. Some of the *Sutradharis* of early Chalukyas are as follows;

Aryamanchi Upadhyaya

Aryamanchi Upadhyaya is said to have built the beautiful Melegitti Sivalaya at Badami in Dravida style around 625 C.E. An inscription on the eastern wall of the temple reads as *Sri Aryamanchi Upadhyaya Prasad nirmmitam*.²⁵ It shows that, the word Upadhyaya is associated with *Sutradharis* or Vishwakarmas. It is interesting to note that he has two suffixes of Vishwakarmas namely Manci and Upadhyaya. The temple is very imposing and impressive with its Vimana type of superstructure, is a 'Nirandhara' style of temple.²⁶

Narasobba

Narasobba is a renowned architect and sculptor of Aihole. He was the architect of the temple of Huccappayya gudi which is in the northern Rekha-nagara style. In a Sanskrit inscription on its pillar in the porch of that temple informs are following:

Swasti Jambudvipantare Kaschit

Vastu Prasada tadgatab

Narasobba Samo Vidwan

Na bhuto na bhavishyati ²⁷

[In *Jambudvipa* in the art of building of temple there has been none in the past who equaled Narasobba or there any in the future]

Another epigraph on a boulder near Jain cave at Aihole refers to that the multi faceted personality of Narasobba. He was the disciple of Binjadi. He was well versed in the science of construction of buildings. In character he was like the sun. He was one who chiseled sculptures with accurate proportion. It is evident from these inscriptions that he was both the architect and sculptor of rare caliber.²⁸ The inscription eulogizes him as under.

*Sri-Binjadi [vidaj]rddhara Cattan
Vimana-ranjitan sastra-mahesvaran
Guna-Ravi rupasamghatan Pramana-
Bharan Narasobban.*

The above said inscription describes him as the disciple of one Binjadi (No.180). An inscription on a pillar of the double - stored Buddhist structure on the Meguti hill refers to Binjadi- Ovaja obviously. This person, **Narasobba's teacher, was the architect of the Buddhist structure.**²⁹

All these information Badami, Aryamanchi Upadhyaya built the temple of Malegitti Sivalaya with Dravida Vimana while Narasobba built Huccappaya temple at Aihole with Rekha Nagara super structure. He also chiseled out outstanding sculptures of this temple³⁰

Gunda Anivaritachari and Sarvasiddhi Achari:

Today Pattadakal has been recognized as the world heritage site. The most magnificent architectural feature of early Chalukya period is the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal. This was patronized by the queen Lokamahadevi to

commemorate the triple victory of her husband Vikramaditya II over Pallavas of Kanchi.³¹ We are fortunate enough to find the details of architects who solidified this imposing huge temple. In fact two master architects were involved in its construction. One was Gunda Anivaritachari who was in charge of entire temple construction except the southern part which was supervised by Sarvasiddhi Achari.³²

Both architects were the recipients of the unique title called *Perjerepy*. It was the royal honor of the highest order. Gunda Anivaritachari was conferred the title Tribhuvanachari. The title implied the recognition as the best of architecture in the three worlds equaling the divine architect Visvakarma. The important part of the inscription is as follows.

Svasti [II] Vikramaditya –Sri
Pri (pr)thivi-vallabha Mahadevi
Yara degulaman ma(ma)dida Sutradhari
Sri-Gundan Anivaritacari
Ge mume-perjerepu-Pattamu Trivhuvanachari
y-endu Pesarittu Prasadari-geydar³³

Sarvasiddhi achari is mentioned in two inscriptions in the Virupaksha temple. The first inscription engraved on the pillar in the southern side of gateway is as follow.

*Svast Sri-Vikramaditya-
Bhatara-mmume kamiyan-mumepara
Jisidora Sri-Lokamahadeviyara
I Lokesvara madida Sutradharige
Mume-perjerepugeyda-balikkei*

[the king Vikramaditya- bhatara, who had defeated (the king of) Kanchi thrice, did the honour of mume-perjerepu for the architect (Sutradhari- Sarvasiddhi-acari) who made the (temple of God) Lokesvara (built by) Lokamahadevi.³⁴ Thereafter it gives the Prasasti of

Sarvasiddhi acari as follows.

*Svasti Sri Sarvasiddhi achari Sakala guna
achraya
Aneka-ra (u) Pu- vastu- Pitamahan Sakala-
niskala-su-
Ksm-ati-bhasitan va(a)stu-Prasada*

*-yan-asana-saya- Na manimakuta-ratna-
cudamani*

Te[m]kana dise Ya Sutradhari

(The Prasasti describes him as the asylum of all virtuous qualities, the Pitamaha in making images and houses, one with perfect and refined conversation and one who had for his jeweled diadem and crest jewel the houses, Palaces (or temples) vehicles, seats and couches (built by him). He is stated to be the architect of the Southern side (temple).³⁵

The second Inscription on the wall of Nandi mantapa of the same temple is a clear evidence of the architect of Southern part temple. The inscription runs as-

Sri Sarvasiddhi aca
ryya tenkana diseya
sutradhari³⁶.

Scholars have provided varying interpretation on the phrase *tenkanadiseya Sutradhari*, which literally means the architect of the southern quarter. Fleet thought that he was the architect of southern country, there by implying that he belonged to the south. Later on it was suggested that the phrase should be understood as suggesting that he was the architect of the southern side of the Lokesvara (now called Virupaksha temple. This view currently holds ground. But it would be strange to hold that two architects would work a single temple, one doing the southern side and the other, by implication, the northern side.³⁷

Revadi Ovajja:

Another important architect and sculptor of Pattadakal is Revadi Ovajja. He is the architect of Papanath temple at Pattadakal. The southern part of this temple was constructed by Revadi Ovajja. He happens to be the disciple of Sarvasiddhi Achari and grandson of Silemuddar. An inscription on the east-wall of the temple runs thus-

*Swasti Sri Silemuddara
marman Sarvasiddhi a
Carjyara cattar Reva
di ovajjar ten
Kana dise madidor³⁸.*

It is worth nothing here that Sarvasiddhi **Achari's disciple Revadi Ovajja built Papanath** with Rekha Nagara Superstructure. It means that, Sarvasiddhi imparted the knowledge of Rekha Nagar style to Revadi. Thus it is clear that, Sarvasiddhi achari was the master in both styles of architecture namely Dravida Viman and Rekha Nagar. Because of his mastery over both styles he could experiment blending features of southern and northern styles in Virupaksha temple. As a result the unique temple exhibits the northern features of architecture like Sukanasi at **the base of Superstructure and 'Kakhsana'** in the porch. These two are the typical architectural elements of Rekha Nagara temple³⁹.

An inscription of 754 CE states that during the reign of the Badami Chalukya king Kirtivarman II and states that Subhadeva belonged to the Sandilya-gotra and was the son of the Sculptor Sivavardhamana. He created the pillar at the gateway of the Vijayesvara temple (known as Sangamesvara for the acarya Jnanasiva who had come from Mrigathanikahara visaya on the north bank of the river Ganges and who had been made the Priest of the Vijayesvara temple.⁴⁰

The Sutratharis of Rasrakuta period as follows:

Among the names of craftsmen's mentions in the Rastrakuta period only a few bear the signatures of craftsmen. Among them, Paliyana, son of Inurbarchari figures as a significant architect who worked on the Bogha Nandhiswara temple at Nandhigrama in Chikkaballapur district.⁴¹ craftsmen Gangachari worked on the Dadigeswara temple at Mudalapalya in Magadi taluk⁴²

An inscription from Alampur dated 780 CE, refers to the first regnal year of the Rashtrakuta king Dharavarsha (Dhruva) of Malkhed. It refers to the construction of Srivagili (Mahadevaras) and also gift of 30 mattara of Land to Ayyanachara and Sridharoja for building this Mahadeva temple. At that time Balavarmaras was administering the Alampura⁴³. The Sutratharis of Chalukyas of Kalyana as follows:

Dasoja of Balligamve

Dasoja and his son Cavana are great sculptors from Baligamve in Shikaripur taluk of the Shivamogga District later he migrated to

Belur. Dasoja engraved a record composed by the great Kannada poet, Santinatha, Whose Jaina work Sukumara-Carite has been survived to this day. He also sculpted image of Acyuta at the Sitihonda at Balligave and of Kesava (and probably of Brahma also) at Mattihalli, Hire Kerur taluk of the Haveri district. At Havanagi in Hangal taluk we encounter a mason named Sarasvati-ganada-si(sa) Dasoja, who made an image of Adityadeva in 1119 C.E.

An inscription from Huvinahadgali in Bellary district dated 1062 CE refers to 120 Mahajanas of Poovina Padangili and there said to have made the grants to Maroja who laid the foundation stone (Kesarukallu) to Kalidevaswami of Poovina Padangili. The sculptor who engaged in the construction of the temple was completely exempted from the payment of taxes.⁴⁴

Udega, the chief architect of the Sarasvati temple is mentioned in the inscription written on the pillar on the right side wall of the same temple. It contains of two lines in Hale- Kannada language and script.

According to Dr Srinivas Ritti "Triumphant in the world is Udega the disciple of Sri Kriyasakti Pandita (Udega) who is equal to God Brahma in expounding the various arts and sciences who to the wicked architect is, as Siva was to Karma; who would overpower the opponent architects just as a lion would overpower a rutting elephant; who would break the pride of the jealous architects as an expert paramour would do to a harlot.⁴⁵

Bisadoja, Chavoja and Singoja

For their having erected the mantapa of the god Kedara within the contract time, the Rajaguru deva being pleased, made a grant of 150 kamma of rice land in Kiru Balligave, to Bisadoja, Chavoja and Singoja, these three to continue free of all imposts, as long as sunana moon. Also he grated to them Siruvolal in the Bedue seventy, with enjoyment for three generation.⁴⁶

The inscription on the pedestal of Brahma figure at Kuruvatti in the Bellary district. tells us that Cavunoja, the son of Gulgoja, architect (*Sutrathari*) of Trailokyamallesvaradeva, worshipper of the feet of Srivadideva, belonging to Sarasvati-gana and a disciple of the learned, made the idol of Brahma⁴⁷.

Tippoja

Tippoja was the chief architect of the Kamalanarayana and Mahalaksmi temple at Degaon about three k.m South West of Kittur. An inscription on the pillar of the temple runs thus-

Bharatagam sastrakala
Parinatyol varnakaviteyol danaguno
Tkaradol sariyar vanke
Swara devara Tippoja bhutaladol.⁴⁸

This temple is elegant Nagar *trikuta* with a highly unusual plan; the central shrine is located within the hall and hardly visible from outside. From the outside the temple looks like a *dvikuta* with two *mulaprasadas* lying side by side and sharing one oblong open hall with a Verandha added to it. The letter is unique and splendid. The Nagar articulation of the walls of the temple in plan and without superstructures, very clearly look like Nagara *mulaprasadas* and not like Dravida *Vimanas*.⁴⁹

The temple was built in the name of Kamaladevi the queen of Goa Kadamba king Permadi or Sivachitta who was ruling 1169 C.E.

Sri Karanaga

Sri Karanaga said to have made four pillars to the Navaranga of Amruteswara temple at Holal in Hadagali taluk, Bellary district. Further he said to have received 90 gadyana for these pillars it indicates that he charged 20 gadyana for each pillar and 10 gadyana for his workmanship. He described as *Kaliyuga Visvakarma*

An inscription on the navaranga mantapa pillar of the temple runs thus ;

“Kaliyuga visvakarma choushashti kalavida pravina, Choushashsti prasada visharada Nagara Kalingandra dravila, Vesara chaturjati prasada nimita Sutradhari”⁵⁰

These details inform that he was expert in varies art of Dravida, Vesara, Kalinga etc.

The Sutradharis of Hoysala period as follows;

During the Hoysal period many temples were built with many Innovative ideas and skills. Therefore most of the temples are showing significant art and architectures details owing to the production of various literary works and

writing of large number of inscriptions and copper plates we could notice the influence of religious themes as well as cultural aspects. The agama text could be followed for the building the temples and installing various images. The persons like Viswakarmas appear to be well acquainted with the literature background. They could build the magnificent temples with technological perfections and made the images of gods and goddess with appropriate features like physical features, ornaments and weapons etc. In this regard we are getting many names of Artisans and sculptors and scribes of the Hoysala period. Some of the important Artisans and sculptors are introduced here.

In the early years of Hoysala rule, particularly between 1060 and 1115 temples were mostly built by local artists in their homeland. A basti at Angadi was built by Poysalachari in 1063 C.E.⁵¹ The Lakshmidivi temple at Doddagaddavalli was built by Malloja and Manivoja in about 1113 C.E.⁵²

Gangachari- Vardhamanacari:

Gangachari was an accomplished scribe as well as sculptor of the early 12th century. He was the elder son of Poysalachari and brother of Kamvacari. His father appears to have been the one who lived at Angadi during the latter half of the 11th century and distinguished himself as a sculptor- architect. He made as many as seven items Four of these are on Nisidhis (or memorials erected in honor of pious Jains who took to ritual termination of life) **Two are on donatives’ records** and one is on the image of the Jina. He had the title like *biruda- lekhaka-madana-mamahesvara* or a forehead ornament of the titled-sculptors.⁵³ **Hoysalacari’s son Vardhamanacari called himself Gangacari** after the name of his famous patron. He could engrave long records with as much ease as he could carve intricate images of Yaksas. Gangacari’s original name appears to have been Vardhamanacari. Being a Jaina and in the service of Gangaraja, he seems to have spent the major portion of his life-time at Sravana-Belgola and in the immediate neighborhood of this great Jaina centre.⁵⁴

Mallitamma

Mallitamma was the most prominent of all the Hoysala sculptors exceptionally long career spanned the greater part of that period the first reference to Mallitamma is to be found on the

ceilings of the Amrtesvara temple at Amrtapur dated 1196 C.E.. It was the earliest work of Mallitamma his last work was Panchalingesvara temple at Govindana halli (K.R.Pet Taluka).

These six temples on which he worked include, the Amrtesvara temple at Amrtapur (1196 C.E.) the Laksmi-Narasimha temple at Harnahalli, (1237 C.E.) at Nuggehalli (1246 C.E.), Javagalla, and Saligrama and Kesava temple at Somanathapur, dated 1269 C.E. Panchalingesvara temple at Govindanahalli and Laksmi-Narasimha temple at Javagalla have both been tentatively dated c.1250 C.E. by R.Narasimhachar . **Mallitamma's name is inscribed beneath two of the four Saiva dvarapala images which guard the two eastern doorways of this five sanctum temple at Govindanahalli.**⁵⁵

The first deity carved by Mallitamma as one circumambulates the temple from left to right be the Laksmi-Narasimha image in which the god Visnu is portrayed in the man-lion *avatara* incarnation.⁵⁶

The next deity which bears Mallitamma's name is the image of Visnu in the form of Sridhara which can be identified not only by the **god's name inscribed on the Pedestal.**⁵⁷ The third image on the western wall of the sanctum though the order of the vaisnava symbols is different. The fourth deity on which Mallitamma name has **been inscribed is an image of Visnu's consort at Harnahalli** he made group of images which is of the greatest interest in the analysis of his stylistic development. He engraved images like Laksmiana, Pradyumna Aniruddha Laksmi, Adhokshaja, Laksmi, Govardhanadari, Puspabharini etc. ⁵⁸.

In Lakshmi-Narasimha temple at Nuggehalli Mallitamma worked his name has been inscribed beneath Seventeen images. They are in South wall. Durga, Lakshmi, Vasudeva Naryana, accompanied by his consort Laksmi. In the north-west wall of the temple shows the ten-armed Varaha trampling the prostrated figure of the demon, the small images of Prithvi, Varaha, Krishna as the flute playing Venugopala.⁵⁹

Mallitamma's name was appeared in four female deities which are the two depict eight armed dancing Goddesses first is Lakshmi with her hands bearing the following symbols and mudras or hand gestures, a bhaya, Padma, Cakra, Svargahasta, Sankha Phala, Lambahasta,

danahasta. The second image represents the eight armed goddess Sarada. In her hands include the *aksamala* 'rosary' **phala, ankusa** elephant god, Svargahasta, Pasa, Padma, Lambahasta, and Pustaka.⁶⁰

Another was Mahisasuramardini and inscribed Durgi is another of the female deity carved by Mallitamma on the north wall of the temple. The fourth image was Laksmi standing stiffly in the Samabhanga pose; the four- handed holds *phala gada Khetaka* and *Kapala* and she is accompanied by two small attendants. Another images carved by Mallitamma at Nuggehalli, a large and heavily limbed sculpture depicts **Visnu's vehicle, the man-agile Garuda**. Another image was the Arjuna, Indra and his consort Sashi, who ride four tusked celestial elephant *Airavata*, another was Nagini or Sake deity.⁶¹

The Mallitamma last work is Kesava temple at Somanathpur. He was probably invited by Somanna-dannayaka the patron of this temple, when he was at Javagal Somanathapura is about 85-90 kilometers to the South-east of Javagal. According to the inscription Hassan district⁶² **Mallitamma's name has been inscribed thirty-seven times on the temple identified over eighty references to either his full name, part of his name or the first letter.**⁶³ Mallitamma and his workshop has attributed the seventeen images in this temple. These images include nine deities and eight maiden attendants.

Mallitamma was the foremost of the Hoysala sculptors. He led nearly sixty years of active life and participated in the establishment of some of the greatest temples his time.

Baicoja

The sculptor Baicoja of Nandi was second only to Mallitamma in importance among the sculptors of the thirteenth century and like him was the master of sizeable workshop. He worked alongside this master at the Laksmi- Narsimha temple at Nuggehalli.

The first sculpture carved by Baicoja as one circumambulates the temple from left to right, depicts the deity *Amaranarayana* or *Paravasudeva* who is seated on the coils of Ananta, the seven headed snake. The upper hands of the god hold the *cakra* and *sankha*, while an inscriptions along the upper section of the Pedestal records that the image of *Adimurti* was made by Baicoja of Nandi ⁶⁴

The *Ugranarsimha* image also the work of Baicoja an inscription found that place mentions that the sculptor Baicoja of Nandi made this ⁶⁵

The next image carved by Baicoja is the God *Trivikrama*. The deity holds the *Padma gada, cakra and Sankha*, and he is portrayed with his left leg firmly planted on the earth, while the right leg is raised above waist level as he prepares to cross the river Ganges. Beneath the deity, on the upper section of the Pedestal is inscribed the image of *Trivikram* made by the sculptor Baicoja of Nandi ⁶⁶

An inscription dated 1233 C.E. and 1244C.E. refers that Kalloja who built the temple of Kalideva at Nidagundi in Ron taluk also got the gift of land of 6 kam⁶⁷.

Cavana; A sculptor from Balligamre who worked on the Chennakesava temple at Belur, son of Dasoja,⁶⁸

Svasti srimath Balligrameya ruvari Dasojana Putra Chavana madida Putali machchhariipa- biruda- ruvari- Madana Mahesa Kesava -Deva madisida besa II

Svasti Srimatu Balligrameya Dasojana PutraChavana geyida Besa biruda -ruvari - madana-mahesa.

Drohagharattacari Architect of the Kanna basti at Kambadahalli, seems to have named himself after a title of his Patron, Gangaraja⁶⁹

Other artist under Hoysala are Chikka-Mallitamma, Honoja, Balla Somoja, Basavoja, Bayiroja, Bibbacari, Cakacari, etc.⁷⁰

The Sutratharis of the Vijayanagara period as follows;

The Vijayanagara temple art is largely anonymous in nature as far as the artists who built the temples are concerned. Though the constructional activities took place during the period on such an unprecedented scale, it is unfortunate that very little is known about the artists who made them. Only ten or twelve inscriptions furnish information about the artists in the vast corpus of records of this period. Highly beautiful work of art like the *Maharagamantapas* of Virupaksa and Vittala temples at Hampi, the *Kalyanamantapa* and the *Dvaramantapa* of Somesvara temple at Kolar, the reliefs on the Columns of Vitthala,

Tiruvengasanatha temples at Hampi and Mahaganapati temple at Kurudumale etc do not bear the names of their artists.⁷¹

The king Bukka I constructed the Siddhanatha temple at Chitradurga. Near Kalkoja, son of Somoja erected a gateway in front of the temples of Goddess Mahakali at Telanuru⁷².

An inscription of Bagepalli taluk refers that the famous Gadidim Venkataramana temple at Devaragudipalli was constructed by three masons namely *Kallukutiga* Nayonde, Kamoja and Bairoja one year after the construction of this temple, a grant of few villages was made to them.⁷³

The king Devaraya I constructed a temple for the deity Visvesvara and Lakshminarayan at Gulaganji in Kolar district. This temple was made by Muddoja son of Tippoja⁷⁴.

A record of Tekal presents a little detailed information about the artists who labored for the erection of the towered gateway of Kallavaradaraja temple of this place. For this work, it required the services of a carpenter and a blacksmith as well. Singaraja, the minister of Goparaja, the viceroy of Tekalnadu and a close relative of the king Devaraya II, felicitated the artist's Cola-Devoja and Anjala Lingoja by granting lands, houses and umbrellas. Cola-Devoja was a carpenter and Anjala Lingoja, a blacksmith.⁷⁵

Vallabharaja, the viceroy of Devaraya II, built a temple for god Hanumanta at Kundagala in Dharwad district. The temple and the sculpture of Hanumanta were made by an artist Kaloja, son of Bommoja in 1444 C.E.⁷⁶

Titles

The Architects and sculptors were the Visvakarmas in the heavenly abode of art history. They had gained various epithet from their art work is mentioned in following inscriptions.

1. Viswakarmasamanena
Visvakarmacharyenedam Sasanam
Likhitam⁷⁷
2. Biruda ruvarimukhatilakam
Vardhamanacari Khadarisidam⁷⁸
3. Dhareya ruvari Chakravarti Samatojara
Kandarane.⁷⁹

4. Ruvarivairibirudabherunda Chaudojan marmma Satojan besa ⁸⁰
5. Yi Kalla Madidata Kallukutiga Singoan maga Biroja, Atana birudu manthanisuvara Gantaragala, matsari suvar Manthanasula⁸¹

REMUNERATION TO THE ARTISTS

The epigraphs of ancient and medieval Karnataka record the land grants to the architects and sculptors who were responsible for building the temples, erecting memorial stones and engraving the epigraphs. In these cases, the grant usually stipulated not only the amount of land; its position and boundary lines, but also the type of land.

An inscription refers to the Visvakarmacaryya who was skilled in all the arts, including painting, was given a grant of four *Khandugas* of wet land and two *Khandugas* of dry land for engraving an inscription. ⁸²

An inscription dated 1067 CE states that the Rudra a sculptor, got epithet Mahakala Brahma was given a special grant by a temple priest called Savarasi in appreciation of his skill when he engraved a record, entering the letters with “elephants, lions, parrots and many other forms⁸³

The architect Malloja-Maniyoja, who was responsible for the construction of the Laksmidevi temple at Doddagaddavanahalli was paid 4 *salages* of wet land exempted from the taxes below the big tank.⁸⁴ Another architect referred to as Bammoja, son of Halloja, of Kikkeri was paid “1 *slage* and 10 *Kolages* of wet land, 15 *Kolages* of dry field for the construction of the Isvara temple at Tenginahatti ⁸⁵

In 1186, artists Bisadoja, Covoja and Singoja received 150 Kamma of rice-land from the raja-gurudeva for erecting “the mantapa of the God Kedara, within the contracted period”. This grant was to be enjoyed by them as long as the sun and the moon endured.⁸⁶

In 1340, the Brahmanas of Bahmasaudra agrahara gave a rent free estate to Damoja, son of carpenter Madivoja⁸⁷.

The Veeragal inscription dated 971-72 CE registers a grant of ten Kolagas of land to vibhoga, the sculptors as remuneration for

having got done the Veeragal to commemorate the heroic death of Anna Vasayya ⁸⁸

In 1380 three priests (Pujaris) presented to mandalapurausa, an acari (craftsman) for the work done for the temple. Land specified and a house too, exempt from taxes, with pouring of water. This disclosed how payment was made in kind not in case.⁸⁹ In 1387 another epigraphy relates how wages were paid for building a temple and a lamp- pillar (dipa male) in the form of eight kolagas of land. An inscription dated 1408 C.E. mentions that building the Visveswara and Laksmi Narayana temple Mudoja, the craftsman, was granted the Baireya Kula rise field⁹⁰

In 1431 C.E. for the carpenter Coja-Oja, who had executed the wood work of the door of the gopura of the mantapa facing the god Varadaraja and blacksmith Anjala Divinoja for setting up the door and performing the iron door work apparently of the same temple, were presented by Singa Raja, hereditary land, horse and umbrellas ⁹¹

1. Srimat Tilivalliya Birojana magma kaloja Sasanamam madida besakke Somesvara Panditar Varshamprati avalakkige Khanduga bhattaram Kottar,⁹²
2. Asandiya Somojana maga Hariyoja Satesvaradevar devalyavam Eradu tamrasasanavuvam geyda Haryojonge Satasamudrada KMelage gadde Ko,⁹³
3. Yi Sasanagalu hoyida Kakute tirumalage Varadarajadevar nirupadim Settehalyalu gadde 2 holanu 3 vanu kottevu ⁹⁴
4. Sri Hariharadevara maneya akkasale Niravrojana Manakariya Tipojanu yi Sasanava tiddidake Beluvadiya gramadallu Vokkulada yereya Boomiyanu Kotteu ⁹⁵
5. Yi Silasasanava barada akasale Siriyanage vakkutada Kaligambhada manya.⁹⁶

Some time the artisans work without their wages. An inscription dated 1189 state that “Kanchugararu devarupakaranagalellamam kuliyam kollade madi kuduvantagi bittaru”⁹⁷

GUILDS OF ARTISAN

The Panchalas (Vishwakarmas) trace their ancestry to the five sons of Viswhakarma, of whom the first-born was Manu, who worked in iron called Kammar; the second, Maya who worked in wood called Badagi; the third, Twasta, who worked in brass, copper and alloys, called Kancugara, the fourth, artisan Silpi, who worked in stone; and fifth, was Viswajna, who worked in gold and Silver called him as Akkasali. In ancient and medieval Karnataka the Panchalas (All five groups) had their own guilds mentioned their interests. The contemporary inscriptions of Karnataka mentions these guilds by such terms as *seni or Sreni, kottali, samuha, gottali, sameyangal hittu, or pittu simeyagal and okkalu*⁹⁸ The Laksmeswara inscription dated 725 refers to the guilds of the braziers.⁹⁹ The Yevur record of 1110 C.E. refers to the guild of the braziers (Kanchugar gottali) and Silpis. (*Kalkutiga gottali*)¹⁰⁰ Lakkundi inscription dated 1185 refers to the guild of Badiga and Kammar (*Badiga Kammararu vokkalalondu Horeyamam hanna sumdhannadalu ballavondumam bittaru*)¹⁰¹ Another inscription refers to the guild of Akkasali Badiga and Kammar (*Akkasali Badiga Kammara rokkala dondu tegeya hore hedageyaluppa mana 1 nulaparvvakkeyokkaladondu*)¹⁰²

It informs that there were separate guilds for the carpenter, the blacksmith, the braziers, the Shilpi and the gold smith. They were also paying taxes on their profession. An inscription mentions tax on blacksmith (*Kammara dere*)¹⁰³

Another inscription mentions tax on goldsmith (*akkasale acchina kammata dere*)¹⁰⁴

The credit of production of art and architectural remains with monuments, sculptures, paintings, copper plates and stone inscriptions goes to Visvakarmas. It has been shown from the above study. They are human beings and maintained their proficiency mainly on the art work either building the monuments or fashioning the designs on them and depict the sculptures with or without themes and gained the income by doing this type of work. The study further informs that they were getting more income in the cities than in the villages. These masterpieces are exhibiting the heritage glory of our ancestors in our country. They are the richness of our heritage and culture. The rulers of many dynasties gave patronage for the construction of these monuments, erection of the sculptures etc. When there was anarchy due to warfare and other natural calamity people might have died, but their production is living even today. They are telling their historical glimpses and it reflects their art contributions from the Visvakarmas in India.

Let me once again take this opportunity to place on record my sincere thanks to the South Indian History Congress for giving me this opportunity to deliver Professor T.R. Ramachandran Endowment Lecture.

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PROF. B.C. RAY MEMORIAL LECTURE
IDENTITY, EQUITY AND INSECURITY : MUSLIM POLITICAL
DISCOURSE IN CONTEMPORARY IN INDIA

Dr. A Pahlithil

Muslims are much misunderstood in the contemporary society particularly India due to various historical and political reasons. The Muslim community across India constitute the second largest demographic section of the country. According to the census report of 2011, they comprise 14.4 percentage of total Indian population and is the largest minority community.¹ The bulk of the Indian Muslims are socially and economically, downtrodden and backward. Majority of them were converted to Islam from the lower strata of Indian society owing to various social and historical compulsions. The Muslim community leaders take up mainly their religious identity issues as their major political agenda instead of other larger political, social or economic issues.

The Colonial historians portrayed Muslims as conquerors and war monks, who were threat to Hindu culture and civilization. The Orientalist writers also depicted Muslim rulers of India as a brutal aggressive class and their warfare with native Hindu kings as Hindu-Muslim conflicts. The British prepared history continued the same narration. They divided the history into Hindu-Muslim and Modern periods and wrote that during the medieval period, Muslim rulers oppressed Hindu subjects and many of their centres of worship were destroyed or converted to mosques.²

During the time of freedom struggle the ideas of two nations theory forwarded by Muslim leaders and Hindu Mahajan Sabha led to put the communal rift and sowed the seeds of communalism in India. As a result, India witnessed the worst communal riots the eve of partition. Meanwhile, the Muslim elites (Ashraf) left India and gave an option to their fellow Muslim brothers to re-locate their homelands in India or Pakistan. These Muslim leaders presented the new country Pakistan before them as a **symbol of Muslim 'sacrifice', where, Muslims** would evolve as a moral community gaining economic and political justice.³ Still, majority of Muslims choose India as their homelands and

the leaders like Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad gave political leadership to them.

Post-independent Indian political leadership framed a secular constitution for the people of India in which equal opportunities and citizenships were provided to all people who were living in Indian territory irrespective of their caste, creed, religion or faith. Meanwhile, the Muslim leadership in India very effectively build an inter-community relationship which received wide acceptance among the general public of India. But the wounds of partition did not healed soon. The elements of communalism began to develop more vigorously and dangerously in India. A group of Hindu religious fundamentalists forcefully entered into Babri Masjid on December 22nd 1949, and installed the idol of Lord Rama in the mosque.⁴ It was great threat to the secular and democratic fabric of the country. Moreover, it was a major threat into the ideas of equity, minority rights in India.

During that time, the Muslim community leaders extended their support to the ruling congress party, by hoping that their community interests might be protected by the them. One of the major Muslim religious organizers called Jamiat-UI-Uma-Hind (JUH) was became a junior partner of the ruling party.⁵

Since 1961 the country began to witness several community riots in various parts of the country. The Jabalpur riot was one of such major riots of that time. These riots started merely one petty issues or economic interests,⁶ but it soon absorbed communal colour and spread to various parts of the country by killing innocent people and destroyed crores of wealth.

At the time of Indira Gandhi, particularly during the time of national emergency and the Hindutva groups and Jama-Ut-Islami mutually helped and explored further possibilities of mutual co-operations.⁷ These groups were co-sufferers and jail mates during that time. But this did not continue for a long time due to their own ideological contradictions. In the general election

of 1980, the Sangh Parivar Party formed their own political party called Bharatheeya Janatha Party (BJP) under the leadership of Atal Bihari Bajpai and L.K. Advani. They mainly uphold Indian nationalism, national epics, mythology, national heroes as their core national agenda⁸ and kept away from the ideas of socio-economic development and secularism.

Moreover, they widely propagated the politics of hatred and looked at minorities, **particularly Muslims as the 'other', and saw the creation of Pakistan as the handwork done by the Muslims, as an unforgettable crime done by them.** The present day Indian Muslims are seen as pro-Pakistanis, anti-national and extending support for cross border terrorism. They are the part of global Islamic terrorists and militancy. On the other hand, Hinduism is the religion version of Indianness and Indian nationalism.

These arguments were strengthened by the time of Shabano Case of April 23rd 1985 and its after effects. The case approved the right of Muslim women for maintenance until her remarriage from her divorced husband under the Indian Penal Code as similar to other communities of India.⁹ But the political and religious leadership of Muslim community claimed that the ruling of the court was against the Muslim personal law, Shariya. According to Muslim leadership marriage and divorce are religious issues in which court had no right to interfere in these issues. Meanwhile, Hindu fundamentalist groups demanded the implementations of Uniform Civil Code (UCC) and the right of Muslim for polygamy as one that would change the demographic balance of different communities in the country. They also pointed out that the articles 44 and 48 of Directive Principles of State Policy as attempts to secure for Uniform Civil Code for the all citizens of India.¹⁰

The Sangh Parivar Organizations alleged that Muslim population is increasing more than national average due to uncontrollable birth-rate, rejection of family planning measures, polygamy practices, migrations and mass conversions. They have a grand conspiracy to Islamise the country. But the reports of National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities reveals that there is no significant differences between Muslims and Hindu birth rate among the families of same economic class.

Justice Rajendar Sachar Committee pointed out that the low socio-economic status of the Muslim population with high poverty, un employment are responsible for their backwardness.¹¹ The recently published National Citizens Report of Assam shows that, the legal migrants were more in numbers were not in Muslims but were Hindus. But the anti-Muslim propagations are being continued to achieve political ends.

When Rajiv Gandhi led the country as prime minister, the Hindus as well as Muslim fundamentalists groups were sharpening their communal agenda. The situation worsened when Rajiv Gandhi had enacted a law called Muslim Women (Protection of Rights in Diverse) Act in 1986¹² for satisfying Muslim fundamentalist groups by overcoming the Shabano Supreme Court verdict. Meanwhile, in order to please the Hindutva parties, the government had decided to open the closed doors of disputed Babri Masjid to Hindus for worship. ¹³ As a result fresh incidents of communal violence occurred in many parts of the country, particularly north Indian cities like Hashimpura and Bhagalpur. ¹⁴

The disputes of Ramajanma Bhoomi and Babri Masjid were spearheaded by Bharatheeya Janatha Party and other Hindu fundamentalist outfits. They claimed that they are the true representatives of Hindus of India and Hindu nationalism is Indian nationalism. It gave maximum political benefits to BJP and they became a major political opposition in the country. They also extended support to V.P.Singh government which was formed as an alternative of the congress party. In August 1990 the government decided to implement the Mandal Commission Report in the country which gave 27 percentage of reservation to backward community. ¹⁵ It stimulated caste consciousness among the people of backward caste. But the BJP a coalition partner of the government conducted a Rathayatra from Somanatha temple of Gujarat and he launched a massive attack against the ideas of secularism and national secular parties as pseudo secular parties. He also accused that these so-called parties are following a policy of appeasements towards minorities and using them as vote banks. ¹⁶

As a result of these developments was the further communalization and criminalization of the Indian politics. The inter-community

dialogues and communications also collapsed. On December 6th 1992 the disputed structure of Babri Masjid was demolished by a group of Hindutva fundamental forces. The demolition of the mosque was the violation of the rule of law and the breach of the court order of status quo. It was followed by series of Hindu Muslim communal riots and around 2000 people were died in these incidents.¹⁷ But this Babari Masjid **issue became spring ball for BJP's onward movements in national politics.**

One of the worst dangerous communal riots was the Gujarat riots of February 28th to April 2002 due to the Godhra train burning incident. Here also about 2000 people died due to the riots. The state had also seen many major communal riots since 1969. But the riots of 2002 killed more innocent people than ever before and destroyed properties worth of crores of rupees and thousands of people were displaced. Obviously, it was one of the dangerous riots India had ever experienced. It was created large-scale fear and anguish among the minorities, particularly Muslims who were the major victims of the riots.¹⁸

Meanwhile, the Hindu fundamentalist groups were campaigning against the love marriages between Hindu-Muslim in the name of **'Love Jihad'**. They alleged that the Muslim youths were purposefully trapping Hindu girls, Hindu love affairs and converting them into Islam. And, sometimes they were recruited in the ISIS Camps.¹⁹ At this juncture, a Home Coming Programme called **'Ghar Wappasi'** was introduced by Sangh Parivar to reconvert the Muslims and Christians to Hinduism.²⁰ Love jihad stories and exaggerated brutal stories of Muslim rulers in the past had always created an environment for communal hatred and riots. Of course, the Hindu militant organizations were waging a calculated move against the minorities while the Muslim fundamentalists groups were doing the same things in the Muslim majority area like Kashmir towards Hindu Pandits. The terror activities of Muslim fundamentalist groups in Jammu and Kashmir gave a jihadi image to Muslims and that was politically used by anti-Muslim groups

In most of the communal riots, the victims were largely poor slum dwellers but after the demolition of Babri masjid the elite Muslims also affected the communal attacks and police

brutality. Indian Muslims are not a single monolithic group in India. Each division has a different problem due to historical and geographical reasons. Backward Muslims constituted about 90% of Muslim population.²¹ The city dwelling north Indian Muslim are living with the past glory as a representatives of formal ruling class. A large majority of urban Muslim populations of these areas are economically poor, educationally backward and politically weak. Now the time has come to focus the attention of Muslim politics from communal politics to socio- economic issues of ordinary Muslim populations.

The agricultural changes due to green revolution did not bring much change in economic prosperity of Muslims due to their inabilities to use their modern agricultural technologies. Apart from peasantry a large number of them are working as artisans, coolies and menial workers. They are also working in industrial and mercantile sectors. After the gulf boom in 1970 large number of Muslims migrated to west Asian countries.²² Their earnings flowed largely to the country which has contributed greatly to the economic growth. But their presence in government jobs were very limited (4.4%). The dearth of Muslims in civil services, military or police services were reported by the Sachar Commission reports and many other commissions appointed for to study about the Muslim backwardness.²³

This was mainly due to the lack of education and network at the political and administrative level. In the state like Kerala where reservations are being provided to the OBC communities, Muslims are also getting their share in government jobs as per the law. Muslims are one of the educationally and socially backward communities in India. The reason for their backwardness can be located in the religious traditionalism. Similarly, their religious exclusiveness and regressive outlooks of the religious establishments are the other reasons for educational backwardness. Unemployment and poverty are other root cause of their lack of trust and backwardness.²⁴

The political or the community leadership of the country are not ready to address these issues. They are interested mostly to interfere in the agendas of caste and communal identities. In fact Indian Muslims are living and working in

conditions similar to their Hindu brethren than their core religionist of Muslim world.

A section of Muslim leaders accused that anti-Muslim riots are planned and executed to cripple them socially and economically. Undoubtedly, after partition, Indian Muslims are weak and frustrated. They knew that any deliberate migration on their part will lead to far reaching consequences. While, the Hindu fundamental groups claim that the riots were instigated by Muslim extremist groups who were acting on behalf of Pakistan for destabilizing the country. Often, the communal violence occur as the result of petty issues like discretion of Hindu gods the centres of worship, processions of music before mosques or throwing of coloured water towards people.²⁵

The Muslim community fear that the Hindu fundamentalists are trying to impose their cultural echoes which are threat to their religious identity and existence in the country. After the BJP led government came to power particularly since 2016, minorities are living in much fear and anguish, due to mob lynching of un- armed men particularly Muslims in the streets, trains and home. The crowds alleged that men had slaughtered cows or carried beef meat.²⁶

The passing of *Anti-Triple Talaque Bill* passed by Parliament in 1st August 2019 called the Muslim (Women Protection of Rights) Bill, 2019,²⁷ the right of Muslim men to divorce Muslim women through triple talaque known as *talaque-e-biddat* became illegal and punishable under communal law. According to a section of Muslim leaders it is against their personal law, Shariah which is divinely made and nobody has the right to amend it. Thus the centuries old custom is misused the Muslim men against married women in India. But the Muslim fundamental groups claimed that, it is an attempt to introduce Common Civil Code in the country.

For this movement, Jammu and Kashmir reorganization act of 2019 was passed by parliament under which J&K has lost the statehood and was divided into three union territories comprising Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir.²⁸ Muslims considered it also a move to reduce Muslim area into a minority region and give away their special rights in Jammu and Kashmir.

Likewise, the constitutional bunch of Supreme Court of India has pronounced a momentous historical verdict in Babri Masjid and Ramajanma Bhoomi case on 9th November 2019. The court rejected most of the claims of Muslim party as well as Hindu party about the disputed sites. But, the court was settled the issue by handing over 2.77 acres of disputed land to **Diety Ramalalla and 5 acres in a 'prominent' place to Muslim Sunni Waquaf Board for constructing a mosque.**²⁹

The supreme court unanimously settled the century old Hindu-Muslim conflicts that had been in courts for 70 years. The entire county accepted the judgement without much hostility or discord. At the time of verdict, the country has been witnessed a rare kind of amity, brotherhood and understanding. No incidents of communal riots and protests were reported in anywhere of the country. Though the verdict itself emphasised **'fact or faith' dispute regarding mandir or masjid** and marks dawn of a new era in India.

The recently prepared National Register of Citizens (NRC) of Assam sees to omit those who were already living in India but non-citizens of India. As a result, a large scale of Muslims and Hindus were omitted from the NRC. In the meantime, the government of India decided to provide citizenship to Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Paresis and Christian who were migrated from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh through Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB) on December 11, 2019.³⁰

Muslims alone were excluded in the CAA Act which is a kind of discrimination against Muslims on the base of religion is that clearly spell out in this Act. Again, a kind of fear and unpleasant situation is being created in the name of NRC by the ruling people against the Muslims in the country. The anguish of Muslim community is that whether in the coming days they would live as the second-class citizens of the country, claiming no constitutional rights or privilege.

Since independence, India has been ruled by a single party, congress majority of Muslims extended support to them in many years³¹ as and when they felt having being betrayed by the congress party they shifted their loyalty to Janatha party in 1977 and Janatha Dal in 1989. The Congress government often failed to protect

their lives and properties during the period of communal violence. In addition to these they strongly believed that the Congress party failed to give them a fair share in education, employment and politics. Now the congress rule was replaced by BJP. Fundamentally, these two parties reflect the dichotomy with the liberals and conservatives. Most of them are religious who seek continuity with tradition and struggles for the questions of Hindu nationalism in the place of Indian nationalism. So, the voice of moderate Hindus and Muslims are less in contemporary Indian society. Their voices are submerged by the shrill sounds of so called 'nationalists'. Still the question before us is whether we need Hindu nationalism in a country where more than 80% people are Hindus.

Indian Muslim Representations in Lokh-Sabha

Year	Number of Muslim Members in The Parliament	Percentage of Total Members
1947	31	13.01
1952	36	9.21
1957	24	4.74
1962	32	6.27
1967	29	5.68
1971	27	5.18
1977	32	6.03
1980	46	8.50
1984	41	9.60
1988	33	6.31
1991	28	5.03

Source: Muslim India, Journal (1983 and subsequent issues), p.190

However recently, Muslims found themselves in an undesirable position in the country. Once they were often part of the ruling class and freedom fighters. But the issues of partition reduced them to a weak and crippled section of Indian society. As a result, they often became the victims of communal violence and mob attack on petty allegations like carrying or keeping beef meat or kidnapping cows etc. Sometimes, government are reluctant to use strong force to suppress these riots. The nature of the riots is socially interrelated; violence does not change the nature of state and of the existing social structure. The Muslim community leadership are inherently incapable of mobilizing Hindu majority support in their genuine socio-political issues. Their success mainly depends on an alliance with other liberal, secular and democratic left structural forces of the country.

Religious identities are historically produced institutions that are constantly transformed due to socio-political reasons. The sentiments of religious minorities and majorities had to be respected by each other. The contemporary developments widely affect the economic and social upward mobility of all communities. The community leaders, particularly Muslims should give more attention to the political awakening, socio-economic upliftment of the community than petty communal or century old religious identity issues. They may uphold democratic and secular spirits and educate their community about the significance of social harmony in pluralistic society, socially and religiously expel those who are supporting terrorism or engaging in violence with the other communities of the society. Similarly, the ruling parties should break their silence on various issues affecting the minorities and take appropriate steps to make them confident. The minorities are an integral part of the society and their contributions are so vital for nation building. Muslims are not foreign but culturally, morally and politically Indians.

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PROFESSOR B.S.CHANDRABABU ENDOWMENT LECTURE

INVESTIGATIONS ON THE MEGALITHIC CULTURE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SOUTH INDIA

Konda Srinivasulu

Mr. President, fellow delegates, friends, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to thank the members of the Executive Committee of the South Indian Historical Congress for electing me to deliver Professor B.S.Chandrababu Endowment Lecture at the 40th Annual Session, being held at Annamalai University, Chidambaram, 2020. In this lecture, I would like to delve upon the megalithic burial practices. As you already aware, the word megalithic derived from Greek *mega* (huge) and *lithic* (stone) and megalithic culture is associated with the burial practices of ancient human beings from Iron Age onwards as they used large stones to commemorate and denote the dead may it be in the form of menhirs, dolmens, cists, sarcophagus, stone circles and the like elsewhere in the world. Investigations leading to the discovery of the Prehistoric monuments relating to Megalithic

culture of varied nature in the geographical area lying between the Western Ghats and Eastern Ghats of South India equipped with Deccan plateau adorned by different geological formations of granite-gneiss, quartzites, limestones, dolerites, schists, etc., in the form of hills and hillocks with varied ecological niches began in the first quarter of 19th century through many British Officials and amateur archaeologists, who were interested in Indian Culture. Among them Mackenzie (around 1800) was the first to record and Babington (1823) stood first to report and study these ancient monuments in the Malabar area followed by Ware (1830), Congreve (1840), Newbold (1852), Taylor (1851, 1873), Dali (1867), Mulheran (1868), Bowring (1869), Cole (1868-73), Lewis (1869), Oldham (1869), Ball (1872), Boswell (1872), Brecks (1873), Walhouse (1873-82),

Burgess (1874-1901), Murrey (1886), Bain (1890), Fawcett (1896-1901) etc. These monuments were named by their own terminology such as Cromlechs, Kistavaens, Tumuli, Scythian tombs, Crosses, Burrows, etc. or described with local names prevailing among the native population such as *Panducoolies*, *Muni-era* or *Mori-Munni* or *Mories*. *Topie kull* or *Kodey kull*, *Kuta-kallu* or *Kodi-kal*, etc. These investigations were illustrated both in the form of physical features in the shape of sketches and plans and cultural features comprising of pottery, iron tools, graffiti marks, etc. Keeping in mind the vastness of the subject, selected discoveries and notices of the megalithic monuments by British officials and amateur archaeologists in nineteenth century are taken for introspection in the present paper accommodating different typologies.

Knowledge about megalithic burials was known to the Indians in general and South Indians in particular since long time as attested by the information furnished in the some of the copper plate records from Andhra Pradesh and from the local tracts on the megalithic tombs collected by Colin Mackenzie from Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

References of Megalithic Monuments in Copper Plate Records

Megalithic monuments were mentioned as boundary marks in some of the copper plate grants of early Eastern Ganga rulers as per the available evidences. The Purle plates¹ of Indravarman dated CE 647 while donating a piece of land in the village Purle near Palakonda in Srikakulam district mentions *Purushachchayaya pashanastayah* means 'three stones arranged to commemorate a human being'. The same epigraph also mentioned *Purushachchayaya arjunavrikshah* and *Purushachchayaya timira vrikshah* while mentioning other boundary marks. Similarly, the Tekkali plates² of the same Indravarman dated CE 652, while describing the southern boundary of the gifted land in the village Turiganna, mentions as *purushachchayaya pashanapanktih* which can be translated as 'a commemorative row of stones'. The noted epigraphist K.V. Ramesh³ states that in many cases trees, instead of stones, were planted as memorials in order to symbolize the belief that death is only a transformation and not an end in itself. If we

observe the burial practices of Savara, Gadaba and Valmiki tribes of the Srikakulam district in which these copper plates were found, the Savaras burn the dead along with their ornaments and implements. The ashes are collected the next day and buried in one square foot deep hole dug near the graveyard. In order to admit the dear into the ancestral world properly, a wooden figure is set up first to accommodate the soul of the deceased till the erection of a memorial stone. An elaborated ceremony called *guar* literally means 'erection of stone' is performed only after a good harvest. It is clear from the above facts that the original inhabitants i.e., Savaras fix wooden figure as memorial slab which in course of time is replaced with stone. It may be postulated that in medieval period they planted trees instead of wooden figures as indicated by the above said copper plate grants.

The Boddapadu plates⁴ of Vijrahasta III, dated CE. 1060, enumerate the boundaries as a grave on the south west (*Nairyatyah Garta*); a grave with *Arjuna* tree on the west (*Paschimatah Arjunakhya Garta*) and a grave with stone circle in the north west (*Vayavyatah Mandalakara Pashana sahita garta*) and two graves close to each other with *Arjuna* tree (*Dvaugartha Sangameva pavatah Arjuna Vrikshah*). All the instances stated above would come under the category of menhirs and stone circles of megalithic culture.

A question may arise as to why these megalithic structures were referred in the epigraphs while mentioning the boundaries. The simple answer for that was the natives dare not disturb or destroy such monuments by either respect or fear and at the same time those spots were well known to the local people.

Megalithic Burials as Recorded by Colin Mackenzie

Colonel Colin Mackenzie, a well known Indologist and the first Surveyor General of India, collected various manuscripts, coins, inscriptions, maps and plans bearing on the literature, religion, history and etiquette and customs of the people of South India during his stay in India. Most of them were collected between CE 1799 and 1820. He made use of the expertise of his assistants numbering more than twenty for collecting information from

various parts of South India. His vast collection at the time of his death in 1821 contained 1568 Literary Manuscripts in fourteen languages; 2070 *Kaifiyats* or Local Tracts in 264 volumes; 77 volumes of Inscriptions containing 8076 epigraphs in South Indian languages; 75 Volumes of Translations containing 2159 works; 79 Plans; 2630 Drawings; 6218 Coins; 106 Images and 40 Antiquities⁵. In fact, Mackenzie's Collection can broadly be divided into Manuscripts, Inscriptions and Evidence of the Material Culture.

Scholars opine that Babington was the first person who worked on megalithic culture.⁶ But the noted archaeologist Padmasri K. Paddayya opines⁷ that Colonel Colin Mackenzie noticed the megalithic burials even before Babington's discovery. Unfortunately, Colonel Colin Mackenzie died in 1821 before he could publish his works and his huge collection remained in the manuscript form. Interestingly, Babington and Mackenzie were in correspondence over the issue of archaeological remains. This is further strengthened by Babington's opening line of his paper which starts with "Like the *Pandoo collies* on the eastern side of the Ghats..."⁸ It is amply clear that he was aware of the discovery of megalithic burials on the other side of Western Ghats made before his work rather a knowledge gained, probably, through his interaction with Mackenzie who explored the Eastern Ghats.

Mackenzie's collections contain a number of references to megalithic sites. Though many of them were in vernacular languages of South India, some of them were translated into English.

In the translated works like 'Vessels Discovered in the *Pandukulis*'; 'Remarks on

Tumuli'; 'Tartarian Antiquities'; 'Remarks on Barrow'; 'Remarks on Cairns, and Sepulchers'; 'Observations on Tumuli, Cairns, Ancient monuments &c. in Ireland'; 'Observations about the *Pandu Cullis* in the Tamul Country' by Appavu; 'A particular account of *Pandu Cullis*'; '*Kaifiyats* of the Pandava Kulis' and '*Kaifiyats* of Appau, from 12th October 1816 to 7th January 1817 preserved in British Library, London, there were references to the megalithic culture.⁹ The present author was unable to procure the above mentioned articles as they were not published so far. However, some records were translated and published by certain individuals. Taylor translated Mackenzie manuscript on 'Account of Ancient Subterranean Dwellings from verbal accounts obtained in the Jaghire, and Arcot Districts' contains an account of certain subterranean, or excavations, as if they were tombs, discovered at various places: of the exact nature or character of these pits there appears to be no certain knowledge; but the writer has collected, and stated, the traditional accounts of people near the places where those excavations were found.¹⁰

Babington

While writing on the megalithic burials of the *Pandukullies* of the Eastern Ghats in 1823, Babington made some important observations on the nature of construction according to the soil or rock by the megalithic population. Firstly, if the soil is enough a *topi-kull* was built comfortably and secondly if the substratum of rock known as laterite or pudding stone was dug in the form of a cave called *kodi-kallu* in which megalithic depositions like bones, beads, arms etc was placed and buried as sepulchers.¹¹



Fig.1 - Kodey Kulls at Chataperambah

Notices of Welsh

Welsh, a military officer of Madras Presidency, mentioned the remains of megalithic culture in his autobiography 'Military Reminiscences' as follows. "Returning by the Pedanaig Durgum Pass, I must make mention of a race of Indians, now supposed to be extinct, who formerly inhabited certain strong holds in the country, and appear to have been entirely different from every other tribe, in their habits, manners, and customs. Approaching Naikenary, from the top of the Pass, the road winds along the base of a rocky hill, which leaving on the left hand, it crosses by the bund of a tank, within a few hundred yards of the wretched bungalow of that name. On the top of this hill, are the remains of a *stone village*, formerly inhabited by the *Paundway*, there may be *forty or fifty ruins*, and a description of - one, will answer for all. They are generally a *square of eight feet, and about five in height; the walls, floor, and roof, being formed of single stones, with two stones set in perpendicular, and rounded at top for the entrance: door it cannot be called, the only passage being cut in a small circle in them, exactly opposite each other; the two stones being set two feet asunder, and the whole strengthened outside by a buttress of loose stones, within others of four feet high above the earth, or rock, in which they are set, nearly perpendicular*. I have added a sketch of the one I found most entire, to explain this **incoherent description.**" He further adds "Every endeavour to get some authentic account of these people, failed: all I could learn was, that

they inhabited the hill country, had kings and laws of their own, never mingling with other natives, but plundering them and retiring to their strong holds, whenever they were pursued or successfully opposed. The whole in a body were called *Paundway*, or *Pandweh*, and one was styled a *Pandawur*. I have since met with *sepulchers* on the Malabar coast, which appeared to me to have some connexion with **the owners of these deserted hamlets.**"¹² (Italics are mine)

Medows Taylor Work in Shorapur

Another important contribution to the nineteenth century South Indian megalithic culture was done by Medows Taylor through measurement of megalithic monuments, plan of excavation, plotting of burials, and collection of skeletal remains especially skulls. He mentioned the disposal of dead in the principality of Shorapur in comparison of Scythian kings funeral as mentioned by Captain Congreve's account and said 'after the body has been transported through the various provinces of the kingdom, it is placed on a couch set round by spears, his concubines are then sacrificed and a mound of earth is raised over the king and his women'. In 1850 his remarkable observation on the large group of complex near Rajankollur called by the local people in the Kannada language "*Mori-munni* or *Mories*" houses and these believed to have been a dwarf race of great strength of the remote ages viz., Drucidical, Celtic, Scythian or Aryan remains.

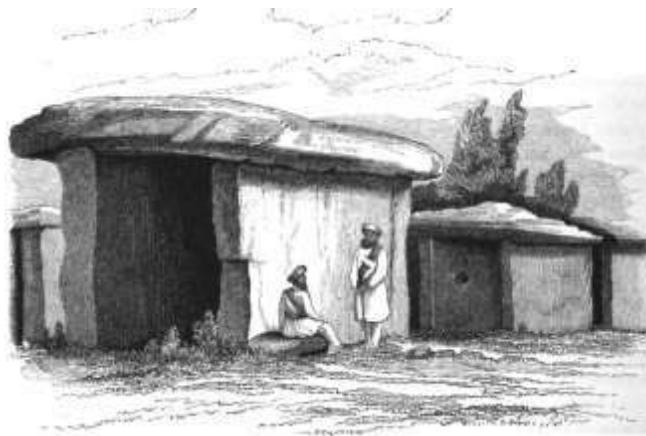


Fig. 2 - Cromlechs at Rajankollur

Another important contribution of Taylor with his limited but scientific observation was the existence of some tribes in India and the customs, beliefs and traditions followed by them in the form of megalithic monuments. His observations and classification may be astonishing. He classified them as burials into cromlechs or open monuments with and without circles of stones, containing no remains; Kistavaens with or without circular perforations in a side slab and without or with covering slabs containing human ashes, bones, and broken pottery; cairns and barrows with single, double and treble circles of rocks and stones containing cists and skeletons with traces of human sacrifice, pottery, arms, etc; others with cinerary urns interred in them without cists; rock temples with circles of stones round them as near Shahpoo, Tolijapoor and Shorapoor; lines of rocks placed to mark boundaries for cairns; square and diagonal platforms of rocks inclosing cairns and the great parallelogram and places of cremation at Shahpoo.¹³

John Lubbock in his 'Prehistoric Times' mentioned 'cromlech' or 'stone circles'¹⁴ while Lukas applies the word cromlech to all elaborate megalithic structures of one or more chambers. Hence to avoid the needless multiplications of examples, J.S.F. Mackenzie described various methods of disposal of the dead and classified them as barrow, tumuli, circles, cromlech, dolmens, cairns, kistavaen, and menhirs¹⁵ and his typology has been followed by many archeologists later.

Courtallam Cairn Circles

Several cairn circles with urn burials were accidentally discovered during excavations at Courtallam, in Tenkasi taluk of the former Tirunelveli district in 1859. Each circle contained an urn about 4 ft. high and 3 ft. in its diameter and was surrounded by a chamber, made of unhewn stones and boulders procurable in the bed of the nearby river. The urns were plain but for bead-moulding at the mouth and they were sturdy. The earth-filling contained with disintegrated bones, seemingly un-calcined. Several small pots consisting of conical bowls, flat bottomed, straight sided bowls or *lotas*, lids, ring stands, large-sized globular pots, besides the pyriform urns were also found here. At the bottom of the pyriform urns much corroded iron implements like a long leaf shaped spearhead, an

oblong ringed flat axe, a hog-spear, pieces of sword and other indeterminate shapes were found. On inspecting those cairns J. T. Kearns opined that "they are the sepulchers of the chiefs of the Aborigines; for they closely resemble the Cairns of the Aborigines of Ireland, wanting, however, that which would put the question beyond doubt, namely, any primitive weapon, such as a flint spear head, weapons which are invariably found in the Irish Cairns. Yielding to the doubt which this circumstance, and the apparently superior finish of the weapons and pottery (superior to anything Aborigines generally are found to possess) gave rise to, I felt inclined to assign to them a Budhic or Jainer origin, especially as the urns correspond exactly with others discovered by me at a place about 40 miles N. W. of Tuticoreen, and of whose Budhic or Jainer origin there can be no doubt, as they are found in a place, traditionally spoken of as having once been a great Budhist town, but of which, the only vestige now remaining is an image of Budh or the Jainet Maha Vera".¹⁶

Salem Tumuli

Maurice Phillips prepared a report for the Madras Government on the Tumuli in the Salem District in 1873. According to him the Tumuli found in the Salem District may be classified either according to their contents, into - (1) Tumuli without bones and urns; (2) Tumuli with urns but without bones; and (3) Tumuli with bones and urns; or, according to their internal structure, into - (1) Cromlechs and (2) Cairns. Cromlechs are those tumuli the inside of which is formed by four perpendicular stone slabs in the shape of a cist or a box. Cairns are those which have no internal lining of stone. They consist of two classes: (A) Cairns in which large earthen urns baked in fire, containing human bones, small urns, and or ornaments, are found-which urns appear to have been intended to incase the chamber instead of perpendicular stones; and (B) Cairns whose chambers have no artificial covering. The objects found in the tumuli may be distributed into four classes - 1. Pottery; 2. Human bones; 3. Ornaments and 4. Iron implements. The Pottery consists of urns, vases, and other vessels of different shapes and sizes. The large urns were so brittle that they invariably fall to pieces by their own weight as soon as the surrounding earth is removed, so that it was been impossible to procure one unbroken specimen.

Some vessels are red and some black; some are red inside and black outside, and *vice versa*.

Human bones consist of skulls, teeth, thigh, shin, arm and other bones. The ornaments found in them included round and oval beads of different sizes and colour similar to those worn by women as necklaces and bracelets. The beads were made of carnelian ornamented with a pure white enamel of considerable thickness, which has been let into the stone by grinding the pattern, filling in probably with oxide of tin and exposing the stone to heat. The small beads are made of white carnelian and ice-spar, a glossy felspar used by the natives to imitate diamonds. Besides these, a few were found made of quartz and of some dark-green stone. The iron-implements found in them were chiefly of knives or short swords. Some pieces of iron which appear to have been spear-heads, and some other things, have also been found. After a thorough analysis of the finds, Maurice Phillips opined that the Salem tumuli belonged to the Iron age; the men belonged to ordinary stature; they made earthen vessels for culinary and domestic purposes; the large stone slabs lining the interior and placed on the top of the tumuli must have been cut from the solid rock and carried from some distance and the objects

found in the tumuli represent the people in a comparatively advanced state of civilization.¹⁷

Cromlechs of Veerajapett by Cole

R. A. Cole discovered a large number of cromlechs near Virajenderpett in South Coorg in 1867. Among them there is a large double cromlechs which (No.1) is formed by six large unhewn stones, surmounted by one large flat stone of 13x 9.9 x 0.7 or 0.8 feet. The back was also formed by one large slab, as also each side. The front slabs were smaller, and divided by the large centre slab, which formed the enclosure into two compartments. These front stones have each a peculiar aperture, of an irregular segmental form, about one foot eleven inches by four inches, at the top, and immediately below the superincumbent stone. The stones at these apertures are sharp on the inside, and present a bevelled appearance outside. The inner rim is so sharp as to lead to the conclusion that these apertures could not have been used for ingress and egress. The centre stone projects to the front two feet eight inches, and the top flag projects over the left compartment to such an extent as to afford shelter, like a verandah. The interior measurements of the compartments reveal that each compartment was about 7 x 3.9 x 4 feet.¹⁸



Fig. 3 - Cromlech near Virajenderpett, Coorg

Nilgiri and Shivari Hills

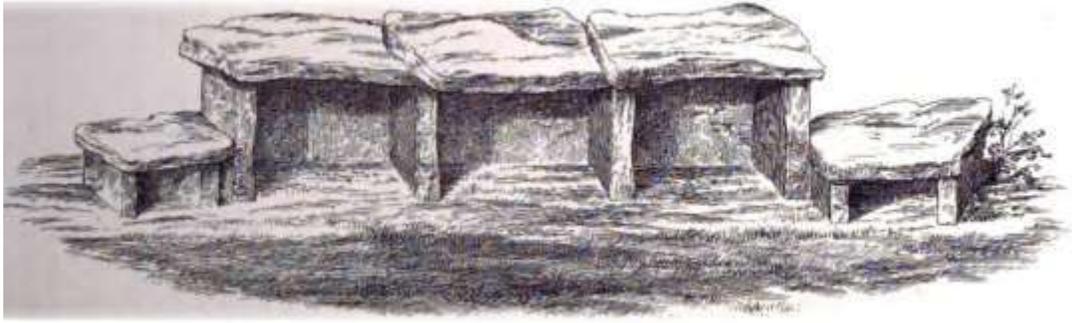


Fig. 4 - Five-Celled Open-fronted Dolmen, Near Nidi Mand, Nilagiri

Major Ross King described a two-celled sculptured dolmen, found by him on the southern edge of the Nilgiri plateau the inner face of each slab, covered over with carving.¹⁹ A temple-cromlechs in common use by the Malayalies (hill people) was discovered by Walhouse on the Shivari Hills, It was subsequently thrown down and destroyed to

make way for coffee planting. It consisted of three large central cells with a smaller at each end; the middle cells were roofed with large covering stones overlapping one another at the edges, and the supporting slabs were covered within by rudely sculptured hunting and processional groups.²⁰

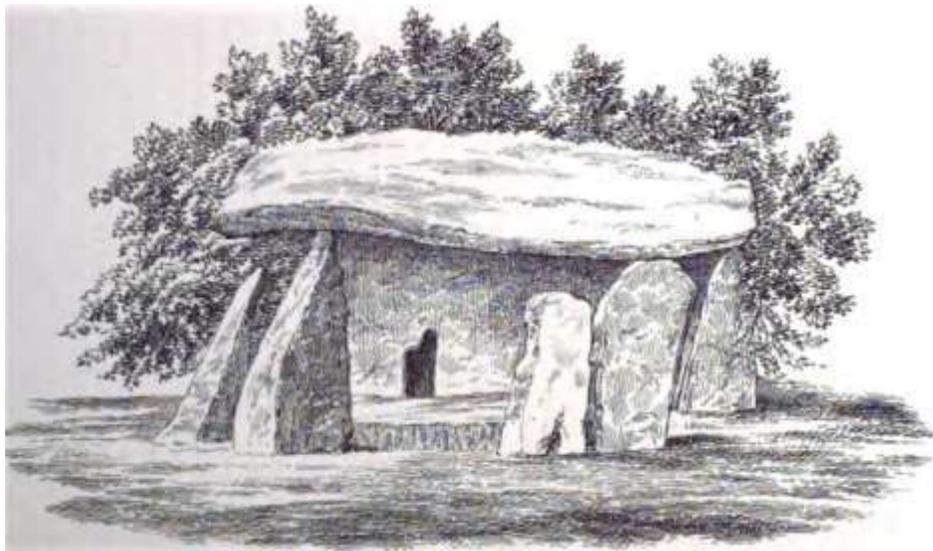


Fig. 5 - A Cromlech -Temple on the Shivari Hills

Padinyattamuri Caves

William Logan accidentally noticed four chambered cave at Padinyattamuri in 1879. The group of cells lies at a distance of about 6 ½ miles north of Calicut in the Padinyattamuri Desam in the Calicut Taluka while cutting blocks of laterite for building purposes at the western

end of the ground. The dimensions of the caves are-the one facing north, 4. 6 x 3. 4 ft; the opposite one facing south, 5.9 x 3. 9 ft; of those facing east, the southern one is 4 ft. 11 in x 4 ft. 1 in. and the northern one, 4 ft. 11 in. x 4 ft. Their entrances are 1 ft. 8 in. x 1 ft. 10 in. All the four chambers have single benches along one of their lateral sides. The benches are 9 in. high, 2 ft. 2 ½

in. wide on an average, while the north-facing chamber has a 2 ft. 6 in. wide bench. The chambers have a uniform height of 3 ft. 3 in. These caves are distinguished from the other caves as they are multi chambered, have rectangular floors and horizontal ceilings. All four cells were found to be about half filled with earth, and on clearing them out a large number of

earthenware pots, a iron bill-hook, a number of small iron chisels, scraps of iron which had formed portions of other bill-hooks or weapons, and a double iron hook for suspending a lamp or for some other purpose were found buried in the earth and the remains of the iron sword, about 26 inches in length, which was to be the first of a 'buried point upwards'.²¹

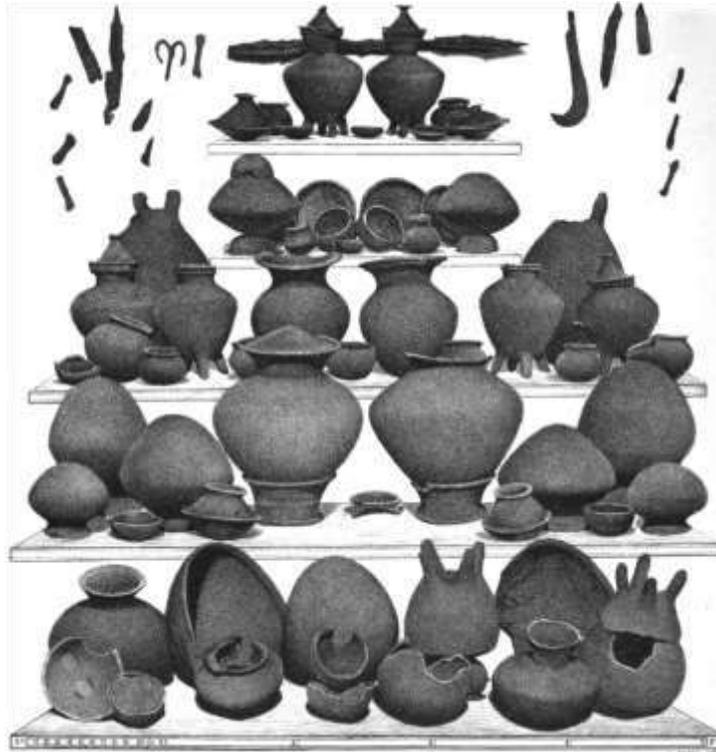


Fig. 6 - Pottery etc found in the cells at Challil Kurinyoli

Slab-Stone Monuments at Irlabanda

At Irlabanda near Palamaner in the Chittoor district Lieut - Col. B.R. Branfill recorded in 1881, about 600 tombs over an area of (500 x 300) 1,50,000 sq. yards. He divided the tombs in the cemetery into three classes, 170 were counted of the biggest, 210 of the second, and 200 of the third or smallest sort, a simple cist made of slabs from 2 feet square and upwards, more or less buried in the earth and without any circle of surrounding slabs or stones at all. And the whole place looks very much like a field of tombstones with many rude stone huts and kennels interspersed. The peculiarity of these consists in

having several circles of erect thin stone slabs alternately round, - and flat-topped, arranged in concentric rings close round the enclosed cist or cubical chamber. Many of the vaults were found vacant, but most had a deposit of soil from 1 ½ to 3 feet in depth, which, on excavation, yielded the usual sepulchral relics without iron weapons generally associate with such structures. There were many terra-cotta burial coffers and legged sarcophagus troughs. On examinations the Irlabanda group of monuments was much like those at Nayakaneri group as observed by Welsh. With an interest Branfill restored the monuments of Irlabanda.²²

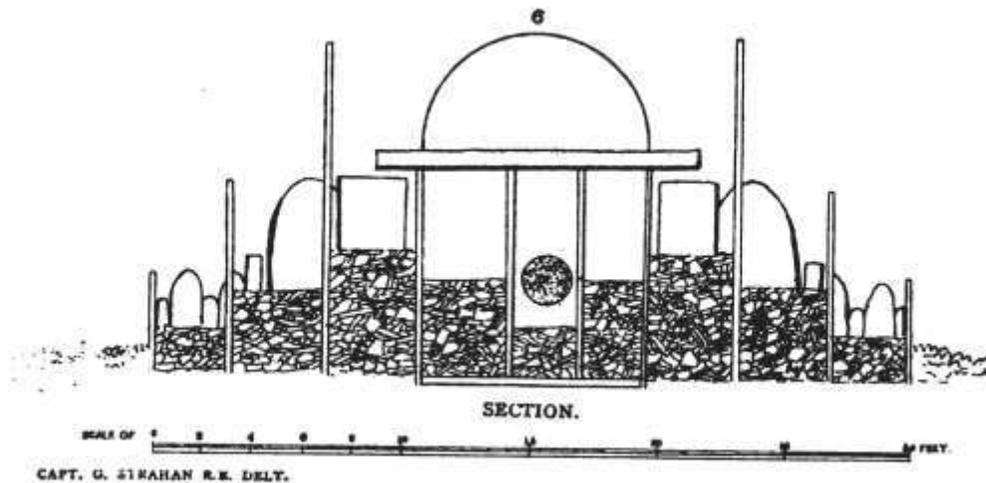


Fig. 7 - Slab-Stone Monuments at Irlabanda (After Restoration)

Conclusion

The British officials and military officers belonging to nineteenth century recorded their incidental as well as accidental notices of the megalithic monuments during their official duties. Their vivid knowledge of the ancient monuments in their native countries was reflected both in the physical description of burials but also the remains in the form of sepulchral and non-sepulchral and application of cultural remains of ancient Indians being important in visualizing and transforming the early knowledge of these very ancient people of

Indian population with iron technology. From the overall narrative, it is clear that the nineteenth century contributed a lot to the knowledge of megalithic culture of iron age people found everywhere throughout South India. In fact, the British civil and military officers were not trained in archaeology but made their revelations out of their personal interest and a quest for knowledge about India. Hence they can better be called as amateur archaeologists. Despite of their amateurishness, they were pioneers and made much headway in the subject and set examples for the future archaeologists working in the field.

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PROF. PEDDARAPU CHENNA REDDY & DR. SUBHASHINI
ENDOWMENT LECTURE

RETHINKING WOMEN'S HISTORY AND WOMEN IN THE MARGINS

Rekha Pande

Dear Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me a great pleasure in delivering this Prof. Peddarapu Chenna Reddy & Dr. Subhashini Endowment Lecture at the 40th South Indian History Congress and I would like to thank the organizers for giving me this opportunity. In requesting me to render this enormous task I feel the organizers have given importance and recognition to a hitherto neglected and marginalized area of history. I have known Prof. Reddy as a very soft spoken, committed historian dedicated to research and teaching. In today's paper I would like to speak on Rethinking Women's history and marginalized women: Making history inclusive. Besides making a case for women's history, I would like to focus on the problems in the reconstruction of women's history, look at how we understand the different categories of women and would like to make an argument that we look at the different categories of women and develop frameworks out of the patriarchal understandings and we need to think out of the box, and develop new categories in order to evaluate the past. History writing has never been an innocent enterprise. The project always involves silences, selectivity and homogeneity and as a result major section of the people in the margins, especially temple women, courtesans, Concubines and prostitutes get left out and are never the part of the main stream discourse. Some thing common for all these

categories of women was that they were involved in sex either an individuals or as a group. Society practices a double standard. These women are universally condemned. They are supposed to be women with out any morals and literature refers to them as, Vishyas, Randi or Twalfs. There is hardly any literature referring to the men who patronize them and use their services. In contrast little is said about the men who are their customers. The notion of condemning the behaviour of the male customers in commercial sex transactions is outweighed by widespread social attitudes of acceptance of the "naturalness" of male sex urges, and by extension the appropriateness of men seeking sexual satisfaction outside of marriage. The treatment of women as commodities was not limited to Java, but in fact was common throughout Asia, where slavery, systems of indenture and lifelong servitude were common feudal forms. Feudal systems did not contain the fully commercialised sex industry which we associate with modern industrial societies, but they did provide the foundation for the industry through the identification of the value of women as commodities to be exchanged and accumulated in the constant male quest for power and wealth. By taking these examples of women in Medieval Deccan , I would attempt to show how these women occupied a space which was beyond the realms

of the family and hence do not fit in the traditional understanding of women and we need to evolve new categories.

Why Women's history?

I would like to start by asking, **Why women's history? The answer is very simple.** If as historians we are hopefully working towards recreating a total picture, moving away from the hitherto male and elite perspective, and then unless the history of women is studied and researched the picture of the past shall continue to be a partial one. **The feminist movement of the 1960's and the consequent development of Women's studies have drawn attention to the fact** that, though women like men have been actors and agents in history, their experiences and actions are not recorded. Traditional historiography has always focused on areas of human activities in which the males are dominant, ie. War, diplomacy, politics or commerce, as worthy of studying and women's participation in agriculture, animal husbandry, family ritual, folk art are regarded as unimportant and outside the realms of study of history.

Men's history has been presented as universally human. The framework, concepts and priorities of these universal histories reflect male interests, concerns and experiences (Baldock, et.al. 1985). Activities which are mainly female like child bearing, cooking, women's work in agriculture, husbandry, magic, folk art and traditions have been generally regarded as unimportant and unworthy of study and as such outside the purview of the academic discipline of history (Pande, Kameshwari, 1987:172). Traditional historiography has thus either ignored the positive role of women or portrayed it as insignificant. In many of the undergraduate books earlier we often had a chapter at the end of , let us say Vedic period, later Vedic period, Vijaynagara period, entitled women, and this has a discussion of dress, Jewelry, festivals and pastimes. While this may be important it in no ways does justice to the role of women, rather it reinforces the prevailing prejudices of representing women and also serves to divert the focus from the millions of toiling women who have contributed to the making of history as much as men. In any case the contributions of women to the past and in shaping its religion, politics and society have not been fully brought out. Recently there have been attempts to

rehabilitate the many aspects of women's lives particularly the royal women. Anila Verghese links up the dress and other aspects of women's lives. She links this to the architecture of the zenana and since women in the Vijaynagar empire lived in separate spaces they set up new styles which were not under patriarchal control (Verghese, 2000).

In a patriarchal society, men work in the public domain and women are to be restricted into the private domestic sphere. Since it is the public domain, which is considered important, women become more passive participants in the historical process. This is reflected in the lack of any substantial and substantive documentation about them. There is no doubt that a social science, which ignores the role of women, can be a social science which can only give a distorted picture of society as a whole.

Problems in doing women's history:

To many, women's history is not "intellectually interesting". A wide spread impression is that it is held in low esteem and the field itself lacks legitimacy. One of the reasons for this lies within the practice of women's studies where according to Naomi Wolf we find two types of feminism, victim feminism and power feminism (Wolf, Naomi, 1993). It is time now that we move from victim feminism to power feminism, not only to make women's history more broader in focus but also signal a vibrant shift that moves beyond a critique to essay the role of women as much as men. Many feel that the study of women must be the ultimate harbinger of scholarly chaos. Scholars suffering from lingering, "Victorianism" might well feel that women are too eternal or unworldly to have much to do with politics and economics (Johansson, 1976).

Historians who work in the field of women's history find it necessary to develop an "underlying conceptual framework", for their field primarily due to three interrelated reasons. First, a low evaluation of past work in the field closely related to skepticism about its legitimacy with in the discipline of historical study. Second its unique character of the group which the field seeks to study and third the existing tradition of theories attempting to explain the historical experiences of women (Carroll, 1976). The

reluctance to accept work in women's history for its own sake is a reflection of the low esteem and stereotype image in which women are held. **Women's history besides trying to set the balance right could also be for its own sake.** One does not ask a Jew, Chinese, a Black or a Dalit to justify their interest in their history.

Perspectives on women's history:

As history has been taken away from women it is necessary to put them back into the picture and document their role and work, a task which may take many years of painstaking work. However this is not enough as women have to recover their lost self i.e. womanhood. The effort **is not just to tackle women's history to the existing framework but to work for a better understanding of the past, to understand myth evolution of an ideology, social relations and institutions that led to the subordination of women.** This perspective has proved extremely fruitful both in terms of theoretical insights as well as in detailed empirical studies. For example **even while talking of dress, Tarlo's book on clothing focuses on what to wear rather than what is worn and how different individuals and groups have used clothes to assert power, challenge authority, define or conceal identity, and instigate or prevent social change at various levels of Indian society.** She has pointed out that the early ethnographic accounts of Indian dress were collated by men like Colonel Dalton who were heavily involved in the Colonial administration. These works which have come down to us have cast a great deal of influence on the practice of history writing and have to be deconstructed (Tarlo, Emma, 1996: 3).

The starting point of women's history is that although men and women are different what is historically significant is that, women constitute a social group as opposed to a biological group. Biological explanations are contradicted by the fact that the behaviour prescribed for women and men vary enormously from one society to another. There are also large variations in gender roles from one time period to another in the same society. Social forces are crucial determinants of the opportunities and limitations available to individual women (Davidson, 1975).

Primarily due to the contributions of feminist sociologists and anthropologists and **people's historians new paradigms have emerged.** Women's Studies approach to the study of women in different historical contexts has enabled us to have a better and fuller understanding of women, their status and relations with the rest of the society. Gerda Lerner was a pioneer in emphasizing that, Women have a history and women are in history. **She remarks, "Women have "made history," yet they have been kept from knowing their History and from interpreting history, either their own or that of men" (Lerner, 1986: 5). These words have gone a long way in thinking about gender.** Instead of accepting feminine identity as natural and essential, historians and other social scientists are now treating this as being constructed.

Approaches to women's history:

In the west there have been three general **approaches to women's history. The earliest of these was additive history, which is history written after a reexamination of the sources to discover the contributions and role of women.** The second approach, gendered history, draws on feminist perspectives to rethink historiography and make gender differences a key to the analysis of social relations. A third approach, contributory history, privileges female agency while recognizing how patriarchy **impedes women's actions** (Forbes, 1998: 2).

A big lacuna in most of the works related to **Women's history are that they are based in European context, and there are very few works which have attempted to look at women within the historical context in ancient and medieval period of India.** The problem is more so and twin pronged with the medieval period with its male biased and elitist sources. Hence, to write a new history worthy of its name we will have to recognize that no single methodological and conceptual framework can fit the complexities of historical experiences of all women (Lerner, Gerda, 1979). In order to construct a new **women's history we have to relook at the existing material, chronicles, literature and archival information and to read between the lines and ask for each and every aspect, "what about the women". Here it may be pointed out that there are certain facts and figures which cannot be generalized.** Therefore the history we

read ignores this and becomes a master discourse or a meta narrative which explains why different people at different times and places have used generalization with out emphasizing these facts. There fore the history that has been handed down to us becomes a series of accepted generalizations (Bentley, 2002: 868).

Women as a Category:

Women as a category in history have always been distinct from men and their activities. Sexual divisions have been one of the most basic distinctions within the society encouraging one group to view its interests differently from another. Sex has always been used to create a separate identity for men and women and divide them as is done in the case of caste and calss. By studying the history of men and assuming that this would include women **too, we cannot get any information on women's** lives during any given period. Gender like any group, class or race has always been a very powerful factor in history. It is therefore **necessary to view the development of women's** history from the feminist perspective of women as a distinct sociological group which experiences both overt and covert controls through legal, political and social restrictions (Pande, Rekha, 1999).

Though gender becomes a useful category of analysis for elucidating the many ways in which relations of power are constructed and represented in society, this is easier said than done. The major problem comes with regards to sources. Most of the historical sources of the earlier period generally refer to elite group, the King, the court and the rich merchants. We have to infer about other sections of society from indirect references. If there is some reference to women it is primarily from the aristocratic classes. The women of aristocracy were regarded as gentle creatures, the mother of future rulers. Marriage was frequently a disguise for a political alliance and for those of lesser standing a means of mobility for the family. The aristocratic woman led a well protected and isolated life. Reference to women from respectable homes moving about veiled goes back to early centuries A.D. and the purdah of Islam intensified the seclusion of women (Thapar, Romila, 1975: 8).

The women of the artisan families and those of the peasants had a less relaxed life. Here the pressure was not so much from social mores as from the needs of economic survival, where leisure was limited and women participated in the professional works of men. Perhaps the most independent among the peasant woman were those who had distinct economic role, where they had individual access to local markets. Hence the pressure of seclusion and purdah as a moral code was less strictly enforced on these women. Hence it would be wrong to generalize that purdah intensifies and became strictly enforced on women after the coming of Muslims in India. Such misconceptions are part of the general societal domain and concern all not just women.

The task of writing women's history in Medieval India is problematic and has to be seen in as an exercise of rehabilitating women back to history. Women have had no history because the expropriation of history is an important mechanism for reproducing in the ideological sphere social inequality. In the economic realm the relations of domination and subordination are reinforced by the expropriation of the economic surplus. So expropriation of history from women means reimposing male domination. Women are ignored in history because of the assumption that they did not play a part and were behind the scenes. With this belief we continue to get a partial picture of His-Story and not Her- Story. In order to make this Our story, we need to get the history of women too. There is a need to evolve a methodology of **locating women's history by using the category** of gender and contextualizing the same. We have to use methods not only from history but also subjects as diverse as folklore where we get such facets of life that are scattered (Patton , 2002: 256).

Women do not form a single group. The material context and the social worlds which they inhabited were diverse. They were from different modes of surplus appropriation, there developed many layers of intermediary. However the general understanding of women in all historical literature based on thenotion of respectable and non respectable , the moral codes of the patriarchal family (Pande, 1999).

There were a large group of women who were outside the patriarchal families and served the society as fallen women the prostitutes, courtesans and the Twaifs and have had no history. People without histories are social and political out castes and are people chastised and neglected in history (Vijaisri, 2004:10). Many of the of women do not fit into these divisions and in medieval Deccan, the temple dancing girls are one example.

Marginalised Women:

Many postcolonial writers and theorists have challenged the representative claims to marginality of the elite or dominant classes in postcolonial cultures and societies. For example, drawing on the Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci's idea of the subaltern – elaborated in his prison notebooks, written during his incarceration under Mussolini's fascist regime in the 1930s – the South Asian historians known as the Subaltern Studies collective have sought to recover the histories of insurgency and resistance in South Asia from the perspective of subordinate social classes. As Ranajit Guha puts it in 'On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India', which forms the introductory essay to the first volume of the series, *Subaltern Studies*, the elitism of Indian history, whether colonialist or bourgeois nationalist, has excluded **the, "subaltern classes and groups constituting the mass of the labouring population and the intermediate strata in town and country – that is, the people"**(Guha, 1982: 4). What Guha means by subaltern, therefore, is not only the labouring population but **"the general attribute of subordination in South Asian society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way"** (Guha, Ranajit , 1982). Gramsci notes that the history of subaltern social groups is always intertwined with the history of States and groups of states, and as such it is necessary to study their active or passive affiliation to the dominant class, political formations, their attempts to influence the programmes of these formations in order to press claims of their own and the consequences of these attempts in determining processes of

decomposition, renovation or neo--**formation"**(Gramsci, A. 1971)

Foucault refers to "repressive hypothesis." When he talks of the history of sexuality. He points out how since the rise of the bourgeoisie, activities that involved pleasure were looked down upon. Sex was a private affair which takes place within the confines of the family between husband and wife. Sex outside these confines is simply prohibited. Foucault asks three questions, (1) Is it historically accurate to trace what we think of today as sexual repression to the rise of the bourgeoisie in the 17th century? (2) Is power in our society really expressed primarily in terms of repression? (3) Is our modern- day discourse on sexuality really a break with this older history of repression, or is it part of the same history? (Foucault, Michel, 1990).

bell hook talks of a different way of seeing reality, **featuring a new preface, "Seeing the Light: Visionary Feminism," which was published in 2000.** In the preface to the first edition, hooks, talking about black Americans in her hometown, **discusses the meaning of her title's "From Margin to Center."** **"Living as we did—on the edge—we developed a particular way of seeing reality. We looked from both the outside in and the inside out. We focused our attention on the center as well as the margin. We understood both. This mode of seeing reminded us of the existence of a whole universe, a main body made up of both margin and center"** (bell hooks, 2000)

Sources:

We have a variety of sources, which give us a lot of information about the temple girls, courtesans, Concubines and prostitutes and helps us in locating them within the politico, social-economic milieu. The sources for the study are inscriptions, literature and travelogues of the Portuguese, Venetian and Muslim travelers. We have a number of inscriptions about the endowment made by the Devadasis or the gifts they received and the services performed by them. We have a large number of donative inscriptions, which consist of the records of gifts made to the temple and public works such as tanks, choultries and satras. Inscriptions published in South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. 4,5,6,9 part I and II, 16, Inscriptions of Warangal,

Nalgonda, Karimnagar Districts, Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica and Epigraphia Andhrica, Epigraphia Carnatika, Vijaynagara Inscriptions, Inscriptions of Andhra Desa etc. further give us much information on temple girls.

The indigenous literature of the period, *Andhra Mahabaratam* of Nannaya and Tikkana (Nannaya and Tikkana, 1919), *Kumar Sambhavam* of Nannechoda (Mahadeva Sashtri (Ed), 1987), *Basava Puranam* and *Sri Panditaradhya Charitra* of Palkuriki Somnatha (G.V. Subramanyam (Ed), 1968), *Prataprudra Yashobhusanam* of Vidyanath (1972), *Kridabhiramam* of Vallabhacharya (Veturi Prabhakar Sashtri Manimanjari, 1960), and *Amuktamalyada* of Krishnadevraya (Reddy, 2011), give a vivid picture of the court life, temple festivities of the dancing girls in the Vijaynagar period. *Kasikandam*, *Palanativiracharitra*, *Sivaratrimahatmyam* of Srinatha, *Simhasana dvatimsika* of Koravi Goparaju, *Vijnanesvaram* of Ketana throw a flood of light on different aspects of the lives of the temple girls and prostitutes. The accounts of the Portuguese writers Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz (Domingo Paes), Abdur Razzak a Persian ambassador who was sent to Zamorin on an important mission (Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, 1857), is also very useful. The Portuguese traveler Duarte Barbosa also leaves a rich narrative of the Vijaynagara empire (Sastri, 1990: 30-32). Futuh-us Salatin of Isami also touches upon the Vijaynagara rulers (Husain, 1967) and the Dutch traveler Huighen Van Linschoten who visited around 1583 also leaves us some information (Sastri, 1946: 6-32).

Geo- Political Milieu:

The Deccan region is an amalgam of many Eco zones, from the arid rocky plateau of the Rayalseema to the bountiful coastal Plains flanked by the eastern and western Ghats to the vast hinterlands with agricultural Plains and forests such as Coorg and Dandakarnya with its varied social formations, agrarian, pastoral, hunting-gathering, artisans and other forms of production to which many great dynasties made their contributions. This region in the medieval period witnessed many transformations in the

politico-economic and socio-cultural spheres. Politically, the state gradually transformed into a multi-centered power structure, fragmented and segmented at different levels, owing to the extensive growth of socio-religious, philanthropic and service tenures, which operated with in the matrix of tax-tribute - plunder. The dharmic kingship of ancient times transcended into ritual kingship, further legitimized by the performance of *Dana*, *dakshina*, *tiitha*, *darshana* etc. Deforestation and land reclamation during the kakatiyan (1000-1323 AD) and Vijaynagara times (1327-1600 AD) contributed to the growth of brahminical institutions, brahmadeyas and devabhogas on the one hand and the growth of industries and agricultural expansion on the other. This resulted in the consolidation of the peasant and non-peasant groups like the merchants and artisans into guilds; the caste cum professional organizations, but also the temple as an institution that controlled the power structure of state and society (Pande, 2004:39).

The medieval period in Deccan was a period of the rise of various feudatories to power and in order to give legitimacy to their power they used the support of the Brahmin priests, the temples and the tribals. Prior to the coming of Kakatiyas the Andhra region especially the deltaic strip formed the peripheral part of the empire either in Karnataka as in the case of the western Chalukyas or Tamilnadu as in the case of the Chalukyas Cholas. The upland region as it was sparsely settled was seldom incorporated. Now when the Kakatiyas came to power with their base in Telengana, we find a shift in the political, economic and cultural activity from the coastal region to the interior Andhra.

It has been pointed out that in the early medieval period when the archaeological data is corroborated with the inscripational evidences, we find that land grants were given in a large scale to priests and the temples. Most of these land grants, between the 5th to 7th century AD were concentrated in tribal areas of Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (Sharma, 1974: 177). During this period a large number of tribal and sudras also came into the fold of Brahmanism. The spread of Brahmin ideology in new areas gave a legitimization to the state because the Brahmins

by advocating Varnashram Dhrama and respect to the king brought in stability to the empire and removed any dissenting voice. In fact the medieval period saw a gradual establishment of a process started much earlier in early medieval times with the clearance of forests, system of land grants to Brahmins and monastic establishments, recruitment of sudras as artisans and agricultural laborers and contact with different forest dwelling communities (Sharma, 1974:). Kingship assumed a dualistic sovereignty incorporating both the political and ritualistic aspect. While the kings stabilized their political power by coercion, they established their ritualistic power by conciliation and giving gifts. The earlier Vedic sacrifices were now replaced by *Dana* and *dakshina* as a legitimizing factor for kingship. This reveals a shift from dharmic to ritual kinship. Gifts giving included land grants to the temple, Brahmins, monastic establishments and the construction activities under the ideology of Saptasanta.¹ The example of the ruler was followed by the ruled. Thus the state polity backed by the dharmic ideology fostered the temple building activities.

The Temple Girls:

These temple girls, commonly referred to as Devadasis in popular literature and dedicated to the temple and performing sacred duties have become an object of reminiscences of the past. They were employed in the temples as dancers, singers, musicians and for offering certain services to the deities. Often they were not allowed to marry a mortal man. Some of them were responsible for the smooth functioning of the temple administration. They have been regarded as a *nitya sumangali* an ever auspicious one, an entire tradition as part of the *sacer ludus* of Hinduism and investigated as an example of traditional arts (Kersen boom- Story, 1987).

So far the researches done in this regard represents the temple girls either as performer-cum prostitutes or performers (A.K. Singh, 1990), echoing their indexical status in the society, despite their professional scholarship. The institution of temple girls is viewed as an isolated entity, but not as an associated component of sacred complexes which were one of the power

loci of the state and society. The transformation of sanis into devadasis is not highlighted in terms of changes in status of temple institution. It becomes very important to see the rise of the temple girls with in this context of medieval Deccan.

During this period we find that there was a mutual exchange of honors between the kings and the pontiffs of religious institutions, the former for legitimization of their ritual status and the latter for protection of their tenures. The sectarian religions, Saivism and Vaishnavism, their leaders and institutions like temples, pithas and mathas through the ideology of the bhakti, manipulated the political base of the state. In other words the temple became a nexus of power that gradually transformed into a state in miniature and appeared homologous to political center. It had a huge bureaucracy at its command amongst which the temple girls or the sanis, who were employed in the service of God deserve special mention, since they formed significant officiating dignitaries. These were the most important ritual performers and no festive occasion was complete in the temple with out the performance of the temple girls (Pande, 2006:493). Hence, the employment of these dancing girls became customary on the part of the devasthanas, which gradually institutionalized into a professional organization.

A study of the institution of the temple girls becomes very important in this connection because it helps us in understanding the role of women in perpetuating a particular ideology and **understanding the complexity of the women's** situation in terms oppression with in a patriarchal structure. These temple girls, commonly referred to as Devdasis in popular literature and dedicated to the temple and performing sacred duties have become an object of reminiscences of the past. They were employed in the temples as dancers, singers, musicians and for offering certain services to the deities. Often they were not allowed to marry a mortal man. Some of them were responsible for the smooth functioning of the temple administration (Pande, 2011, 255).

Temple building activities:

Temples were expected to confer on the builder several merits and benefits such as longevity, health, wealth and prosperity in this world and religious merit known as *Sapta santanas*.¹ We had kings building temples in token of gratitude for victories². Sometimes temples were raised in the name of the dead person.³ Many a times vassals erected temples in the names of their overlords⁴. Temples were built for the merit of parents and preceptors⁵. We also have instances of temples being built for self-merit or to establish the religious merit of their *gotras*.⁶

The various economic functions of the temple made it a citadel of economic power enjoying a status co-equal to that of the state. Temples directed agricultural development, through the endowments it received. Endowments were made in order to provide income for temple maintenance, for festivals honoring the deities and for food offerings to the deities. The endowments involved made provisions for a perpetual service for the merit of the donor or someone designated by the donor. Of the land endowments, which the temple received, it did not have ownership rights but had a major share in the income. The money investments received by the temple were frequently loaned to the village assemblies and commercial firms for a perpetual interest and these added to the income of the temples (Stein, 1984:162). Temple became the citadel of the socio-economic activities of the people. It was the nucleus around which village, towns and commerce flourished. The temple was closely associated with the territorial and communal bodies in the administration of local areas. It was both a landlord and an employer. Its treasury was a bank, which received deposits and lent money.

Thus there was a total institutionalization of the temple. These temples flourished because the ruling warrior groups (Stein, 1984), provided them with support and protection. A vast range of officials and warlords came to exercise a lot of control over the temple functioning. Besides these functionaries there was also a substantial participation by pilgrims.

Homologisation of the God and the King:

There was now a perfect homologisation of the God and the king. Along with the growth in the number of temples there was a growth in the number of rituals performed in them. It now became necessary to employ a number of specialized priests to perform the daily rituals. They were supported by a large group of people belonging to various professions. These included weavers, potters, carpenters, musicians and a large number of girls. The temple girls were thus a very necessary and integral part of the socio-economic and political set up of medieval times (Jeevananadam S, Pande, 2017).

The temple firmly established the agrarian feudal order. The rise of the devotional bhakti literature also suggests this. There are a number of attempts to authenticate and legitimise the new feudal polity of the period through a parallelism between the deity and the king. (Narayanan and Veluthat, 1987:348). In fact the deity in the temple is equated with the king and a parallel world of authority is reconstructed on the spiritual plane. Ritual worship in the temple is conceived on the same lines as ritual services offered to the king.

Since the temple and the God were homologous with the royal court and the king respectively, the *Devasthanam* had to maintain the same bureaucracy as that of the *Rajasthanam*. Elaborate temple rituals were developed. These were of two kinds, *Angabhoga*- the general worship services and *Rangabhoga*, which were special services performed at the *Rangamantapa*, either daily or on festive occasions and constructed for this purpose. All these services meant that god was an earthly king and like the king in the court his daily needs had to be taken care of right from the beginning of the day to the mid night service. In both these places the temple and the court women were employed in large numbers. In fact we often find the distinction between the Devas and the king's court diminishing with certain inscriptions interchangeability of women in the temple services with those of the king's court.

Linking the sacred and the secular:

Therefore the temple girls were the link between the God and the king and served to establish the power of the lord and give it legitimacy in the eyes of the people. In this background of medieval times it was these girls who crossed from one boundary to another with ease and were the objects of ritual exchange **between the king's court** and the temple. These girls could also with ease cross another boundary set up by our traditional scriptures that of an ideal traditional woman, who is a pativrata and tied to the home, by not being tied to one man but to an immortal god and the temple. All **these girls were regarded as "Nityasumangali"**, women who were auspicious because since these women were married to God an immortal, there was no chance of their ever becoming a widow and being deprived of their marital status and the toe ring which was a symbol of this status.

The elaboration of temple ritual and homologisation of God and the Lord necessitated the expansion of the temple hierarchy, especially the sanis or dancing girls. All the temples in medieval times had anywhere between 300 to 500 of these girls depending on the location and importance of the temple. These girls were employed to perform dance and play music before the deity, sing mangalgitas and namasankirtanas, wave fly whisks in the presence of the God, carry on administrative responsibilities and clean and decorate the temple premises(Pande,2004 a).

The kings, noblemen, vassals and their generals donated some of these girls. Nearly thirty daughters from the Nayaka family of Kalinga mandals were donated to the temple of Mukhalingam by an officer of Eastern Ganga to execute various deeds specified in the records (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V. No. 1083).General Jaya donated 300 girls in the age group of eight years to the temple at Cherbrolu(*Temple Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Vol. I , No. 264, Sri kakulam District).A record dated 1390 AD records that the king Achyuta Raya ordered the daughter of Ranjakam Kuppasani to serve as a dancer in the temple of Sri Venkatesa at Tirumalai in the year 1531(

Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions, Vol. III, No.2, p.23). Hanumasani, the daughter of Uddida Timmayan was also sent by the king Achyut Raya to serve in the temple at Sri Venkatesa (*Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, No.142, p.262). Another record indicates the donation of a girl, Bhanaramu Akkama as sani to the temple at Velpuru by Ganapatidevraya, son of Kota Bayyaladevi. He also donated lands and gardens as vritti to her (Yasodadevi: 147).

Social background of the temple girls:

In medieval times the temple girls came from different social backgrounds, each having to perform a different ritual and they had a different status. Some of these girls participated in charities, public utilities work and were also involved in elaborate ritualistic services. Few of these women were the honored ones because the king did himself their appointment. Probably their public appearances were restricted to certain ceremonial occasions. These girls represented the hereditary class namely, sampradayamuvaru or kanya sampradayamuvaru. They came from elite and royal families and attached themselves to the service of the temple and the deity. Next to these were the sanis described as nartakis(dancers) or gayaki(singers). These were followed by the fan bearing sanis. Besides these there were a large number of temple girls who did menial jobs and came from lower sections of society. They performed duties like supplying flowers, decorating the floor. Sometimes to supply flowers to the Gods, flower gardens were raised and temple girls were in charge of maintaining these temple gardens (Pande, Rekha, Jeevanandam, 2013).

Another important category of temple girls, often from menial castes were those who were offered or dedicated to female deities or the village goddesses. The worshipers of village deities or goddesses belonged to the lower orders of society. The Brahmins helped in directing few parts of this worship by standing at a distance for these goddesses were considered to be very powerful and could not be neglected. There were gods belonging to the family (Kul deva), those belonging to the place (Ur Deva) and lineage (Kula). There were both dangerous goddesses and friendly goddesses and the

women were dedicated to these. The fierce village goddesses were called Sakti. Hence the term temple dancing girls or devadasis cannot be used as a blanket term but it had various categories and differences with in it.

The Courtesans:

A Courtesan or Tawaif in medieval Deccan was a woman of stature and culture, who was who was a dancer in the court and often associated with aristocracy. Providing entertainment they often went into prostitution too. A courtesan literary means, a woman of the court. In medieval times the courtesan was an embodiment of a culture and artistic talents well versed in music and dance. We have a large number of miniature paintings in medieval period where some courtesans are portrayed. These paintings highlight the luxurious life styles of these women who were very wealthy and had a luxurious life style.

Bridging the public private divide:

The courtesans in the pre modern period were the few women who came to public space by crossing the boundaries of private. Most of the respectable women were confined to the four walls with in the homes. It has been **conventionally defined that the women's place was primarily in the home and it's her destiny to** organize the household and to rear children. Thus the early women were by and large in private domain. In rural societies women were participating in the agriculture fields along with their men. Where as in urban centers 'courtesans', 'tawaifs', 'annas' and 'mamas' (zanana servants) came to the public domain in order to earn bread for their families. In Deccani context the word *tawaif* was coined for singing and dancing girls and not for prostitutes (Kazmi, 1988: 25). These women were skilled entertainers and trained in this art. These were women much respected for their skills and were especially invited during marriages and birth of a male child to provide entertainment. The Nizam patronized *tawaifs* by establishing office known as '*Daft-e Arbab Nishat*'. In the Asaf Jahi court during the period of Nizam Ali Khan, a sum of rupees twelve thousand per month was spend towards salaries of *tawaifs* (Kazmi, 1988: 25). The *tawaifs* held very respectable position in

Nizams society, they were looked up as artists. There are a number of photos which are taken during the period of the Nizams and after a *nikah* a group photo was taken for the sake of remembrance and in the group *tawaif* also given place. *Tawaifs* were an integral part of various festivities—marriage celebrations, Bismillah ceremonies and Urs (death anniversaries of Sufi saints). Kazmi talks of marriage ceremonies in which there is a *takht-e-rawa*, which was a movable throne on which the *tawaifs* used to sing and dance(Kazmi, 1988: 65)

Tamkeen Kazmi postulates that there are two kind of professional women in this period—prostitutes and *tawaifs*. Even though *tawaifs* **might not always be "married and never contact another man" but they were usually, "highly cultured women, very disciplines, and trained in etiquettes and mannerisms...they were also teachers in mannerisms...**(Kazmi, 1988: 65) In Hyderabad society *tawaif* was known for decency, politeness, manners and culture. They had their own place of pride; many elite families send their boys to their doors for the learning of culture. Umda Jan, Elahi Jan of Meerut, Jaddan Bai, Akhtar Jan of Surat, Benazir Jan, Nazir Jan all came from North India and established themselves in Hyderabad. In suburban area of Hyderabad there were 20,000 registered tawaifs at this time and an annual budget of 3,24,000 rupees was used for their salaries (Kazmi, 1988: 64).

The singing and dancing girls performed in *mehfils* and behind from *purdha* the ladies of *zenana* also enjoyed, especially on occasions such as marriage and the birth of male child. All these proved to be entertainment of high class, **especially Muslims aristocrats. "It was through a very lavish and luxurious life style that the Nawabs of Hyderabad become financial bankrupt"** (Sarma, Rani, 2008). The general public was not cautioned about this and had no inkling. One of the correspondences collected in Hyderabad in 1890 and 1891: *Comprising all the letters of Hyderabad Affairs written to the Madras "Hindu: by its Hyderabad correspondent during 1890-1891* reads, "I wrote to you sometime ago about how a prominent nobleman

in the city amused himself at times...I am informed of a game of *chausar* which is played by the means of three dice and eight wooden pieces representing equal number of men and women...his way of playing the game was so original...he hates having to deal with inanimate objects and picked women and men from dancing girl class and eight men from his companions—all in flesh and blood”(Sarma, Rani, 2008)

Mahlaqa Chanda:

We get some information on a courtesan named Mahlaqa Chanda during this period. She had already compiled her first collection of poetry and attained fame when legendary Urdu poet Mirza Ghalib was just a year old. As per Dr. **Shahid Naukez Azmi**, “There are a number of women poets in the Deccan and Mahlaqa Bai Chanda was the first *Sahib-e-Dewan*, woman poet of Hind. In the recent research it has been proven that Lutf-un-nisa Imtiaz was the first women poet but the crown is still on Mahlaqa Bai Chanda’s head”(Vedagiri Rambabu, 1991: 73). Various sources suggest that Mahlaqa was born in 1766 AD. Her father Bahadur Khan belonged to an illustrious family. Her mother Maida Bibi also came from a family of repute in Gujarat. Maha Laqa grew up in the lap of her elder step-sister, who raised her in a mansion called *Zenana Dewdi*. She must have received the best aesthetic education that money and prestige could buy. She was taught Persian, wrote poetry in Urdu, learned dance and studied classical music under her **Ustad, Hus Hal Han Kalawant. He was a Shi’i musician who, as indicated by his title Kalawant was an exponent of Dhrupad and Khayal styles. She also associated with her mother’s old friend, Šah Tajalli ‘Ali, the poet, historian and illustrator. As she matured and began to *Courting ‘Ali.***

She was given the name of her maternal grandmother Chanda Bibi. Her paternal grandfather Basalat Khan was a noble. According to Rahat Azmi, her name was Chanda Bibi and the title Mahlaqa was bestowed on her by Nizam II and her poetic name was Chanda Bai was added because of her profession. She was the court singer of Nizam II, Nizam III, Prime

Minister Arastuja, Mir Alam, Raja Raurambha, **Maharaja Chandulal Shadab. Mahlaqa’s jagirs** included Adikmet, Sayyadpalli, Hyderguda, Chandapalli, Pallebhaad, Alibagh. Various *tawafis* Mahlaqa Bai Chanda, alongwith Hasan Laqa Bai, Husn Afza Bai, Mama Chameli constructed a number of buildings at and around the mount of Hazrat Maula Ali. A significant indicator of Mahlaqa’s status in her contemporary society was that she was very close to the Nizam II and used to accompany him when ever he toured. She also went with the Nizam to the battle of Pangal (Azmi, 2010 :11)

She learnt music and singing from Ghulam Mehdi Shah Nazir, Pannalal Bhaant. Her contemporary poets Shah Nasir, Shah Mohd. Khan, Imaan Hafiz, Siddi Qaiz, Mir Alam, Goin Baksh Ziai, were all well acquainted with her. All of them applauded her poetry. Also Mir Alam, Imaan Hafiz and Jauhar wrote poetry on her. *Mahanama* or *Tariq-e-Dilfaroz* written by Ghulam Husain Khan Jauhar revolves around Mahlaqa— **it’s about her ways, morals, mannerisms and character, while poet Shah Kamaal is believed to have said, “ How should I not call Mahlaqa a rare and precious pearl, her lips put rubies to shame... and anyone who sees her all decked up would lose their minds”** (*“Mahlaqa ko nayaab aur kimti moti kaise na boloo, inke honton ko dekh kar laal kimti patthar bi pareshan hai...aur uski saj dhaj dekh kar koi bhi deewana kaise na ho?”*) (Azmi, 2010:11). Even noblemen like Chandulal were completely in her spell, “I have no respite without seeing you Mahloqa, I am thirsting to see you, show yourself to me.” (*“nahi hai chain bin dekhe mahlaqa tujhko, daras ko mai to pyaasa hoo, daras apna dikha de mujhko.”*) (Azmi, 2010:12). Her poetry, filled with “Religion, music and fun” (“mazhab, mosiqui, masti”) was collected and published after her death, as *Gulzar-e-Mahlaqa* (Mahlaqa’s garden of flowers). She calligraphed her Urdu Diwan of 125 Gazals herself and this is still preserved in the British museum in London. She built a tomb when her mother had died. And in 1792, it costed Rs.one lakh. An Ashur-khana, 'baodi', naqqar-khana and dalaan were part of the complex. She was buried next to her mother after her death.

Mahlaqa's library was well-known for her collection of rare books and manuscripts. She had a number of writers, 'Kaatibs', in her personal service, for copying texts for her library. Whenever she found out about a new or rare book, she would somehow get hold of it and ask the *Kaatibs* to prepare a fresh copy for her library. She built mosques like Masjid Baitul-Atiq a hospice for Musa Qadri, baradari for Sufi Taar Shah other than construction of *dalaan* for the pilgrims at Maula Ali shrine. She was associated with six royal courts starting from Ruknuddaula, followed by Nizam Ali Khan to Sikandar Jah, Arastu Jah, Maharaja Chandulal Shadaan and Raja Rao Rambha. Rahat Azmi, who painstakingly collected details about Mahlaqa Chanda's life writes that this famous Urdu poet of Deccan was a contemporary of renowned poets like Mir Taqi Mir, Sauda and Dard in North India. Mahlaqa had received early education under the watchful eyes of Nawab Ruknuddaulah, Madarul Maham of Asafia dynasty. Apart from fine arts and training in music, she also learnt horse riding and was imparted military training. She became adept at dancing and music. She was the staunch upholder of shite piety in a kingdom that was recently conquered by the sunni overlords after the Mughal invasions in 1688A.D. She helped to create a dignified place for shite devotion in a sunni court through her poetry, patronage and personality (Scott Kugle, 2010 a:127) Because her poems were written to be performed in dance and were informed by the experiences of women performers, her gazals speak of feminine sensuality more boldly than that of men gazal writers. The poem presents the female beloved as embodied, with her pale silvery bosom, her radiant gaze like moonlight her silvery lips. Her grace affects the male lover so deeply that it ironically inverts the reality of social power. The man declares that he is her slave and she is his lord, where as in reality the dancer who might perform these couplets was raised as a slave girl and elevated by her skill and artistry to a courtesan (Kugle, 2010 b:84).

At the age of fifteen she accompanied Asaf Jah II in battles. She was a well known singer of *dhrupad* and *khayal tappa*. A prominent

personality, she lived in Khasa Mahal with hundreds of khadims at her disposal. Mahlaqa's estate was spread over Syedpalli, Chanderguda, Chandapeth, Ali Bagh and several other areas. She was a generous woman who spent lavishly on the preparations for Khat Darshan Mela and Gyarahvin Sharif. For Muharram and Jashn-e-Haidari, she prepared for months in advance. She threw banquets in the honour of visiting poets and also patronized poets and artists. This form of patronage is not imperial or sub-imperial patronage but a different form of patronage that has not been problematized or analysed. Once she accompanied Asif Jah II to Madhav Rao's court in Pune. When she saw Nana Phadnavis turning away a French trader who had brought rare breed of horses for sale and Phadnavis refusing to pay more than Rs 1,500 apiece, she offered him Rs 12,000 and bought all the six steeds. There are several such tales about Mahlaqa. She died in 1824. It is said that she died during the outbreak of an epidemic in Hyderabad.

Courtesans and dancing girls also played a major role in the Court. Some well known courtesans in Hyderabad were, Kamini Murad and Muneeraji. They used to get a monthly salary from Nizam and nobles and often gave public performances. The Asaf Jahis established an office known as *Daftar - e- Nishat* or *Kanchan Kacheri*. The superintendent of this office was lady called Mama Sharifa, who held a high status in the palace and society. She was assisted by a Jamadar and four other subordinates. And was very influential among all Mamas of the palace during Nizams VI reign. From the records of Kanchan kacheri, it can be said that the courtesans were exempted from tax and payment of Nazarana in the city and districts. The nautch girls of Outb Shahis on other hand were registered but paid no tax for their professions.

Nawab Rafat Yar Jung Bahadur turned his attention towards this evil, which none of his predecessors had ventured to face in the past and raised his voice against this evil practice. Nautch women adopted girls with the immoral motive of benefiting by them in later years. The Nawab first ascertained whether such girls

related to the nautch women or were obtained during famine or in any other way. According to the information obtained, he compelled them to deposit securities where by they was forced to lead a life of decency and later arrangements were made for their marriages with worthy persons. On marriage, they were given a few useful articles, clothes and a little cash to start their fresh lives. Yet, this profession continued both at societal and royal levels and in particular they remained as an important components of royal harem, with whom royalty passed their leisure hours and hence, the paintings of the time depicted such themes highlighting the activities, features, garments and ornaments of these women, who remained as part of sexual life of royal sphere.

Yet the courtesans were not the only persons involved in the profession of commercial sex. Lower than the *tawaiis* in rank and accomplishments were two other categories of women known as *thakahi* and *randi* who lived in the market area and catered for lower class clients including the labourers. A courtesan was usually part of a household establishment under the chief courtesan or *chandhrayan*. The latter owned and maintained extra apartments, having acquired wealth and fame through her beauty and musical and dancing abilities. Typically a wealthy patron, often the King himself, would set her up in agreeable quarters and support her household in the style in which he wished to be entertained and she would recruit budding young singers and dancers to compete with other reputable establishments. Every reputable house maintained a team of skilled male musicians who were often connected to famous lineages or *gharanas* of musicians thereby enhancing the prestige of the establishment. Doormen, touts and other male auxiliaries screened the clients at the door (Chandraiah, 1996:51).

These dances were regarded as a social event even by the British, and in the early days of the East India Company the "native" way of entertaining the *Sahebs* was through a feast following a *Nautch*. This developed into a new

"custom" which had its roots in the early history of Calcutta. Traditional festivals like *Durga Puja*, originally an occasion when the family got together with men travelling from far off work places to their ancestral village houses, were transformed in Calcutta. The urban *Babus* seized the celebrations as an opportunity to invite the *Sahebs* to their homes and offer them lavish entertainment. For European artists like Belnos and Solvyns these feasts offered a colourful opportunity to look at the "native" household and its luxuries of which the dancing girls formed a part. To the artists the dancing girls, the dancing hall and its mixed audience of Indians and Europeans provided a colourful background. The British refused to recognise these hierarchical differences among "prostitutes" in Lucknow out of administrative convenience, and though the officials went to *Nautch* parties, they looked upon the dancing girls as products of the "native society" to be left alone. So the laws, especially that of clinical examinations in lock hospitals were uniformly forced upon all prostitutes. This completely alienated the women who were accustomed to see themselves as the pivot of aristocratic cultural practices. To be equated with a common bazaar prostitute was to them an extreme degradation. When asked by Talwar Oldenburg they expressed their common bitterness: The soldiers, they said, had no *tamiz* (manners) or *tahzib* (culture), we could not speak their language, nor they ours. For them we were no different from *randis* and they seldom wanted to stay for the time, nor money to partake of the pleasures of the *Nautch* (Talwar, 1989: 134-35).

Slave Girls, Concubines and Prostitutes:

We also find a large number of slave girls, concubines and prostitutes in medieval India. When ever a royal princess got married she brought with her a large number of servants and *bandis*. When ever a war took place during raids and campaigns a large number of girls being made slaves The *Chachnama*, gives us various such details (Asif, 2016). Besides doing domestic work the slave girls often performed sexual services too. These slave girls and maids

were as much in demand as *kanchanis* or dancing girls, concubines or even free born women. Whether they were purchased in the open market or captured during war (Abd Al Razak Samarqandi , 1857). During the medieval times the rulers generally demoralised the conquered enemy, first by enslaving their women then by making them sing and dance. A more severe punishment would be to give their daughters to the dancers 'to make them dance in the streets and the bazaars by the state. Ibn Batuta speaks of a select class of musicians for whom an open pavilions of forty pillars, called Tarababad was established (Ibn Batuta,1956-71: 625). Ordinarily the dancing women used to 'dance in the principal open places in the city, beginning at six o' clock in the evening and going on till nine, lighted by many torches and from this dancing they earned a good deal of money (Manucci, 1906-08: 189). There was a strict stance taken by the Mughal state against prostitution. Badauni stated that the prostitutes should be kept in separate quarters of the town(Badauni, 1865: 302). As filth needs to be covered up and care taken so that entire city does not get contaminated. Their locality was named Shaitanpura and their trade was to be regulated by the state. The state was to register the names of men who visited the prostitutes and

only with official permission could one take a prostitute home. A strict state system of license (*bekaara*) was to be applied to the Emperor if a person wanted to take a virgin prostitute home. the same time, prostitution wantonness in females. An imperial Order states that if a women was found running about and while so doing she became unveiled, she should be sent to take up the profession of prostitutes. Different classes of dancing girls appear in the 16th century account - the Domnis, Patars, Kumachnis, Pari- Shans and Lulis (Shadab Bano ,2009-2010 : 254).

Conclusion:

Therefore to conclude, we need to write a **new women's history of medieval India not from the patriarchal point of view** where we talk of only the royal elite women and the common women based on their class divisions but we need to even consider the marginal women. These women are central to society and yet we always look down upon them and never question the men that are involved. The title of respectable and non respectable is given by a patriarchal society where there are double standards. The same men who visit these women and are talked about but the women are seen as not being respectable. We need to write a new history that recognizes the marginal women ,women in the temples, courtesans and prostitutes and their contributions to society.

Notes:

1. There are seven pious deeds known as Sapta Santanas . **These include having one's own son, adopting a son,** composing a literary work, and gifting an agrahara, a garden, a tank or construction of a temple. See P.V.Parabrahma Sastri, *The Kakatiyas of Warangal*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1978, p. 281.
2. Kakatiya king Rudradeva built shrines for Surya, Rudra and Vasudeva at Hanamkonda after defeating several chieftains. *Kakatiya Sanchika Inscriptions*, No. 18, pamphlet, p.389.
3. The Kota queen Ganapamba constructed a temple for God Betesvara in the name of her father in 1172 AD *Epigraphica Indica* , Vol. III, pp.94-103.
4. In 1153 AD Jaya the General of the kakatiya king Ganapati Deva, built a temple and installed in it Ganapeswara, named after the king at Dvipa. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. III, p. 82.
5. In 1059A.D. a Reddy of the Kondapamati country built a temple of Somesvara at Gonyipundi for the merit of his parents. *Tirumal Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, Vol.III, pp 73-74.
6. In 1176A.D. Hacialamba the daughter of king Allugi, the lord of the town of Morata founded the shrine of Hacaesvara, after her own name, *Pushpagiri*, 304 of 1905, p.25.

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GOVERNMENT ARTS COLLEGE, COIMBATORE; ENDOWMENT LECTURE

TAMIL MUSLIMS – DRAVIDIAN IDENTITY AND CHALLENGES.

Dr.J.Raja Mohamad

President, fellow deligates and distinguished scholars, I am extremely thankful to the President, General Secretary and the members of the Excutive Committee of SIHC for nominating me to deliver the prestigious, Government Arts college, Coimbatore, Endowment Lecture, in the 40th Annual session of SIHC to be held at Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, from 31st January to 2nd February 2020. I feel indepted to the organisation that my services are recoonised and I am truly honoured. I feel previlliaged to **delivere my lecture on the topic “Tamil Muslims – Dravidian Identity and challanges.”**

The Tamil Muslims are the indigenou people of the Tamil country and followers of Islam. The vast majority of them are converts from other religions generations back. They are ethnically Dravidians. Tamil is their mother **tongue**. . **The word ‘Dravidar’ connotes the people who speak Tamil, the Dravidian group language.** They are the part of history of Tamilnadu and Tamil Culture.

But the Tamil Muslim society is in the margin of understanding and the writings on them are full of distortions and speculations and hence there is a need to portray their history and identity to situate them in correct place in the

Tamil society. An authentic history on Tamil Muslims is due and researches are untaken in the recent years and in progress.

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 as an ethno religious group.¹ Islam stepped in to South Indian coasts right from the later part of 7th century C.E. The coming of Islam is not an accident, but it is the continuation of the ancient Arab trade contact with South India as attested by Sangam Tamil literature of 2nd century C.E.² After the birth of Islam by about 620 C.E. in Arabia, the Arab merchants who frequented the port towns on the west and east coasts of the peninsula came as **"Arab Muslims", embracing the new faith, Islam.** The Hindu rulers extended them concessions, privileges and encouraged their settlements. The earliest mosque in Tamilnadu, dating H.116/734 C.E. is found in Tiruchirappalli (near Uraiyur), the erstwhile capital of the ancient Cholas. A few Arab Muslim merchants who stayed here for a long period settled along the coast and married local women in accordance with local customs. The children born out of this **union belonged to mothers' stock and thus the ancestry of the Tamil Muslim community was inaugurated.**³

The Arab Muslim merchants carried with them the new faith, Islam, along with their commodities. These merchant missionaries moved close to the people and peacefully preached the teachings of Islam. The social condition was favorable for such a process. The rigid caste system had inflicted inequality and injustice on a section of the people. They were untouchables, oppressed and never to rise in economic and social status and often harassed by people in the upper strata. In the situation, the teachings and principles of Islam attracted such people. Islam symbolized to them emancipation, equality and prosperity and hence drew flocks of such people in to the fold of Islam and by conversion they entered the brotherhood of Islam with opportunities of uplift and social mobility. The off springs from the intermarriage referred supra, mingled and merged with the converted lot and thus an ethnic group, the Tamil Muslims, emerged by early 8th century C.E., in the Tamil country with a distinct identity within the composite Tamil society. Islam penetrated

gradually in to the hinterland of the Tamil country in the subsequent centuries. Commerce had been the main agency in creating such a new world order. Thus the spread of Islam in Tamil country was peaceful and the myth that Islam was spread with sword has no relevance, as rightly pointed out by Ram Gopal, **"As a knife goes in to the melon without much effort so did Islam penetrated in to South Indian castes.**⁴

By about 12-13th centuries the chain of port towns and the adjoining hinterland on the east coast of the peninsula, Pulicat, PortoNovo, Kovalam, Nagapattinam, Thondi, Kilkkarai, Kayalpattinam, Colochel etc. became strong holds of Muslims. The early Muslim population on the coastal belt, a vast majority of them, descendants of the converts, were people associated with maritime activities. They were sailors, boatmen, pearl and chank divers and fishermen. Many among them climbed up the social ladder and became maritime merchants and ship-owners. They had developed a wide trade net work in South Indian ports and as well as across the oceans.⁵ Their trading activities continued amidst the European completions till about 1900. The Tamil Muslims were successful in their economic activities and seldom were partners in political activities of the land till 1900, but they co-existed within the larger society as **'Tamils' in the Tamil society with** elements of Tamil cultural background and continue to be so to this day.

In spite of such a long history of 1400 years, the Tamil Muslims society is largely misunderstood with distortions marching over the historical facts. A study of evolution and conditioning of the Tamil Muslims from historical point of view help us to understand the bottom of them and their role in the Tamil society, as followers of Islam. Every individual lives with certain attachment to his birth place, religion, language, family, culture, society and descent. Such attachments are rooted by even biological and genetic in nature and origin.⁶ The conditioning also depends up on the influence of various factors enumerated above that act up on the every individual, based on the environment and milieu in which he has born and happens to live and training and education in various stages in his life. A reference to the political scenario of Tamil country would show that there was no direct Islamic rule till 17th century (baring a short

and confused rule of the Madurai Sultanate in the 14th century). Due to this political condition the divisions between the Hindu Tamils and Tamil Muslims did not appear very glaring on the basis of religion in Tamil districts, (unlike that of in North India).⁷ With this background of conditioning a look in to their historical and cultural aspects will give a clear picture on the subject.

Islamic Tamil Literature serves as a mirror which reflects the life of the Tamil Muslims, their tradition, beliefs and values. It sheds some light on their origin and evolution in a predominantly Hindu social milieu. The Tamil Muslim poets have contributed their due share to the development of Tamil literature with their literary works numbering about 2000, which is less known.⁸

In the ancient Tamil Literary works the word **“Yavana”**, denotes the Romans, Greeks and as well as the Arabs. However at a stage it stayed for Arabs only. In the medieval and modern Tamil the word **‘Sonagan’** is used to designate the Muslims. . In Arab tradition the pepper is spoken as their favorite as **‘Yevana Priyam’**. Sonagar, Thulukkar, Rawthar, Anjuvannam are the early names of the Tamil Muslims. Nachinarkkiniar the commentator of *Pathuappattu*, uses the word **‘Sonagar’** where ever the word **‘Yavana’** occurs.⁹ The term was gradually extended to refer the native Tamil Muslims also in the Tamil country.* Thus . ThivakaraNigandu (on meanings of words) of 8th century C.E. calls the Yavana as Sonakar (Muslim).¹⁰ In Sinhalese tradition, the Yavanas were called Yonakars based on Pali Yonna, meaning Arbas. Later the word Yonakar is said to have corrupted in to Sonakar and the Sonakars were recognised as the descendants of the Arabs. So Yonakar and Sonakar were used to denote the same people. In Ceylon, Sonakar street is also known as Yonakar street or Yon street even to this day. The official records of Ceylon call the Muslim population in Ceylon as Sonakar. The earliest settlers among the Muslims of Ceylon were called Ceylon Sonakar and the recent South Indian Muslim migrants were known as Indian Sonkar.

Inscription of Raja Raja I in the Thanjavur **Big temple record a Muslim merchant, “Sonakan Samur Paranchothi”**¹¹, and another inscription mention an ornament as **‘ Sonakan Sidukku’**.¹²

An inscription of Maravarman Sundara Pandya (1238-1257) mention an endowment to a **mosque, ‘Sonakan’ Palli**¹³. We find ample references about Sonakar in Tamil Literature¹⁴. The Mapillas of Malabar were known as Sonaka Mappillas. Property documents of Muslims in Tamilnadu record them as Sonakar even in the 19th century.¹⁵ The Muslims engaged in fishing in the coastal towns are called as Sonakar to this day. There are many place names with prefix Sonakar (e.g. Sonakan Vilai) The Muslim habitation areas in Kayalpattinam, Cuddalore, Tuticorin, PortoNovo, Thondi , Mandapam, Kilakkarai, Vedalai etc. are known as Sonakar street to this day. The long association of the Muslims-Sonakar in seafaring and fishing is suggested by the names of some species of fish with prefix Sonakan (e.g: Sonakan Thirukkai = Sting-ray)¹⁶. All these will go show the antiquity of the Tamil Muslims in the Tamil landscape.

The Tamil Muslims were also known as Thulukkar along with the name Sonakar. Thulukkar – native of Turkey. The possible migration of Muslim merchants from Turkey to the Tamil country in the early years and the later, the Delhi Sultans of Turkish influence may be the reason behind such an appellation. However this name was very popular in Tamilnadu to this day, among the fellow Hindus. Adiyarkkunallar the commentator of Silappathikaram translates the **world Yavana as ‘Yavanthurukkar’**. Several inscriptions also mention Thulukkar.¹⁷ Thulukkar settlement was a known as Thulukkanam¹⁸. There are names of flowers with prefix Thulukkar (e.g: Thulukka Samanthi = African merigold) and place names (e.g: Thulukkan kulam – Aruppukkottai Taluk).¹⁹

The early Muslim merchants on the east coast had functioned as trade guild for themselves, known as Anjuvannam like the merchant guilds of the Hindu merchants, like Ainooruvar and Valanjar. Anjuvannam is referred to in inscriptions of the period from 12th to 15th century.

Rawthar is another early name of Tamil Muslims who were associated with horse trade, horse riding and training and cavalry men. The name is well referred to inscriptions and Tamil literary works. Thurston would say that it was the title of the Jonakan Muslims. The Arabs and Persians could have been employed by the Hindu rulers for manning horses. Those people

who stayed here had contracted marriage with the local women and their descendants came to be called as Rawther.²¹

At present the Tamil Muslims are organized in to Social Segments or subdivisions. They are : Rawthar, Labbai, Marakkayar, the last two in usage from 16-17th century. There are also territorial names like Kayalar (the natives of Kayalpattinam). These sub divisions among the Tamil Muslims cannot be called as castes. They are not hierarchically ranked. Islam does not recognize caste. There is no prohibition for interdinning and intermarriage among the subdivisions. There is no discrimination on the basis of birth, colour or region and in prayer congregation.

In the strict Islamic sense and practical life the term Labbai (also Lebbai) denotes the religious officiants or priest or Khazi and it **accords with the Hebrew word 'Levai', meaning priest.** It is correct to inter this term in this sense. The Labbai is **also known as 'Levai' among the order generation.**²²

'Labbai' was considered to be a class name for the purpose of educational and job concessions by the government of Tamilnadu.

The Marakkayars are the dominant segment among the Tamil Muslims in numerical strength and wealth. Most of the Marakkayars were associated with maritime activities. The European Trading company records contain a lot of information on Marakkayars. While writing on Marakkaryas, scholars have been confused and associate the name Marakkayar indiscriminately with other subdivision as caste hierarchy and fanciful derivations on etymology are also posted. In the available indigenous records, this term find place in Islamic Tamil literary work of 16th century only. It is the Portuguese records that introduce the title Maracar to a chosen few prosperous Muslim traders. However the term originates from **'Marakkan' in Malayalam, meaning ship commander and title of some Muslims.**²³

Given this situation where does the standard template used by scholars come from. Thurston had to define Muslim communities in his *magnum opus* Castes and Tribes of Southern India, in order to include them in the catalogue of castes and tribes. All the sub divisions are shown as separate castes. For instance while

writing on Labbai he quotes from the Madras causes Report of 1901 claiming that they are distinct from the Marakkayars²⁴ Further he uses the word Labbai as the umbrella term for all the Tamil Muslims. Similar things could be stated about the terms Marakkayar and Rawther. The way in which these terms are commonly understood usually owes very little to the context in which scholars encounter them and much to Thurston and few other census ethnographers who designed the Muslim castes for the sake of colonial administration.²⁵

Another presumptive notion of misunderstanding had arisen on the identity of the Tamil Muslims as descendants of Arabian lot. The Arab descent is brought forward by some divisions of Tamil Muslims themselves and self identity, most notably **the 'Marakkyars'** **"According to the common popular version of this story, this elite Mulsim groups are descendants from the families of Arab traders, who came along with their women folk and settled on the Coromandel coast (the east coast) and later practiced marriage with local women.** There is of course little doubt that the Arabs, much as Muslims of many other ethnic origin, at times settled in the trading ports of the Coromndel coast, much as the Coromndel traders themselves settled in other parts of the Indian Ocean and intermingled with the Muslims and non Muslims population of those places. It is important to stress two elements inherent in this common origin of this myth, as far as Tamil country, the sources do not account. First the common account assumes that there was a sort of foundational Arab settlement, a more or less single event rather than a continuous process. Second this settlement is assumed to have a homogenous community with a clear cut identity, origin myth and consciousness of ethnic differences. But in contrast the sources present us with an image of this process which was continuous and individual rather than foundational and communal. In the vast majority of cases, the elite members of the Tamil Muslims society claim descent from Prophet Mohamed (PBU) or one of his close companions, on the contrary neither the place of origin or any ethnic or communal identify figures prominently in pre nineteenth century records.²⁶

The root of the claim of Arab descent by some Tamil Muslims lies in Wilks, Historical

sketches of South India published between 1810 and 1917.²⁷ In this work the Navayaths of West coast and the Labbais of the east coast are **described as descendants of 'house of Hashem.**²⁸ But due to the black complexion of the Labbais, it was attributed due to the intermarriage of the local women, and also they had a resemblance of native Abyssinians.²⁹ **This is an incredible account. Thus Wilk's account is** not about individual families but with larger population and race becomes the central factor to suit the racial sensibility of British officials. This account of Wilks had become a source to write the origin of Muslims of South India in general and Tamil Muslims in particular.

Such a fanciful derivation of Arab descent is put forth by the Marakkayars. It is an attempt to earn the capacity to defend their elite status in the local society and as well as to envision this noble trait, eradicate the official view of the **'mixed blood' which marked them inferior to the Urdu-Speaking Muslim Ashrafs - the "pure blooded"**. **Thus the claim of Arab descent** developed in the Tamil country in the context of political struggle of certain section of Tamil Muslims against both the aspiration of the non-elite section of their own society and the claim to the superior status of Urdu-speaking Muslims the fading elites of the Mughal order and their British successors.³⁰

The pseudo claim of a section of the Tamil Muslims over Arab descent is against the facts of their origin and conditioning. In conformity with the Islamic ideology and egalitarian principles, it would be right to assert that the children born from the union of the Arabs and native women union of the early century of Hijira, had mixed and mingled with the converted lot and no traces of them separately, could be attributed.

The Central and State governments in India had formulated policies of development, amelioration of inequalities and positive discrimination. In that the Labbais were first classed as backward in the Madras Presidency. This is primarily due to the dependence of the post colonial census ethnography. The problem was that both colonial and post colonial States were confused about the multiple meanings of the term Labbai which could variously refer to all Tamil speaking Muslims, such as religious specialists, merchants, honorific titles etc., The policies were intended to benefit a particular

community, the fact that the term had been used for a long time to cover all the Tamil Muslims, enabled even richest coastal merchants including the so called Arab descent elite Marakkayars and the former professionals associated with horse trade, Rawthars, who identify themselves as Labbai and thus to access the benefits provided by backward label, although they did not consider and call themselves as Labbais in their real life. In this way the confusions on identity multiplied.

Thus the historical conditions, social classification, the utilization of media and the State have given rise to different configurations of Tamil Muslim society. Hence we have to engage more seriously with the identity of the Tamil Muslim society.

The Tamil country had always been the meeting ground of various cultures. Hence the Tamil culture has always been one of synthesis and continuity. In that the transfusion of Hindu superstitions and customs, in Tamil cultural milieu in to Muslim Society is noticeable. The betrothal or matrimonial engagement ceremony and as well as several other wedding ceremonies found their way in to Muslim society, the tying of Thali-the marriage badge and singing of songs during wedding ceremonies, lighting of lamp (Kuthuvilakku) during auspicious occasions like marriage came to be adapted by the Muslims. The birth, puberty ceremonies have been copied from Tamil Hindu society. According to Islamic law, it is the bride groom to pay dowry amount (Mahar) to the bride, but Muslims have fallen a victim to the much reprehensible customs prevalent in the Hindu society demanding dowry from the bride. Belief in omens such as the **crossing of one's path by cat**, the cries of some animals, insects and birds to predict the success **or failure of one's errand has found its way into** Muslim society. The Hindu superstitious beliefs like demons and ghosts dwelling in grave yards and haunting some houses also crept in to **Muslim society. The Hindu practice of 'Arati' had** been copied by the Muslims. The veneration of **'men of god' the Hindu way of worship crept in** to the Dargah worship where the practices and rituals are similar as in a Hindu folk temple.³¹ Thus the converts from the Hindu social order, the Tamil Muslims could not give up their ancestral folk and cultural practices and tradition

in toto even after several generations, which is a point to fix their ancient identity.

The Islamic Tamil Literary works contain valuable details regarding religious, cultural and social life of the Muslims. A large number of the Islamic Tamil literary works are written in Islamic themes and in praise of Allah and Prophet Mohamed (PBU). Many other works deal with Islamic theology, morals and Jurisprudence. Tamil Muslim poets have adapted all the Tamil literary forms in the creation of such works. Some poets also wrote poems in Arabic Tamil. Muslim philanthropists encouraged the poets to produce fine literary works in Tamil.

Generally, it is said that the Islamic Tamil literary works date back to 16th century. But a part of the work Palsandamaali, is considered by many scholars to belong to 13-14th century. It gives some interesting information like the early name of the Tamil Muslims, the Sonakkar and Anjuvannam. From 16th century we get full pledged literary works. Ayiramasala, Mikurasu Malai and Yakobu Siddar Padalgal are the earliest Islamic Tamil literary works of sixteenth century. **Umaru Pulavar's Sirapuranam of 17th century** is the crown jewel of the Islamic Tamil Literature. It contains the vivid description of **Prophet Mohamed's (PBU) Life**. Though the historical characters of this epic belong to Arabia, the story is portrayed as if happening in Tamil land. Though Umaru depicts the Tamil Hindu country side, its people and customs are exposition Islamic principles. This shows the fundamental concern of Umaru was Islam and he makes use of the Tami Hindu features to drive home his message among the predominantly non-Islamic population. This adjustment is not a compromise their Islamic beliefs but to stamp their Tamil Muslim identity. By this adjustment Tamil Muslims seems to have asserted themselves as a distinct group in Tamil society. The profound linguistic dimension of Tamil **Muslims'** historical evaluation reflect their Tamil identity.

Thirunerineetham, Kanakabisheka Malai, Thirumanakkatchi etc., are the other literary works in 17th century. Rajanayakam, Kutub nayakkan, Thirumani malai, Navamani malai and a host of other works were produced in the subsequent countries. Hagiology were produced on the life and miracles of the Sufi saints, buried in various places in Tamilnadu. In Muslim

religious life in Tamil country there are two orientations, the mosques and the darghas. While the mosque based traditions are deeply Islamic the dargah oriented traditions contain many un Islamic features which had been inviting criticism from the orthodox quarters. However these features do not deny the centrality superiority of Allah and the Prophet hood of Mohamed (PBU) and it has to be viewed as the vestiges of original folk tradition of their ancestry.

Sufism – Muslim mysticism – is regarded as the love of supreme Beauty, Omnipresent. The essential of a Sufi cult is adoration of god. There are many comparable points between Sufis and Hindu followers of Bhakthi Movement. Influence of Islamic Sufism was attracted by the Vedanta school of Sankara (d.820) and classical Bhakti cult of Ramanuja, the great religious movement of Ananda Thirtha. Islamic monotheism and Sufism ushered a new wave of theistic urge among the Hindus. Some Tamil Siddars vented their spleen on the idol worship ridden with superstitious and customs and rituals. Muslim mystic poets like Kunankudi Masthan, Sadakkathullah Appa and Pir Mohamed Appa were important Tamil Sufi mystics. Some of the Muslim Mystics were included in the order of the Tamil Siddhars. Thus the age long association of the Tamil Muslims with Tamil culture comes to light through the life and works of the Muslim Sufis.

The contact of Islam with the languages of the region had changed the character of the languages by imposing Arabic script on them adding a new dimension to them. This resulted in the growth of Arabic Tamil, by which the Muslims used to write the Tamil language dialects in Arabic script.

Many of the Islamic Tamil works now in Tamil script might have been in Arabic Tamil. Later on when necessity arose, they were produced in Tamil itself. A large number of literary master pieces on Islamic themes, commentaries on Holy Quran, dictionaries, poetry, prose works on Islamic mysticism are in Arab Tamil and they are well preserved. Thus the Tamil Muslims had contributed their due share to enrich the Tamil language.

The Muslims were the minority community in the Madras Presidency. They were

not participants in the political events for very long time. But when they peeped in to the political arena at the dawn of 20th century, the Muslim politics was conditioned on the basis of linguistics in the Madras Presidency, though the Islamic society is one and indivisible. Among the Muslims of the Presidency the Tamil speaking Muslim were in majority and the Urdu speaking population was lesser. But the Urdu Muslims based at Madras dominated the politics of the Presidency. The Tamil Muslim could not get access in to the political portal mainly due to language barrier.³² However they participated in the Kilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement, which were the part of the struggle for Indian independence under the leadership of Mahathma Gandhiji and established their sense of committed nationality and patriotism.

E.V.Ramaswamy Naikar was a member of the Indian National Congress Party till 1925. Disillusioned with the policies of the party he left it and founded the Dravidian Self Respect Movement. The movement was anti-Brahmin, anti god and anti caste in its ideology. The movement caught the attention of the sizable Hindus. Some Tamil Muslims were also drawn towards it. The Self Respect Movement was declared as Non-Brahmin Movement and E.V.Ramaswamy characterized the Brahmins as Aryans and the non-Brahmins including Tamil Muslim as Dravidians. He also held that Dravidian Tamil Hindus, the Tamils, and Tamil Muslims were from the same mother.³³

The failure of the Kilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements was a period of disenchantment to the Muslims. They were not happy over the activities of the Congress Party. The Tamil Muslims were also dissatisfied with the Non-Brahmin rule of the Justice Party in Madras Presidency in 1930s. At this juncture, E.V. Ramaswamy came more close to the Tamil Muslims and in fact it was reciprocated well by the Tamil Muslims and he was invited to their social functions.

E.V.Ramaswamy allowed the Muslims to air their grievances and views on social matters through the organs of the movement. The awareness kindled by E.V.Ramaswamy worked in the right direction. E.V.T Sheik Abdul Kadar of Salem, a social activist, claimed, **“One who has Tamil as mother tongue and settled in Tamilnadu, including Muslims were Tamils’**. B.A.

Ismail of Authur, claimed that **“racially too the Muslims were Dravidians”**³⁴. P.Dawood Sha, the most vociferous social reformer and journalist, claimed that Tamilians (Hindus), Christians and Muslims were all Dravidians, though they have different customs.³⁵ Thus the self Respect Movement’s press organs had played a crucial role in bringing the thoughts and feelings of the Tamil Muslims to the attention of the general public.³⁶ The Self Respect Movement thundered that the real way to freedom and equality lay in the conversion of the untouchables to Islam³⁶. Thus E.V.Ramaswamy was considered as the well wisher of the Tamil Muslims. E.V.Ramaswamy wrote that Islam was Dravidian Religion which had a concept such as one god, a god without image, unity of humanity and brother hood.³⁷

Thus the self Respect Movement brought awareness among the Tamil Muslims. It enlightened their Dravidian identity and distinct Tamil consciousness. The Tamil Muslims also realized their Dravidian factor to defend their future political and cultural activities because they were historically part of it ethnically, linguistically and culturally. These factors surfaced in the anti Hindi agitation in 1937 in which the Tamil Muslims participated in large numbers along with the Self-Respectors. Thus the Tamil Muslims asserted their Dravidian identity ethnically and linguistically.³⁸ The press organs played a crucial role in bringing thoughts and feelings the Tamil Muslims to the general public, the Tamils of other faiths. Print has contributed to reforming and strengthening Islam in Tamilnadu. The retention of All India Muslim League as Indian Union Muslim League in Tamilnadu and Kerala (became defunct in rest of India) in post independence days and the support enjoyed by it in the successive elations is no doubt an emphatic public expression of separate historical, Social, cultural and religious identity of the Tamil Muslims.³⁹

We have traced the history of the Tamil Muslims, the process of evolution and conditioning with the help of archeological evidences, the archival sources from the European trading company records in connection with their traditional maritime activities and diaspora. About 2000 Tamil literary works were produced by the Tamil Muslims themselves. There is no better way of

studying the past of a community than to take in to consideration the literature produced by the members of that community. The past conditioning largely regulates the present. Therefore the study of the past of the society in its historical setting is necessary to study that community at present.

Our survey and analysis of the origin of Tamil Muslim society and sources there on clearly points to the separate foundation on which they have been evolving from the time they originated and conditioning to which they have been subjected in the course of their long

history. These conditioning, as we have seen, were essentially Islamic. This distinguishes them invariably from the rest of the Tamil Hindu society. The Tamil Muslim society had gathered strength in the course of its evolution and shows the powerful expression of separate social, cultural, religious and historical identity within the larger Dravidian milieu and Tamil Culture.⁴⁰ However in spite of all these antiquity of about 1400 years, they have the challenge, to prove, their twin identify as Tamils ethnically and Tamilness culturally and as Tamil Muslims religiously. The crisis is a head.....

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SYMPOSIUM

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN SOUTH INDIA : A POST-INDEPENDENT EVALUTION

IDEA OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DALIT PREDICAMENTS IN POST-COLONIAL SOUTH INDIA

Y. Chinna Rao

This paper is divided into four sections: the first section will deal with the history of social legislations in south India on the one hand and the debates on social justice policies in the Constituent Assembly and how finally they were incorporated in the Indian Constitution. The second part will focus on introduction of the special central assistance (SCA) to special component plan (SCP) from Fifth Five Year Plan (1980-85) onwards in the states, and thirdly, analyse the manner in which sub-categorization issue had occupied central stage of Dalit politics, along with a brief look at the nature of atrocities on Dalits and its implications on the struggles, and finally the passage by the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh the historic Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan (Planning, Allocation and Utilization of Financial Resources) Act, 2013 on 2nd December, 2012, and its implementation will be discussed.

On 29th November, 1948, Professor K.T. Shah (who was a product of London School of Economics, and former professor of Economics at Mysore university), honourable member of the Constituent Assembly of India, recommending reservation provisions for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes argued that:¹

In regard to the scheduled castes and backward tribes, it is an open secret that they have been neglected in the past; and their rights and claims to enjoy and have the capacity to enjoy as equal citizens happens to be denied to them because of their backwardness. I seek therefore by this motion to include them also within the scope of this sub-clause (2), so that any special discrimination in favour of them may not be regarded as violating the basic principles of equality for all classes of citizens in the country. They need and must be given, for some time to come at any rate, special treatment in regard to education, in regard to opportunity for employment, and in many other cases where their present inequality, their present backwardness is only a hindrance to the rapid development of the country. Any section of the community which is backward must necessarily impede the progress of the rest; and it is only in the interest of the community itself, therefore, that it is but right and proper we should provide facilities so that they may be brought up-to-date so today and the uniform progress of all be forwarded. I have, of course, not included in my amendment the length of years, the term of years for which some such special treatment may be given. That may be determined by the circumstances of the day. I only want to draw your attention to the fact that there are classes of our citizens who may need through no fault of theirs, some special treatment if equality is not to be equality of name only or on paper only, but equality of fact. I trust this will commend itself to the House and the amendment will be accepted.

The Constitution of India has solemnly promised to all its citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among the all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. Social justice is one of the main objectives of the Indian Constitution. The discourse of social justice in contemporary India and the ways in which it arises out of the intersection of caste and politics.

Historically, India has witnessed sustained interventions by social reformers who have worked consistently towards disseminating awareness about the lack of any rational basis for discrimination on caste considerations.² Such awareness led to the assertion of rights by the 'Depressed Classes'

and was responsible for the signing of the Poona Pact on 24th September, 1932 between Gandhi and **Ambedkar**. **This pact provided for the equitable representation of the 'Depressed Classes' in governance and the amelioration of their socio-economic conditions.** The pact was significant because it became the basis for subsequent constitutional/legislative safeguards and other measures for the social integration of the Scheduled Castes.³

Social Protection Legislations before Independence

Even before the Constitution of India came into force, several legislations had been enacted and various measures initiated for an inclusive development of the Scheduled Castes. These legislations were localised to an extent. Some of the prominent one were as follows:⁴

Kannada Region:

1. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1943 (Mysore Act XLII of 1943)
2. The Mysore Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1948 (Mysore Act of XIV of 1948).
3. The Coorg Scheduled Castes (Removal of Civil and Social Disabilities) Act, 1949 (Coorg Act I of 1949).
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Kerala region:

1. The Travancore-Cochin Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1825 (Travancore-Cochin Act VII of 1825).
2. The Travancore-Cochin Temple Entry (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1950 (Travancore-Cochin Act XXVII of 1950).

Madras Presidency:

The Madras Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1938 (Madras Act XXI of 1938).

The government's approaches and interventions towards the uplift of the Scheduled Castes are primarily based on two major considerations: first, to overcome the multiple deprivations that Scheduled Castes have inherited due to exclusion in the past and to the extent possible, bring them at par with others in society. Second, to provide them with protection against exclusion and discrimination in the present by encouraging their effective participation in the social economic and political processes of the country. To achieve these goals, the government's approach meant a two-fold strategy consisting of anti-discriminatory or protective measures, and development and empowering measures.

Untouchability and Social Protection Measures

Historically, the caste system classified people by their occupation and status. Each caste had a specific place in the hierarchy of social status.⁵ However, since the 19th century, the link between caste and occupation has become less rigid as it became easier for the people to change their occupations. This change has accelerated with the economic boom which has taken place in India since the early 1990s. Legally, untouchability was prohibited by the Constitution of India. To give effect to this Article, the Parliament of India had enacted the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, based on Article 17, Abolition of Untouchability. It had its scope over the entire country and its provisions were implemented by the respective State Governments and the Union Territories and coordinated by the Government of India. The Act provided with the penalties for enforcing untouchability or any disability arising thereof – preventing a person from entering a place of public worship and offering prayers or taking water from a sacred tank, well or spring. To make the provisions of this Act more stringent, the Act was amended in 1976 and was also renamed as the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 [PCR Act]. Under the Act, the Government of India also notified the PCR Rules, 1977, to carry out the provisions of this Act. As cases of atrocities on Scheduled

Castes /Scheduled Tribes were not covered under the provisions of PCR Act, 1955, the Parliament passed another Act in 1989, to take measures to prevent the atrocities committed against them. This Act, known as the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, became effective from January 30, 1990. For carrying out the provisions of this Act the Government of India notified the SCs and the STs (Prevention of Atrocities) Rules, 1995 on March 31, 1995. Based on the provisions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, caste-based atrocities committed against the members of the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled tribe is an offence punishable under the law. Offences under the PCR Act are cognizable as well as non-compoundable. The number of cases registered under PCR Act is an indication of the continued perpetuation of untouchability, violation of human rights, committing atrocity and discrimination.

However, the fact remains that the caste based discrimination and atrocities against the Dalits is increasing across India at an alarming rate that it leads to brutal killing of Dalits every day. The extent and occurrence of atrocities on Dalits is rampant like an epidemic in many parts of India. In many states such as Bihar, Maharashtra, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat, U.P., M.P., Karnataka and several parts of Tamil Nadu and A.P. the violence against the Dalits has attained greater proportions. **The severity of violence's against Dalits is beyond any human comprehension as Dalits are lynched, murdered and mutilated.**

TABLE 1
DENIAL OF ACCESS TO BASIC PUBLIC SERVICES ⁶

Forms/Sites of untouchability Practice	Percentage of Villages where Form is Practiced	No. of villages where Form is Practiced	Total Surveyed Villages
Denied access to water facilities	48.4	255	527
No entry into villages shops	35.8	186	519
No access to restaurants/hotels	25.6	92	359
No entry into private health centre/clinic	21.3	74	348
No access/entry to public transport	9.2	41	447
No entry/seating in Cinema Halls	3.2	6	187

There is hardly any day when Dalits are not killed, harassed, socially boycotted by the upper castes. Dalits houses are burnt, physical violence against Dalit woman like rape, terrorizing by parading naked on streets, cutting genitals of Dalits, beating etc. are rampant and it is like an epidemic in rural areas and villages across India.⁷ In the recent past, the European Parliament had taken a resolution on the human rights situation of Dalits in India.⁸ It mentioned that the National Human Rights Commission of India has reported that the implementation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act remains very unsatisfactory, and it even has published numerous recommendations to address this problem. Let me put forward some harsh facts of caste discrimination and Dalit atrocities by presenting some of the governmental and non-governmental figures.

A recent study of untouchability in rural India covering 565 villages in 11 States, found that the public health workers refused to visit Dalit homes in 33% of villages, Dalits were prevented from entering police stations in 27.6% of villages, Dalit children had to sit separately while eating in 37.8% of government schools, Dalits did not get mail delivered to their homes in 23.5% of villages, and

Dalits were denied access to water sources in 48.4% of villages because of segregation and untouchability practices. Untouchability in schools has contributed to far higher drop-out⁹ and increase in illiteracy levels of Dalit children than those of the general population. This 'gap of illiteracy' between Dalits and non-Dalits is hardly changing since India's literacy rates for Dalit women remaining as low as 38 percent in rural India.¹⁰ About half of India's Dalit children are undernourished, 21 percent are 'severely underweight' and 12 percent die before their fifth birthday.¹¹

It is seen that Andhra Pradesh tops the list in terms of reported cases, while UP and Bihar where one third of the country's Dalits live report very little. The data needs to be taken with much caution since many of these practices are considered as part of the existing social rules and norms and are accepted even by the Dalit community as owing to their 'lower' social and economic status. Another record shows that 27 officially registered atrocities are being committed against Dalits every day, police often prevent Dalits from entering police stations, refuse the registration of cases by Dalits and regularly resort to the practice of torture against Dalits with impunity. Despite the fact that many Dalits do not report crimes for fear of reprisals by the dominant castes, official police statistics averaged over the past 5 years show that 13 Dalits are murdered every week, 5 Dalits' homes or possessions are burnt every week, 6 Dalits are kidnapped or abducted every week, 3 Dalit women are raped every day, 11 Dalits are beaten every day and a crime is committed against a Dalit every 18 minutes.¹²

TABLE 2
CASES REGISTERED UNDER THE PCR ACT IN 2000 AND 2002

Sr. No.	State/UT	Number of cases registered during the year 2002 ¹³	Number of cases registered in 2000 ¹⁴
1.	Andhra Pradesh	343	284
2.	Karnataka	101	95
3.	Maharashtra	41	98
4.	Pondicherry	18	--
5.	Madhya Pradesh	07	27
6.	Orissa	07	00
7.	Himachal Pradesh	03	--
8.	Jharkhand	02	--
9.	Tamil Nadu	02	103
10.	Rajasthan	01	00
11.	Delhi	01	--
12.	Bihar	--	06
13.	U.P.	--	18
	All India	526	631

In addition to the PCR Act, crimes against Dalits are also registered under the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 and other sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC). All India level 25,093 cases in 1999, 25,455 in 2000 and 33,501 in 2001, (Table-4). This is an annual average of 28,016 crimes. It is inferred from the data that during the period 1999-2001, the most intolerant states as far as crimes against the Dalits are concerned were Uttar Pradesh, followed by Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Andhra Pradesh respectively. It is strange that UP and Rajasthan show a very small

record of cases registered under PCRA in the same years. West Bengal consistently claims that there is no practice of untouchability in the state.

TABLE 3

STATE WISE INCIDENCES OF CRIME-CASTE DISCRIMINATION AND ATROCITIES AGAINST SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA, 2000

State/ UT	Murder	Hurt	Rape	Kidnap & Abd.	Dacoity	Robbery	Arsen	P C R A c t	PO A A c t	Other Offences
Andhra Pradesh	29	323	53	9	2	0	8	284	529	345
Bihar	4	244	17	5	2	3	12	6	220	228
Karnataka	10	13	14	2	0	0	1	95	1073	10
Kerala	7	126	65	0	1	0	4	0	146	118
Madhya Pradesh	45	798	289	26	5	8	27	27	539	2867
Maharashtra	2	16	49	4	1	2	5	98	128	184
Orissa	14	47	6	0	0	0	3	0	147	158
Punjab	0	4	8	2	0	0	0	0	13	3
Rajasthan	48	153	128	13	1	3	49	0	454	4341
Tamil Nadu	12	654	17	1	0	1	0	103	418	90
Uttar Pradesh	302	761	346	163	23	65	142	18	2683	2096
All-India	473	3139	992	225	35	82	251	631	6350	10440

Cases also go unreported owing to the dependency of Dalit communities on the perpetrators for their livelihood as they hold social, economic and institutional power in the area. Dalit victims also do not receive any support from the police or administration to register human rights violations against them. From its review with various state governments, the SC and ST Commission viewed that **“a large number of cases of atrocities go unregistered, mainly because of reluctance on the part of police officers to register the cases...”**¹⁵

The notions of purity and pollution have been particularly resilient in relation to drinking water sources. The study also confirmed the fact and found that persistent conflicts were reported with regard to drinking water. While complete denial of access to a particular water source (well, tank, tube-well and so on) as designated for the upper caste was quite common, what was even more common was the imposition of differential behaviour on Dalits. In over one-third (about 36 percent) of the villages surveyed, the Dalits were denied entry into village shops. This usually meant that the Dalits were not allowed to come up to the counter like other customers, but were made to wait outside or at some distance from the shop. In about one-thirds of the villages, the tea shops discriminated against the Dalits by asking them to be seated separately and widespread practice of the two-glass system. The social status of the castes providing services such as washer men and barbers is dependent on their denying the services to Dalits. Such denial of services to Dalits is always demanded by non-Dalits. Discrimination by washer men and barbers was found to be present in as many as 47 percent of the villages.

TABLE-4

INCIDENCES OF VIOLATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND ATROCITIES AGAINST THE SCS IN INDIA, 1999-2001¹⁶

Sr. No.	State/India	Incidence of Total Crime			Average of 3 yrs	% of Crime to All India	Rate per Lakh
		1999	2000	2001			
1	Andhra Pradesh	1749	1582	2933	2088	7.5	2.8
2	Assam	07	11	06	08	0.0	0.0
3	Bihar	820	741	1303	955	3.4	1.2
4	Gujarat	1781	1332	1242	1452	5.2	2.9
5	Haryana	121	117	229	156	0.6	0.7
6	Himachal Pradesh	54	52	110	72	0.3	1.2
7	Karnataka	1277	1329	1621	1409	5.0	2.7
8	Kerala	514	467	499	493		1.8
9	Madhya Pradesh	4667	4631	4212	4503	16.1	7.5
10	Maharashtra	605	489	625	573	2.0	0.6
11	Orissa	772	793	1734	1100	3.9	3.0
12	Punjab	39	34	134	69	0.2	0.3
13	Rajasthan	5623	5190	4892	5235	18.7	9.3
14	Tamil Nadu	883	1296	2336	1505	5.4	2.4
15	Uttar Pradesh	6122	7330	10732	8061	28.8	4.9
16	West Bengal	00	00	10	03	0.0	0.0
	All India	25093	25455	33501	28016	100	2.7

TABLE-5

CASES REGISTERED UNDER VARIOUS CRIMES ON SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES¹⁷

Type of Cases	1991 (%)	1999 (%)	2000 (%)
Total cases	8029	115878	116131
Cases disposed off	--	8673 (7.84)	12956 (11.16)
Conviction cases	125 (1.56)	700 (0.6)	982 (0.85)
Acquittal cases	1367 (17.03)	7420 (6.4)	11605 (9.99)
Cases pending	6537 (81.42)	107204 (92.5)	100891 (86.88)

This sad status of Indian society is never displayed in detail by digital media. Each year on Dasara day, the triumph of good over evil is celebrated with ritual and symbolic splendor in northern India.

The day marks the defeat of Ravana and his forces by Rama. But the year 2002, killing of five Dalits of Haryana, turned out to be the day of victory over evil. On October 16, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal took out a victory procession in Jhajjar, in which the people responsible for the killing of the Dalits were honoured, congratulated and lauded. In New Delhi, the VHP's then senior vice-president, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, defended the VHP's position stating that it was more important to ascertain if the men had actually killed the cow or were skinning a cow that was already dead. He quoted Hindu scriptures to say that the life of a cow was more precious than that of a human being. But this did not appeal to the upper caste urban mass media as a case of human rights violation. Similarly, the **mainstream media's negligible concern over the Khairlanji atrocity** even weeks and months after an entire Dalit family was humiliated, raped and killed; the tenor and limits of media discourse on Dalits became apparent once more.¹⁸

The reservation policy in the government services, state-run and state-supported educational institutions, and various democratic political bodies is part of the anti-discriminatory or protective measures. The measures ensure proportional participation of the Scheduled Castes in various public spheres, which would not otherwise have been possible because of the prevalence of exclusion and discrimination. However, both the scope and extent of the reservation policy are confined to the state-run and sponsored sectors. The Scheduled Caste workforce in the private sector, which employs more than 90 per cent of the Scheduled Caste workers, remain unprotected from possible exclusion and discrimination.¹⁹

Reservations in South India²⁰

In Tamil Nadu, the reservation is 18% for SCs, 1% for STs, 30% BC and 20% MBC (69% total) based on local demographics. Providing reservation to OBCs in the State level Services as under: for the Backward Classes 26.5%; Backward Classes Muslims, 3.5%; and for the Most Backward Classes / Denotified Communities 20%.

In Karnataka, the reservation is 15% for SCs and 3% for STs, 32% OBC (50% total) based on local demographics. Providing 32% reservation to OBCs is for the purpose of admission to educational institutions and for employment in State Civil Services and Government of Karnataka undertakings. In Kerala, the reservation is 8% for SCs and 2% for STs, 40% OBC (50% total) based on local demographics and providing 40% reservation to OBCs. In Andhra Pradesh, 27% of educational institutes and government jobs are reserved for OBCs, 33.33% for women, 15% for SCs, 6% for STs. Reservation to OBCs in State aided Educational Institutions and in State services is 29%. It is divided among five groups as under: BC-A=7%, BC-B=10%, BC-C=01%, BC- D=07%, BC-E=04%.

In the absence of legal provisions for an affirmative action policy, the state has been using **'general programmes' for the inclusion, uplift and empowerment** of the Scheduled Castes. Measures related to economic empowerment are linked through programmes for improving the private ownership of fixed capital assets, the development of human resource capabilities, to develop and enhance the business capabilities and skills of the Scheduled Castes so as to enable them to engage in self-employment, and efforts to engage labour households in wage employment.

The educational development of Scheduled Castes is a major area of thrust for the government. **At the core of the Scheduled Castes' educational problems are** low literacy rate; high dropout rate at the primary, secondary and higher secondary levels; low quality education; and the existence of **highly discriminatory and exclusionary practices, which deny Dalits' access to education altogether.** Therefore, the government attempts to qualitatively improve the educational infrastructure, especially in areas inhabited predominantly by the Dalits; ensure implementation of reservation in educational institutions; provide financial support in terms of scholarships and fellowships at local, regional, national and international levels; provide remedial coaching facilities to the social group to build their qualitative capabilities; provide special hostels for both boys and girls; and ensures equal opportunity to them by emphasizing specifically on girl/women education.

Budget and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

It is legally mandated that every ministry and department should earmark 16% funds for schedule castes and 8% for schedule tribes, making up 24% of the total Plan outlay. This earmarking policy is called the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP) and the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP). Let us give a broad look at how the six five-year plans earmarked the funds for these marginalized communities to deliver the so called social justice in numbers.

In 2012-13, Rs 3,592 crore of SCSP funds and Rs 1,526 crore of TSP funds were not spent.²¹ In 2011-12, Rs 2,899 crore allocated funds for dalits remained unspent. Similarly, Rs 1,013 crore of funds meant for adivasis were unspent. When one speak about the Highlights of the Union Budget 2018-19, The due Allocation for SC Rs.1,39,660 Crores and the total allocation Rs. 76,801 Crores (8.16%), out of the total allocation for SCC Rs. 35,409 the non-targeted schemes got Rs. 29,919 corers, that have no direct benefit.²¹

Union Budget trends for the Scheduled Castes for the Financial Years 2015-2020.²²

2015-15	6.63 %
2016-17	7.06%
2017-18	8.91%
2018-19	7.18%
2019-20	8.16%

Scheduled Castes Component (SCC) and Scheduled Tribes Component (STC) budget for the Years 2014-2019. The total Allocation for SCC was Rs. 39,549.66 Crores; and the Expenditure as Rs. 35,771.35 Crores.²³ The unspent amount Rs. 3,778.31 Crores, means that 10% of the allocated amount remains unspent.

Dalits and the issue of Sub-Categorization

This was exactly the reason, for sub-categorization issue in Punjab four decades back. During the 1960s, in Punjab 30 percent of its total population being Dalit, they started asserting and staging walkouts in unison, cutting across political lines against atrocities, and demanding separate budget for Dalit uplift. The Congress government under the leadership of Zail Singh, the then-Chief Minister, divided the Scheduled Caste list, sowing the seeds of divisional politics. The 30 percent strong assertive Dalits were split into Ad-Dharmi-Ravidasi group and Mazhabhi-Balmiki group. The inter-group animosities pushed them into virtual political insignificance with no decisive say in the Punjab politics. In Punjab, the initiation of Dalit division took place in 1975, and it needs to be reiterated that this was processed without any deliberations or transparent procedures. It was a decision that the state government planned and issued a notification to divide Dalits.²⁴

Haryana state partly carved out of Punjab, adopted the policies initiated by the Punjab government. It had another political dimension, though the rise and spread of influence of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Uttar Pradesh and spread adjacent regions was a cause of concern. With the rise of BSP in Haryana, the Congress government under the leadership of Bhajan Lal in 1994 revised the Scheduled Caste list of Haryana and introduced elements of internal dissension.²⁵ The 20 percent strong Dalit population that was reclassified and they have never had a significant voice since then. That was because the groups led by dominant Chamar and Balmiki castes were at loggerheads over the distribution of benefits. Ironically, sizeable populations of literate Dalits in these two states are **unaware of the government's policy of classification and divisions.**

As mentioned earlier, the Government of Punjab initiated the policy of sub-categorization of the Scheduled Castes through executive orders in 1975. It was consequently followed by Government of Haryana in 1994.²⁶ It is mentioned in the executive order²⁷ that the **“government has decided that henceforth, fifty percent of vacancies of the quota reserved for Scheduled castes would be offered to**

Balmikis and Mazbhi Sinks, if available, as first preference from amongst the Scheduled Castes candidates, in direct recruitment only and not in promotion cases. It has also been decided that **promotion cases already decided in the light of aforesaid instructions are not to be opened**".

Similarly, following the suit was Karnataka where the State Government appointed a judicial inquiry committee, to study the imbalances among different communities in utilizing reservation facilities among different communities in the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, under the chairmanship of Justice Sadashiva Judicial Inquiry Commission.²⁸ Its broad parameters were specified by the Justice Sadashiva and no new communities were to be included in the Scheduled Castes list as claimed by different Dalit organizations. He stated that after the reorganization of the State in 1956, the communities which were in the Scheduled Castes list in the regions which were merged with the then Mysore state were included in the Scheduled Caste list. The Government had set a deadline of September 27, 2007 for the commission to submit its report. However, the later developments remain ambiguous. The Commission held its sitting and recorded the pleas of different communities in 17 of the 27 districts, and would complete the public hearing in the remaining ten districts before the end of February 2007.

In Bihar, the Nitish Kumar government set up a commission known as "Maha Dalit Commission" to suggest ways for the uplift of the most deprived communities from amongst the Scheduled Castes. The commission was headed by Viswanath Rishi²⁹ and K.P. Ramaiah³⁰ as its Secretary along with three other members in August 2007.³¹ The Commission submitted its report in November 2007, a 186 page report comprising 116 recommendations to improve the condition of what it termed as 'Maha Dalits'.

Through the passage of the bill of 2012, Andhra Pradesh had become the first state to make such legislation, by giving statutory status to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe sub-plans by ensuring allocation of funds to these sections in proportion to their population. The legislation would be helpful in ensuring the right to equality for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe communities apart from being effective in ensuing social security and social justice and hence the comprehensive development of these communities. Before we proceed further on this issue, let us give a look at the how each state in south India reservation points were allocated and working. In Karnataka an Act for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Sub-Plan was passed in 2015. In Tamil Nadu, a Bill was introduced in 2013, but never seen the light after that.

So, what we discern from the above discussion is the interest and enthusiasm shown by the political masters to divide dalits into various groups and sub-groups. **They don't show even basic minimum concern to deliver the welfare measures that are constitutionally mandated for these marginalized communities. Finally, what we could conclude is that, we have 'social justice' only on paper, and in practice, everywhere and at every stage of life, we get to see the discrimination and exclusion of these communities from the mainstream developmental issues.**

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These drop-outs are in fact not 'drop-outs' but often they are 'push-outs' from the institutions of learning

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN SOUTH INDIA: A POST INDEPENDENCE EVALUATION

Dr.N.Shaik Masthan

Introduction:

The meaning of the term 'Social Justice' according to the oxford English dictionary is 'justice in terms of distribution of wealth, opportunities and priviages with in a society. Social justice is a concept of fair and just relations between the individual and society, as measured by the distribution of wealth, opportunities for personal activity, and social privileges. However, recent researches have proved that the use of the expression 'social justice' is older, even before 19th century.

A Brief Historical Survey:

Ever since the formation of human social order, it has become a practice that there has been a unequal treatment of the people on the basis of gender, caste, creed, colour, religion, language and region, not only in India but in many parts of the world as well, for one reason or the other. The dominant always discriminated the weak, the vacillating and the poor. This was practiced in early savagery, the ancient past, the medieval feudalistic societies and in the modern democracies, of course with a degree of difference in its advocacy. In ancient India and South India during the ages of dynastic rules, the kings and emperors followed the philosophy of welfare state concept and the wellbeing of their subjects was their at most interest. Though they believed in the principle of equal treatment and just rule they did not realise that there was an element of inequality due to the underlying principle of raja dharma guided by Varna, Ashrama and so on. While the medieval state was driven by the element of faith and religion and the division of society on the basis of rule and the ruled. Whereas the modern Indian society was not free of the ghost elements of ancient and medieval forces of division protected

and promoted by the divide and rule policy of the colonial powers.

However, at every given point of time, whenever the social unjust crossed the limits of tolerance, there were attempts by social reformers, the intellectuals and the profounder of Bhakti movements. In Ancient India there were reformers like Mahaveera and Gautama Buddha, while in south India there were Nayanars and the Alwars. The medieval Indian society saw the emergence of Bhakti saints. In Karnataka there was Dasa and Vachana Movements and modern India witnessed social reformation from people like Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Similarly the attempts of Mahatma Puley, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, Periyar and Narayana guru are true attempts towards bringing Indian society towards social justice and vigourity of modernity. Hence the onus of creating an equal society, equal treatment with welfare oriented social justice became the prime responsibility of free and independent India.

Modern Concept of Social Justice:

In the Indian context, the constitution makes envisaged a concept of social justice which involves the establishment of an egalitarian, social order where there was no discrimination among individuals on the basis of caste, creed, religion, race, sex or place of birth. The Goals of political, socio and economic democracy have been sought to be implemented through certain political and socio economic rights. These conditions were to be established by adopting a socio economic model of development through a policy of socialism. The Indian constitution have provided necessary safeguards by certain provisions which make positive discrimination in favour of the weaker and disadvantaged sections of the society so that they could be able to avail the same

opportunities as being availed by well off sections of the society.

The concept of social justice emerged out of a process of evolution of social norms, order, law and morality. It laid emphasis upon the just action and creates intervention in the society by enforcing the rules and regulations based on the principles in accordance with social equality. Social justice ensures liberty, equality and maintains their individual rights in the society. In other words, securing the highest possible development of the capabilities of all members of the society may be called social justice. In modern liberal philosophy "justice" is defined in terms of rights not as duties. Thus the notion of social justice requires the equal distribution of economic goods and opportunities. Social justice means availability of equal social opportunities for the full development of human personality to all the people in the society, without any discrimination on the ground of caste, sex or race etc. The challenges are to establish social justice so that disadvantaged sections may enjoy equal status in socio cultural sphere. (Dr. Paras Jain. (2017). "A STUDY ABOUT STATUS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN INDIA." *International Journal of Research - Granthaalayah*, 5(5), 240-242.)

Indian Constitution and Social Justice:

The constitution of India was adopted on November 26, 1949. Some provision of the constitution came into force on same day but the remaining provisions of the constitution came into force on January 26, 1950. This day is referred to the constitution as the "date of its commencement", and celebrated as the Republic Day. The Indian Constitution is unique in its contents and spirit. Through borrowed from almost every constitution of the world, the constitution of India has several salient features that distinguish it from the constitutions of other countries.

Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Chief Architect of Constitution of India, is the man of millennium for social justice, in the sense that he became the deliverer of or the Messiah of the Dalits, the erstwhile untouchables, Other Backward Classes (OBCs), and women, all constituting 95% of Hindu population. That big segment of population had been forced to live at a sub-human level from

time immemorial, under caste system, sanctioned by Hindu scriptures. He was the first man in history to successfully lead a tirade of securing social justice to the vast sections of Indian humanity with the help of a law and legislation.

Social Justice is the foundation and the corner stone of Indian Constitution. And the makers of Indian Constitution were well aware of the use and boundaries of various principles of justice. They wanted to search such form of justice which could fulfil the expectations of whole revolution. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru put an idea before the Constituent Assembly as the "First work of this assembly is to make India independent by a new constitution through which starving people will get complete meal and cloths, and each Indian will get best option that he can progress himself."

Social justice found useful for everyone in its kind and flexible form. Although social justice is not defined anywhere in the constitution but it is an ideal element of feeling which is a goal of constitution. Feeling of social justice is a form of relative concept which is changeable by the time, circumstances, culture and needs of the people. Under Indian Constitution the use of social justice is accepted in wider sense which includes social and economic justice both. The preamble to the Constitution of India is a brief introductory statement that sets out guidelines, which guide the people of the nation, and to present the principles of the Constitution, and to indicate the source from which the document derives its authority, and meaning. The hopes and aspirations of the people are described in it. The preamble can be referred to as the preface which highlights the entire Constitution.

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens, JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this 26th day of November 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

According to former Chief Justice Gajendragadkar, "In this sense social justice holds the aims of equal opportunity to every citizen in the matter of social & economical activities and to prevent inequalities".

Thus, The Constitution of India has solemnly promised to all its citizens justices-social, economic and political; liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among the all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. The Constitution has attempted to attune the apparently conflicting claims of socio-economic justice and of individual liberty and fundamental rights by putting some relevant provisions.

Articles Ensuring Social Justice:

Article 19 enshrines the fundamental rights of the citizens of this country. The seven sub-clauses of Article 19(1) guarantee the citizens seven different kinds of freedom and recognize them as their fundamental rights. Article 19 considered as a whole furnishes a very satisfactory and rational basis for adjusting the claims of individual rights of freedom and the claims of public good.

Articles 23 and 24 provide for fundamental rights against exploitation. Article 24, in particular, prohibits an employer from employing a child below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or in any other hazardous employment. Article 31 makes a specific provision in regard to the fundamental right to property and deals with the vexed problem of compulsory acquisition of property.

Article 38 requires that the state should make an effort to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life. Article 39 clause (a) says that the State shall secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice, on a basis of equal opportunity, and shall, in particular provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes, or in any other way, to ensure that

opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities.

Article 41 recognizes every citizen's right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness & disablement and in other cases of undeserved want. Article 42 stresses the importance of securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. Article 43 holds before the working population the ideal of the living wage and Article 46 emphasizes the importance of the promotion of educational and economic interests of schedule castes, schedule tribes and other weaker sections.

The social problem presented by the existence of a very large number of citizens who are treated as untouchables has received the special attention of the Constitution as Article 15 (1) prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. The state would be entitled to make special provisions for women and children, and for advancement of any social and educationally backward classes of citizens, or for the SC/STs. A similar exception is provided to the principle of equality of opportunity prescribed by Article 16 (1) in as much as Article 16(4) allows the state to make provision for the resolution of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services under the state. Article 17 proclaims that untouchability has been abolished & forbids its practice in any form & it provides that the enforcement of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. This is the code of provisions dealing with the problem of achieving the ideal of socio- economic justice in this country which has been prescribed by the Constitution of India.

The social justice scenario is to be investigated in the context of two streams of entitlements: (a) sustainable livelihood, which means access to adequate means of living, such as shelter, clothing, food, access to developmental means, employment; education, health, and resources; (b) social and political participation (enabling or empowering means), which is built on the guarantee of fundamental rights, and promotion and empowerment of the right to participation in the government, and

access to all available means of justice, and on **the basis of which “justice as a political programme” becomes a viable reality. We require** therefore a study based on select illustrations of various issues relating to government policies on topics such as: (a) the right to food and water; (b) housing, which includes resettlement and rehabilitation; (c) access to education, (d) access to provisions of health and healthcare, (e) right to work, and (f) access to information and the right to communication.

In short, one of the important ways in which the inquiry will proceed will be through taking stock of various forms that have occasioned the articulation of ideas of social justice. Governmental justice consists of various welfare schemes, law, legal literacy, administrative forms of arbitration such as tribunals, boards, courts, public interest litigation, new legal education, plus the constitutional idea of protection of weaker sections of the society and introduction of positive discrimination.

A Challenges to social justice:

Even After 73 years of independence, with 12 Five Year Plans, hundreds of laws leading to a veritable forest of rules offering a variety of special facilities to the underprivileged ranging from scheduled castes and tribes to women, in matters of education, employment, housing, etc. **social justice is far from a reality. 21.9% of India's population are under the poverty line i.e. unable to spend even a dollar a day on bare necessities. A mere 8.5 % of households enjoy the ‘luxury’ of electricity, drinking water and toilet facilities.** This percentage is 3.9% if only rural households are taken into consideration. 65.46% of our women are illiterate. Barring a few states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu, rural health care is a sham and almost non-existent. Then there is the problem of the millions of the educated unemployed.

Though in any society some form of inequality is unavoidable, the persistence of large-scale economic disparities and the undignified living conditions of millions of Indians is a reality that cannot be overlooked. The satisfaction of a set of basic needs must have the highest priority, for, without food, shelter, clothing, health care and primary education a person cannot become a human being. The widespread caste prejudices and the continuing discrimination against the lower castes are a

threat to social stability and peace. The social and educational backwardness of a vast section of the population inhibits its participation in the process of social and economic development, not to mention human development. Hence, the reduction of discriminatory social practices is an important part of the movement for social justice. Women suffer from historical, social and economic disadvantages. Even among the other categories of deprived communities, they are the most deprived group. A liberal society must attend to demands of gender justice seriously.

The conception of social justice also encompasses firm commitment to the protection of human rights and civil liberties. Disabilities and problems of other groups like the physically disabled, child labour, tribals and those affected by environmental pollution also form the agenda **of social justice. And these are India's most critical problems.** These are at the root of much of the political unrest, social and ethnic conflicts, and the growth of collective violence and the weakness of democratic structures in our country.

The institution of caste in our society is very effective and powerful one, which is not a phenomenon in western countries. While, the main objectives of social justice are compulsory and equal education, casteless society and employment to each and every citizen. Economic exploitation is also a big factor and all these do not allow the true realization of democracy. When India is passing through social and caste discrimination, economic crisis, unemployment, communalism and lack of basic needs, is it possible in such circumstances, to reap the fruits of the system which we have adopted? I believe, a party of substance committed to people and Democracy is needed which acknowledges and addresses the problems of social and economic deprivation.

The Meaning of ‘Justice’ doesn't need to be further defined as it is bounden to give justice to all those who have been or being denied from generations.

Social policy: Politics is reflection of the society. If castism, regionalism and communalism are part of society, they will go in to politics also. Those who are born and die in discriminatory environment, how is it possible for them to have different mind-set? During

elections, this mind-set takes precedence over development, science, honesty, integrity, ethics and morality etc. Though political parties aim to capture political power but they are equally responsible to fight out social discrimination while making it important agenda. Till ideal situation is attained, it will not be possible to capture political power through agenda like development, education, health etc. Recently French Government banned students from wearing religious symbols in schools and similarly we also have to take hard decisions to do away with vestigial institutions like caste. Due to increasing consciousness among dalits and backwards, they are also striving to have participation in political power and it is leading to a situation where elections are being fought more between the castes than parties. Earlier, dominant castes used to fight elections mainly and now backwards have also started contesting and a day will come erstwhile dominant castes will be out of power owing to their smaller number. For all of us it is essential to remove rotten values and social system.

Economic policy: The distribution of income among individuals or households at the local or national level, based on classifications such as socio-economic status, profession, gender, location, and income percentiles, is the most widely used measure of the degree of equality or inequality existing in a society. For most contemporary societies, income distribution remains the most legitimate indicator of the overall levels of equality and inequality. Gap between rich and poor is wider in our country. Besides historical reason, there are many reasons which are producing poverty. Governments are morally bound to provide education, health, employment and other basic needs. Due to globalization and privatization, it is now being debated that the Governments are not supposed to do business and provide employment but are for maintenance of law and order and foreign policy etc.

Dalits: Dalits have been exploited for millennia. No society or country can make the requisite progress while depriving such large number of people of dignity and respect. A country is an extended version of a family, if a family member is half fed or sick, peace and happiness will not come to it and similarly deprivation of dalits has cost and is costing India

dear. Dr. Ambedkar was for nationalization of land but Dalits have forgotten this economic agenda. Dalits have made a little progress in government jobs and politics due to reservation but in other fields like industry, market, profession, media, hi-tech, art & culture, stock **exchange, they are yet to begin. Dr. Ambedkar's** plank to establish casteless society through Buddhism was implemented in 2001 when lacks of dalits embraced Buddhism.

Tribals: Tribals have escaped from caste discrimination but are the worst victims of economic poverty. They have been traditionally fed on the roots and shoots and other available natural resources but this also has declined. With increasing pace of industrialization and urbanization there is no alternative left except to integrate them into the main stream of the nation. Though they had been provided reservation but most backward tribals have been hardly benefited.

Minorities: Being in minority should not be a curse in democracy, yet in a country like ours, majority pocket the main benefits. Christians have introduced and cultivated science, engineering and modern education but are becoming subject to persecution on day to day basis in the name of conversion. Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists have not been given status of being separate religious groups, this shows the plight of minorities. Muslims and Dalit Christians are worst sufferers and hence priority should be given to ensure health, education and jobs to them. Muslims are very small in Government jobs and police and they should be ensured participation according to their population in such areas. During communal riots, they do not face the wrath of majority only but also of police and paramilitary forces. Therefore it is must to ensure reservation in police and paramilitary forces. The recommendations of Justice Sachar Commission, hardly been implemented and in fact many Muslims have a minimum knowhow of this commission as such.

Backward Castes: Backward castes population is more than any other group but they are a most divided lot. The recommendations of Mandal Commission were implemented because of Dalit struggle but divided and unaware backwards could not even use the benefits. Thus the saga of most backwards castes is really deplorable. A fresh look is needed to ensure the

benefits to them of reservation and other safeguards.

Women: Women are the worst sufferers in this socio-economic setup. Even able women are not in a position to get the returns they deserve. Since childhood, they are taught that they belong to their in-laws' house and their salvation lies in surrendering to their husbands. This generates that mind-set, consciously or subconsciously, that women are meant for enjoyment and progeny. This must be attacked otherwise even women will not come forward to ask for their rights. Dowry, rape and torture are the by-products of this mentality. At present, Muslim women are the worst sufferers due to increasing fundamental tendency. Where ever there is a larger participation of women in various fields there is higher production and growth recorded. Not only for the sake of humanity but also for overall growth of the nation, women will have to be integrated into social, educational and political system. Through various cultural fora like cinema etc. women are projected as beautiful objects and epitomes of purity but not certainly meant to compete with men. This complex problem is not going to be tackled merely by governmental efforts; therefore political parties also share the great social responsibilities. The slogan of '**Beti Bachao and Beti Padhao**' remain merely as political stunts more than actuals. Atrocities on women are ever increasing, as a shame to Indian democracy.

Farmers: Farmers and peasants do not get the return of what they toil for. The prices of their produce like wheat, paddy, vegetables etc. have not increased to the extent of commodities like soap, cosmetics, steel and other articles manufactured in industries. In places like Mumbai and Delhi, small shops can have turnover of millions and billions but farmer owning hundred acres of land cannot afford to lead the life a small businessman and government servant can do. World Bank and developed countries are exerting continuous pressure on our Governments that they should reduce the subsidies on fertilizers, pesticides and seeds etc. whereas they pamper their farmers like anything, i.e., a farmer is given Rs. 400 per day to maintain a cow in England. Switch on the television or open pages of newspapers, you will find news about stock exchange but what about farmers and crops. Equity and shares do not

have more than 10% value of country's assets. Good rain has helped farmers to grow more crops. When there is drought, Sensex at stock exchange falls. Justice has not come to the farmers and to secure it, agricultural products must get their due price and subsidies, if required, be increased. Computerization, mobile revolution, hi-tech have benefited a few living in urban cities and this cannot be yardstick to measure the progress of farmers and labourers. We should modernize rural India as well so that the children of rural areas also avail the same opportunities. Till this is done, we will not concede the so called achievements in computerization and hi-tech etc. there is no social justice.

Labourers: Whatever production was done by thousands of labourers in the past, now it is being done by few labourers so that the profits of businessman go up. We should not oppose hi-tech and mechanization but is in favour of those industries and services who absorb more people. These days businessmen are employing labourers on contract basis and this has unleashed more exploitation. Recently, Supreme Court pronounced a judgment which curtails the freedom of agitation and struggle of employees and labourers. The higher judiciary is favouring disinvestment and privatization which is precipitating further exploitation of workers. We feel that exploitation by industrialists and businessman should be curbed.

Landless People: About 65.97% population living in rural India is landless and **Dalits' ratio is even higher. In developed countries like Japan and Europe about 40 % rural population does not depend on agriculture but derive their subsistence from agro based industries, cottage industries and soil conservation activities etc. We have ample opportunities to go for mass scale agro based industries which will not only provide employment but also stop migration to urban areas.**

So whereis The Solution?

The solution to attain social injustice lies within us only. We should be aware of the expressions the poor, the backwards, social justice which are being used to undermine standards, to flout norms and to put institutions to work. Despite the well intentioned

commitment of ensuring social justice through equalization or protective discrimination policy, the governmental efforts have caused some tension in the society. In the name of social justice even such activities are performed which have nothing to do with social justice. The need of the hour is to ensure proper and balanced implementation of policies so as to make social justice an effective vehicle of social progress. While Liberalism puts freedom first it is conscious of the fact that such freedom is hollow unless it is accompanied by a sense of security, protection and equality.

Conclusion:

A liberal social policy should aim at providing the most disadvantaged with access to opportunities and, at the same time create a social net that strengthens their ability to cope with crises. Successive governments have attempted to meet the basic needs of people by spending large sums of money on various subsidies, a variety of employment generation and poverty alleviation schemes. While these schemes have created a huge distributive bureaucracy only a small percentage of the sums sanctioned actually reach the intended recipient groups. They have bred corruption on a massive scale.

A phenomenal amount of resources are wasted, destabilising public finances, harming

economic development and burdening future generations. Along the measures to liberalise the economy that would create new employment opportunities, there is need to encourage entrepreneurship and self-employment particularly in the light of fast developing technology. This would spur an upward movement of people and each entrepreneur can provide work for one or more persons. Jobs and self-employment opportunities have to be encouraged in sectors like agriculture, plantations, and in a variety of infrastructural activities, etc. Employing techniques that involve a judicious mix of machines and manual labour, **the country's enormous economic potential can** be exploited to the benefit of the less fortunate and most exploited sections of the population. Without administrative and political decentralisation the goals of **'social justice'** may ever remain a dream. Letting people to decide their needs of development not only generate social and political awareness among them but also instil a sense of self-respect and build strong leadership at the local and community levels. *(Shashi Kant, Roll No. 10402003, Department of Chemical Engineering. IIT Mumbai)* I am highly grateful and acknowledge both Dr. Paras Jain and Shashi Kant for their scholarly articles on Social Justice which I have used in my paper.

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STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ITS IMPACT ON TAMIL NADU: A POST-INDEPENDENT EVALUATION

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I

The constitution makers of India have adumbrated the need to ensure the concept of Social Justice in our constitution in the Preamble itself. The very first sentence of the Preamble declares, **“We the people of India having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic and secure to all its citizens Justice-Social, Economic and Political”**. No constitution of any country emphasized Social Justice to the extent as our constitution has stressed.

In compliance with the constitutional guarantee, today the country has recognized that Social Justice improve the quality of life for the oppressed and depressed classes in our society and promote their welfare in an orderly

disciplined manner. It ensures equality of status, equality of opportunity and developmental facilities to all.

South India in particular is a pioneer in upholding and promoting this concept, not only after independence, even prior to it and the emerging scenario consequent upon this testify to it. In this context, the role and contribution made by Tamil Nadu is path-breaking in the history of the sub-continent.

The British paramountcy was established in India more or less in full from the 19th century. Their capitalistic and monetisation of economic policy, annihilation of rural industries, uniform civil and criminal administration, exploitative land revenue system, and new education policy with a thrust on near-liberal orientation and their

efforts at promoting English education, introduction of new transport and tele-communication system have not been the “colonial burden” as it was claimed by the colonists but facilitated the “economic drain” of the country in their favour. These have in contrast to their expectations, have also contributed among the Indian beneficiaries and sufferers a sense of unity and awareness about their rights.

Thus with the emerging changes in the socio-economic and political space in the Indian landscape, impacting Tamil Nadu as well, from 19th century onwards, had prompted individuals and other organizations to launch struggles to secure social justice to its people. Such struggles took social religious and radical dimensions enlisting and enrolling different sections of the affected people, in their avowed goals.

During 19th and 20th centuries, those struggles and upheavals include, social and religious equality of the community of people on par with the advantaged castes, equality in the available opportunities to grow by freely opening avenues in education and jobs for those who have been denied such rights, emancipation of Scheduled castes, Tribes and Women from exploitation and gender-bias.

The communal G.O. and the reservation policy of the State that ensures equal opportunities to the deserving men and women of all hues with the exception of a few well-to-do historically advanced communities, in the spheres of polity, education and jobs, has become a phenomenon, is the result of the **relentless struggles launched by Periyar EVR's** Self Respect Movement and Dravidian Association, some progressive political parties, the Dalits and Women organizations as also peasants in Tamil Nadu. It is a saga of unending struggle of the stake-holders, because of its magnitude and the volume of resistance it has to encounter while achieving justice.

The paper besides examining and evaluating the contribution made by the above organised efforts to secure Social Justice for the people of Tamil Nadu, assesses the impact accruing from its present status on society.

II

The issues and themes that social activists, political parties and other organisations had **taken up among others, realise the goal of ‘Social Justice’ continued with vigour and enthusiasm** trading upon constitutional guarantees in the post-independence period till date.

Certain provisions and clauses are found their inclusion as essentials and directions to establish a society based on equity and social justice in our constitution as a gift, guide-book and manual of the post-independent India. Most important among them are as below:

- i) Abolition of untouchability and reservation for Scheduled castes and Tribes in education and jobs as also in the political space.
- ii) Equal opportunities to all in all societal avenues to grow economically as well; irrespective of caste, creed, religion, race and sex.
- iii) Abolition of slavery in any form in any sector

In addition the constitution also facilitated some amendments to get passed in future to make good the loss towards securing Social Justice to the people hitherto not accommodated in the provisions of the main constitution.

At the national level Dr.B.R.Ambedkar and **in Tamil Nadu Periyar EVR from 1920's onward** still their death and Dr.Ram Manohar Lohia in the North from 1956 to 1967 championed the cause of the Scheduled castes and tribes and non-Brahmin Backward classes for communal reservation according to their population.

The communal Reservation policy followed by Ministries of Madras and Tamil Nadu State after independence has inherited a two-decade history of communal reservation **policy adopted since 1920's.**

The Justice party Ministry in the Madras Province first introduced Communal Reservation system by issuing a G.O. in 1922. This G.O. ensured reservation to non-Brahmins, minorities and Scheduled castes along with Brahmins as well in education and government services in the Presidency. But this G.O. was implemented from 04/11/1927 only with a break-up detail comprising five categories as below :

Brahmins : 16%
Muslims : 16%
Indian Christians & Anglo-Indians : 16%
Non-Brahmin Hindus : 44%
Scheduled castes : 8%

Further , till 1947, i.e. prior to independence, with a change in thrust in identifying and revising the Communal Reservation System, the following pattern was followed :

Non-Brahmin Hindus : 44%
Brahmins : 16%
Muslims : 8%
Anglo-Indians : 8%
Other Minorities : 8%
Scheduled Castes : 16%

Finding fault with this new distribution of reservation, Periyar EVR at a Non-Brahmin Conference held in Thiruvavur in 1941, said that the well-to-do among the non-Brahmins were principal beneficiaries, in this arrangement and therefore it should be revised to accommodate the poor among the backward classes.

The communal GO giving representation to various communities, till the congress government took over the reins of the government of Madras State in 1947, had been subjected to revision in order to bridge the gap between the high caste non-Brahmins and low caste non-Brahmin representation. Accordingly the government under the Chief Minister-ship of O.P.Ramaswamy Reddiar issued a G.O. on 21/11/1947 detailing the communal representation as under:

High Caste Non-Brahmins : 44%
Backward Caste Non-Brahmins : 14%
Brahmins : 14%
Muslims : 7%
Indian Christians & Anglo Indians : 7%
Scheduled Castes : 14%

This communal reservation policy was challenged in the High Court of Madras and the

Supreme Court of India in 1950. The courts struck down the communal reservation system of the Madras Government terming it unconstitutional. Periyar EVR along with like-minded political parties launched a state-wide mass protest against the court judgement. Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, responding to the just demands of Periyar **EVR's protest, came forward to introduce an amendment legalising the communal reservation policy of the State in 1951.** The role and contribution made by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar in bringing this first Amendment to the constitution passed in the parliament is praiseworthy.

After obtaining this constitutional guarantee and in deference to it the Madras government in September 1951 issued a new G.O. that ensured 60% reservation for General category of people, 25% to Backward classes and 15% to Scheduled castes and tribes. Subsequently, the Madras government under the Chief Minister-ship of K.Kamaraj issued a new G.O on 30-4-1984 reducing the General category Quota to 59%, and increasing the Scheduled caste and tribe quota to 16%.

When the Communal Reservation System was almost resolved at the time, a fresh issue was raked up with the introduction of new elementary school scheme (Kulalavimurai) by the then Chief Minister of Madras State C.Rajagopalachari in 1953. Periyar EVR, the Communist Party of India, the DMK, and Muthuramalinga Thevar opposed this new education policy on the ground that if it is implemented it would deny the opportunities of the socially, educationally and economically backward classes and the Scheduled caste pupils to choose a vocation of their choice instead of taking up hereditary professions of their parents and ancestors. In the midst of massive protest across Tamil Nadu, C.Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of the State resigned, and K.Kamaraj of the Indian National Congress succeeded him as Chief Minister in 1954. Immediately after assuming power, **K.Kamaraj revoked the order on the "caste occupation curriculum" passed by the past Chief Minister.** Above all, for the first time, in the post-independence Madras State, an ordinary person belonging to backward class became the Chief Minister. This is a victory for the struggles launched by the socially conscious people of the

State. It is the pride of Tamil Nadu, with this precedent set in motion by K.Kamaraj, M.Karunanidhi of DMK, with similar class and caste background became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in 1969.

It was during the Chief Ministership of K.Kamaraj education was made free to children upto 11th class along with free uniforms to weed out caste, creed and distinctions among young minds. Besides, the State under his stewardship had tried to build at least a primary school in every village. An enlarged Noon Meal Scheme was also introduced in schools. This had helped increase the enrolment of first generation learners largely belonging to Backward and Most Backward classes and Scheduled Caste/Tribe children. Indian Institute of technology was established in Madras due to his efforts. Coming to the rescue of agricultural sector, K.Kamaraj was instrumental to boost **State's irrigation by building a number of dams and canals across rivers.**

Soon after constitutional amendment ensuring and enabling the States to frame appropriating laws under article 15(4) of the constitution of India, the Government of India to assess and quantify the legitimacy of reservation of backward classes appointed two commissions; one under the chairmanship of Kaka Saheb Kalekar in 1953 and another one under the chairmanship of B.P.Mandal in 1979. The Report of the first commission was not considered favourable by the Union Government and the recommendations of the Mandal commission was after a long delay and in the midst of stiff resistance of the vested interests implemented by the then Prime Minister V.P.Singh in 1990 ensuring 27% of reservation to backward classes in education and in all government services and other private institutions which were directly or indirectly received assistance from the government. Cowed down by the resistance and due to number of legal challenges, P.V.Narasimha Rao who succeeded V.P.Singh as Prime Minister of India and to placate the rightist forces with a Supreme Court ruling introduced a creamy layer concept in the Backward class reservation, thus tried to eliminate a some-what well-to-do from this class. Further, the Supreme court in different judgements pronounced in 1992, 1998 and 2003, denied reservation in private institutions

and ruled that the reservation cannot be applicable to all higher posts in government services too.

Meanwhile Periyar EVR demanded that the reservation for Backward class be raised from 25% to 33% and claimed that even this increase was not in proportion in the State. Responding **to Periyar EVR's demand, the DMK government** under the Chief Ministership of M.Karunanidhi constituted a Backward classes commission under the chairmanship of A.N.Sattanathan in 1971. The aim and objective of the commission was to assess the progress made by Backward classes in the fields of education, economic status and employment in government services. In deference to the report, the DMK Government in 1971 revised the percentage in the communal reservation scheme as under :

Backward Classes : 31%

Scheduled Castes & Tribes : 18%

Surprisingly in yet another Supreme Court ruling given in 1976, that in view of the increase in the population of the Backward classes in States, giving adequate representation to them may not violate article 16(4) of the Indian constitution. This judgement enabled the State of Tamil Nadu to further increase, the percentage of communal Reservation over and above 50% stipulated by the earlier Supreme court judgement, to 68% by the AIADMK government headed by M.G.Ramachandran on 01/02/1980 as below:

Backward Classes : 30%

Most Backward Classes : 20%

Scheduled Castes & Tribes : 18%

For the first time a separate communal reservation was made for the Most Backward classes as per the recommendations of the Sattanathan commission and J.A.Ambasankar commission.

Again when DMK was in power between 1989-90, as per the Supreme court judgement instead of 17% and 1% reservation to be given to Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the government increased their reservation as 18% and 1% respectively and thus increased the percentage of total communal reservation to 69%. When this increased communal reservation was again

challenged in the court of law in 1993-94, the then AIADMK government under the Chief Ministership of J.Jayalalitha, along with the support extended by DMK and other political parties passed a resolution unanimously in the State Assembly urging the Union Government to amend the constitution appropriately legalising the States Communal Reservation System. Subsequently a Bill on these lines was passed on 31/12/1993 and sent to New Delhi seeking the consent of the President of India. Responding positively, the Union government recommended the President to give his consent to which he obliged favourably. However even this **arrangement is not free from court's intervention.** Therefore, all the likeminded parties along with Dravidian Political Parties are still urging the Union government to bring in necessary changes in the article 15(4) and 16(4) of the **constitution and free the State's Communal** Reservation policy from being scuttled by the court. The struggles continue till date with a more than a nine decades of legacy behind to serve as source of inspiration.

III

Both the National and Regional parties, operating in Tamil Nadu with separate women wings attached to them besides few other independent women organisations, have been taking up the cause of women problems, their rights and issues impacting their self-esteem, dignity and empowerment either in co-operation or in confrontation with the changing establishments since independence – both Central and the State Government of Tamil Nadu. A host of laws and legislations followed by constitutional guarantees against gender-bias, have placed women in a positive transformatory situation. Periyar EVR and his Self-Respect Movement and Dravidar Kazhagam since **1920's have played a seminal emancipatory** role for them through a series of demonstrations, speeches and writings for well over seven decades. The communist party of India along with its Tamil Nadu Democratic Women Federation, both Congress and Dravidian political parties that have ruled and presently ruling have ensured their rightful place in the society on par with their men-folk by taking up various welfare measures.

The DMK government under C.N.Annadurai and M.Karunanithi have legalised

the Self-Respect marriages and passed Property Inheritance Rights for Women legislation. The Self Help group Scheme introduced by the **government in 1980's is really a significant** economic activity meant for women. These measures have really helped to give a dent to the caste-ridden and tradition bound society to an extent besides empowering at least a section of women to a greater extent.

Likewise AIADMK's M.G.Ramachandran's Ministry, introducing a world acclaimed Noon-Meal Scheme in Schools across Tamil Nadu on a larger scale and thus contributed a lot in the increase of girl student enrolment in schools. Under the Chief Minister-ship of J.Jayalalitha, among a number of welfare measures launched for women and child development she made education free for women upto college education and equipped them with necessary education facilitating logistics. By and large, the women belonging to the Backward & Most Backward classes and Scheduled caste and tribes who constituted the majority in the total population of the State stood to gain a lot by these measures.

While positive aspects of Women development and empowerment are being pictured, the incidents of crimes against women and atrocities committed on women as also honour killings have been on the increase and it **draws everybody's attention today.** It **belies** hopes of many in a welfare State like ours when half of the population is being placed at the receiving end. According to an article of Ramesh Chakrapani, published in Frontline magazine, dated April 15, 2016, in the name of Honour Killings as many as 81 suspected murders and suspicious deaths of young girls and boys who married outside their caste have been reported since 2013 in Tamil Nadu alone. And of the 81 deaths, nearly 80% caste Hindu girls who married Dalits were murdered by their family members. Further the majority of Dalit girls who had married caste Hindu youths were either driven out of their **husband's houses or** abandoned.

IV

No other State in India other than Tamil Nadu which had a consistent and long history of opposing caste distinctions and untouchability tooth and nail and in this like Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, Periyar EVR and his Movement had the

distinction of attacking the ideological basis of the caste system and there was absolutely no place for untouchability to exist in their agenda.

In deference to the constitutional guarantees, The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, Protection of Civil Rights Rule 1977, The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989, The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 and The Forest Conservation Act, 1980 were passed by the Central Government and are in force all over India. In addition to those, the states like Tamil Nadu have opened a separate department for looking after the welfare of Scheduled Castes and also a separate ministry is functioning in the state to develop the enforcing authorities and to prevent the recurrence of atrocities committed on this section of people. In January 1972 the Home Department of Tamil Nadu Government had set up Mobile Police Squads in Coimbatore, Madurai, South Arcot, Tanjavur, Thiruchirappalli and Thirunelveli for prevention of such cases. By making the practice of untouchability a cognizable offence that invites arrest and fine, the governments at the centre and states have been committed to the cause of the Scheduled Castes. In contravention of all these guarantees, safeguards and punishments especially after Independence, about fifteen major conflicts between Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Castes took place leaving behind hundreds of lives lost, crores of rupees worth private properties and public properties either looted, torched or destroyed in Tamil Nadu. The police reprisals also contributed to these conflicts and resultant loss of lives. Except one incident which became an event later, that is the Meenakshipuram conversion incident wherein we found about 282 families embraced Islam protesting against the discriminatory attitude of the non-Scheduled – caste population, all the other communal conflicts started with violence and ended in inflicting hardship on the Scheduled-Castes whose sufferings far surpassed the non-Scheduled-Castes. All of them provoked conflicts and consequent reaction of the Scheduled-Castes was to show their assertion against discrimination and exploitation.

These violent rank caste conflicts took place between Scheduled-Castes on the one

hand and the caste-Hindus on the other backward classes, like Nadars, Kallars or Mukkulathor, Vanniars, Reddiars, Pillaiars and Nayyakars on the other. Most of these provoked conflicts were for want of basic civil rights and cultural participation in festivals and access to other public utility places. For claiming rights over panchami and poramboke lands and while demanding government notified wages, these Scheduled-Castes were made the target of attacks. On few occasions, when the Scheduled-Caste womenfolk were sexually abused and assaulted by the non-Scheduled-Caste youth, it triggered off violent opposition from the Scheduled-Castes. Some of these conflicts even spread like a wildfire to other adjoining districts putting people to untold miseries. At Keezhvenmani, in Thanjavur district in 1968, when the Scheduled-Castes associated with the Farmers Association led by the communists, demanded increase in wages as per the government regulated wages and made known to the caste Hindu landlords, their boycotting work, in the event of their demands not met with, the landlords without trying to understand the rationale behind their demand in a fit of anger torched their houses in which more than fifty Scheduled-Caste workers perished.

The communal conflict that broke out in Bodi-Devaram, Madurai district in 1989 and spread to 53 other villages cost the lives of 26 people. Six of them died in the police firing alone. Began with the Scheduled-Caste demand for better water, road and electricity facilities, the non-Scheduled-Caste village administrator to whom these problems were addressed got engaged and his desire to teach a lesson to the Scheduled Castes in violent conflict, rocking two to three districts of the state.

In 1996, opposing tooth and nail the election of Scheduled-Castes as village Panchayat President and Vice-President, the non-Scheduled-Caste population in Melvalaru Village, Madurai, in a most brutal way butchered seven Scheduled-Castes including the Scheduled –Caste Village President in broad day light. All civilized societies should hang their heads in shame for this act of barbarity.

In spite of 'Untouchability' has been legally abolished, even today the stigma of 'untouchability' still exists in its violent form in remote villages in Salem and Virudunager

districts of Tamil Nadu. In village tea-shops, a two-tumbler system is in vogue, according to which, one steel tumbler for non-Scheduled-Caste and another separate tumbler made of aluminium for Scheduled Castes are kept for serving tea.

What do these struggles, conflicts and crimes placing the Scheduled-castes always at the receiving end, ultimately reveal to humanity? Who is to blame for all these? Have we to blame the authorities for their failure in enforcing the laws and regulations effectively on the perpetrators of violence? In fact, the systematic failure of the establishment and the lack of attitudinal change among the perpetrators of barbarity have undoubtedly stirred the conscience of the Scheduled-Castes who, towards achieving equity and justice, had to react and fight. The role played by Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (Scheduled-Caste Panther Party) of Mayilsami and Thirumavalavan, **founded in 1980's, Pudhiya Tamizhagam (New Tamil Nadu)** of Dr. Krishnasamy, yet another of socio-political outfit of Scheduled castes **emerged in 1990's and the left parties both CPI and CPI(M)** in Tamil Nadu in integrating and sensitizing these people for achieving equality and social justice are really significant. Especially the left parties in Tamil Nadu have been in the Vanguard of integrating the conflicting castes for a common cause of abolishing caste completely from society and uniting the poor landless exploited sections belonging to the non-Scheduled Castes as well with Scheduled Castes against exploitation and discrimination perpetrated by the rich and high Castes. By and large, the Scheduled-Caste problems are of social, economic, political and cultural in nature. Until they are addressed both by the Non-Scheduled Castes and establishment by strictly enforcing laws, such conflicts would continue.

CONCLUSION

The Communal Reservation policy is based on the principle that in a society of opportunities denied to people and the inequality and discrimination that is meted out to the aggrieved as a result of this, it is the responsibility of the Welfare and democratically elected State to render justice to the affected by correcting it appropriately. Of Course, the Communal **Reservation System is not a "be all and end all"** arrangement in a welfare State. It is one of the

means to reach out to the disadvantaged. Therefore, as alleged by its critics, it is not a charity-induced system. It is the human right of the excluded, marginalised and those who are denied of opportunities to grow and lead a decent life. People mobilisation is essential to see that such a system is effectively implemented with necessary changes effected in the constitution so that there may not be any judicial road-block.

The DMK government under the Chief Ministership of M.Karunanidhi attempted to socialise the Priest/Archakas post in temples in favour of non-Brahmins on par with the hereditary priests of the Brahmin community, by passing an Act in 1971. Till date, it has not been implemented due to opposition and judicial obstruction. The concept of Social justice also stresses that irrespective of caste all are equal before God and are entitled to serve God like others. Social Justice Struggles should have this issue in agenda even Backward classes and Scheduled caste trained aspirants in this field must be permitted to serve in the temples as Archakas as most of the Archakas serving in temples are paid by the government.

Despite several laws and legislations passed by the Union Government and the Tamil Nadu Government, from time to time, to safeguard the rights and interests of women, still their status, condition and issues concerning their empowerment have not been the subjects of complacency. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar has said that **the real Scheduled castes with all their "slapped ignominy" were the women-folk** belonging to that community. It is true that they are more exposed to sexual-abuse, harassment and exploitation due to gender-bias at the hands of non-Scheduled castes in society. This issue needs to be addressed with deep social concern. Besides, mostly the women belonging to Backward classes, Most Backward classes and Scheduled castes are very badly affected by the incidence of Honour Killings that are denting the human conscience of society in Tamil Nadu. A legislation followed by a stringent action on the promoters and perpetrators of this heinous crime is desideratum now.

Among several measures that both Union and State of Tamil Nadu have been taking, a much more importance and encouragement given to Self-Help Groups would go a long way

in making women self-assuring both socially and economically. Further, like their 50% reservation of seats given in Local Body Elections by the Dravidian Political parties in power, a similar effort to extend reservation to State Legislatures and parliament would help enhance their participatory role in the development activities of the State. The central government should be prevailed upon in this issue.

It has been estimated that about 50% of Backward and Most Backward classes population and nearly 70% of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes either as small land owners or landless agricultural labourers in the State are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. The Land ceiling Acts passed by the State of Tamil Nadu since independence have not met the genuine demands of the majority of the landless peasants in the State. It has been noted with dismay that out of 2.5 lakh acres of Panchami lands distributed by the colonial government in Madras between 1892 and 1941 till date, only 70,000 acres of such lands were located and traced and the remainder of 1,80,000 acres of lands of the Scheduled Castes have been illegally owned by non-Scheduled Castes across the State. It smacks of social injustice until they are recovered and redistributed among the real beneficiaries. Also the Tribal Forest Act of 2006 passed by the Union Government enabling the tribals living in the forests and hilly

areas of Tamil Nadu to claim and own the lands and get unhindered access to forest products in their respective areas of habitation, the Tamil Nadu government is yet to come to these hapless tribals' help citing some imaginary litigation.

Eventually and essentially, in this context a larger issue remains unaddressed. Does the reservation in education and jobs for the SC/ST and BC and MBC in state aided and funded institutions, excluding private institutions, which right, the Champions of Social Justice, vociferously demanding not with standing, alone suffice to socially, educationally, economically and politically help to empower, both men and women to these classes? Could we be complacent with these measures in this age of alarming rise in the unbridgeable gap between the rich and the poor?

How can it be a real social justice rendered when the wealth of this country is not evenly distributed to these people? There should be a justifiable and reasonable distribution among them with regard to natural resources like land and water, educational institutions, road, transport and communication avenues, electricity, hospitals, banks and insurance companies, cultural nuances like art, literature, faiths and festivals. We can achieve real Social Justice if we enlarge the scope of our struggle further to realise this goal.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE AS GENDER JUSTICE

Dr. T.K. Anandi

Social Justice is a vast subject as we all know which cannot be discussed in a couple of hours. Very many areas come under SJ. Health, Education, welfare of vulnerable groups, Human resources, poverty, Hunger, empowerment, movements, organizations, women, children, SC and STs TGs etc. etc. All these areas demand welfare programs any human needs in a just society. Just society in the sense, where one have democracy and secularism spread throughout the society. But now in India, **even if you don't have neither democracy not secularism ...it has been proved that even though you don't have any of these, you can discuss social justice.**

Here I would like to discuss justice of genders as a crucial element of social justice.

Social Justice is not possible without strong and coherent redistributive policies conceived and implemented by public agencies. If we believe truth and justice are concepts independent of gender, the forces of progress are null and you are an enemy of social justice,

The only institution capable of imposing social justice is the state or the Government. Self-declared champions of social justice believe that state can remedy all perceived wrongs. Anyone who disagree is an enemy of social justice.

Gender parity is essential for Social justice. In South India there are only 11 women members in the Lok Sabha who come to 2%. The development indices of a country are decided by the social location of women. In that, when we discuss Kerala scenario I give below the details:

There are a number of studies regarding Kerala women calling it a paradox- Enigma etc.

Kerala Sex- ratio is 1000:1084 population % 48% : 52 %

48.82% of the live births are female. Mothers with antenatal checkups 96.1 with 94.5% in rural areas.

MMR below 130 - 1,00,000 live births

Education - at the elementary level, girls (95.65) tend to perform better than boys (95.25)

Kerala have reached near equality in youth literacy during 1991 to 2001 (youth literacy for male- 99.04, female - 99.03). 49.9% higher education 78%

Kerala is the only state which has introduced gender budgeting and gender auditing.

Challenges; Kerala seems to be aging fast with people who have above 60 years forming 12.65 percent of the Total population and the percentage of Female population in 60 plus age group is about 55.04 %.

CAW - 11302.

As per the reports of Sample Registration System, in Life Expectancy at birth, Kerala stood first among the states of India with 72.2 and 77.9 years for males and females respectively.

Kerala's infant mortality rate was 9 deaths per 1,000 live births for boys and 11 deaths per 1000 live births for girls, against the National average of 33 and 36 for boys and girls respectively.

With low economic growth high social growth is possible in Kerala. That is what had made her known as Kerala Model.

Major Schemes under department of Women and Child development

The Department of Women and Child was established in 2017 bifurcating The Social Justice Department. The Department of Women and Child Development started functioning in 24.11.17 for ensuring the holistic, physical, psychological, cognitive and emotional developments of women and children and a gender sensitive family- community program and policy for the development and protection of women and children.

The Department of Women and Child Development provides policy guidance, designs targeted programs and projects for women and children, strengthens capacity development for gender and child rights mainstreaming, coordinates, monitors and evaluates effective service delivery, for the empowerment of women and children.

- There are 292 Offices and 44 Welfare Institutions working under WCD Department.
- Under WCD centrally sponsored program ICDS is functioning and there are 16 District Program Officers, 258 ICDS projects, and 33,115 Anganwadis are working under ICDS.
- Under this project, child protection society, state Adoption Resource Agency, 14 district child protection units etc. are functioning. Apart from this, 27 child care institutions like

15 childrens' home

9 Observation homes

2 special homes

1 place of safety is functioning.

- There are 12 Mahila Mandirams working under WCD.
- There are 2 After Care Homes, One Short Stay Home, One Rescue Home, and One day Home under WCD Department.
- There are 13 Nirbhaya Shelter Homes under WCD for providing better protection services to survivors of sexually abused with grass root level interventions and community surveillance mechanisms, enabling the unfortunates to emerge as survivors through effective rehabilitation and after care programmes.
- There are 14 Women Protection Officers (WPOs) in all the districts to handle the cases that comes under Domestic violence.
- *Directorate of women and child initiates many schemes for the overall well being of children in the State. The Schemes are*

Mobile Creche

- Care of the children of migrant labourers.
- In Kerala Mobile Creche started in 9 districts
- Government has given Sanction to start in all the 14 districts.

National Creche Scheme

571 creches have been taken over by the Government from the NGOs out of which 485 are functioning well.

Government is providing 30% of the working fund for the crèche.

Abhaya Kiranam

- Protection of Poor widows
- Monthly Rs. 1000/- is given to each
- 700 of them are the beneficiaries

One Stop Centres

- These centres will provide a range of integrated services under one roof to the women affected by violence. Intended facilities and services at OSC include transportation, medical assistance and facilitation in dealing with the police, legal aid, psychosocial counseling and temporary shelter if required. In Kerala 14 One Stop Centres are working in all districts.

Mangalya Plan

- The Government of Kerala envisages the scheme called Mangalya to encourage widow remarriage. The scheme imparts financial assistance for the widows / divorced to remarry.
- Financial Assistance of Rs.25000/- is provided to each.
- Financial Assistance given to 253 widows for remarriage

Sahayasthanam

It was started in 11.09.2018. This Scheme is for Widows below 55 years and her Annual income is less than one lakh rupees. An amount of Rs. 30,000/- is given for starting a business. It is given to 10 widows in one district . 140 Widows got this help .

Ujjawala Scheme

- To prevent trafficking of women and children for commercial sexual exploitation through social mobilization and involvement of local communities, awareness generation programmes, generate public discourse through workshops/ seminars and such events and any other innovative activity.
- To facilitate rescue of victims from the place of their exploitation and place them in safe custody

- To provide rehabilitation services both immediate and long-term to the victims by providing basic amenities / needs such as shelter, food, clothing, medical treatment including counseling, legal aid and guidance and vocational training
- To facilitate reintegration of the victims into the family and society at large.
- To facilitate repatriation of cross-border victims to their country of origin

Aaswaasanidhi

The survivors both children and women of severe cruelty are given immediate financial help. 19 of them are given help.

ATHIJEEVIKA

This Scheme is mainly used to help the destitute women whose husband died, or bedridden due to illness or accident.

An amount of 50,000 is given as one time financial Assistance

One-Day Homes to provide safe accommodation for women (Ente Koodu Or My nest)

Social Justice Department has been working collectively with other departments for effective implementation of various women related schemes and strengthening of women empowerment programs. As part of new initiative, Department has devised a scheme to open 'One-Day Home' to ensure safe accommodation for women who travel alone and reach the capital for various purposes and can stay there at affordable rates.

Women who come from other places to cities for personal as well as various other purposes such as writing tests, appearing for interviews or attending meetings can stay in the one-day home for a short period. The main objective of the scheme is to provide a safe stay and food at a reasonable rate.

During the initial stage of the project the space available at the 8th floor of the Kerala State Road Transport Corporation building in the heart of the city has been identified for the purpose. The pilot phase of the scheme is being launched as a joint venture between Thiruvananthapuram Corporation and Social Justice Department.

PRATHYASA

"Prathyasha" is an innovative programme launched as a joint venture amid Individuals, Corporates and Kerala Social Security Mission (KSSM). Without any doubt, marriage is part of the social agenda of human life, but in poor families' parents are not able to afford the escalating marriage expenses. The main objective of this Prathyasha scheme is to help economically poor parents in getting their daughters married.

Kaithangu

- This Scheme is to Protect violence against Women & Child
- It was done through Kudumbasree, Asha workers, Prerakmar, Mahilapradan Agents, Janamaithri Police, Youth Clubs, Residents Associations.
- In our state "Kaithangu Karmasena" was introduced in 70 Pachayats and 350 wards.

Website

'E-Jeevika' is a new website introduced for the public to know about the Schemes and works of the Department

With the help of NIMHANS, School Counsellors and Voluntary workers of the WCD Department give Counselling to women and children in the flood affected areas.

CHILDREN

Our Responsibility to Children (ORC)

The project ORC is designed to address the increasing tendency among the youth and adolescents to indulge in deviant behavior. The project ORC is a planned community intervention that connects with children and young people between the age of 12-18 years and to create a multi- collaborative platform for Government agencies and professional agencies, parents and teachers to equip youth with appropriate know-how to face the challenges of the world they live in.

The proposal is to develop a state level programme with community participation to offer psycho-social and emotional support to children to prevent social deviation and to rehabilitate socially deviant children. This can be materialized with the support of the following

stakeholders like police, education, social Justice, LSGD, health etc. The project has already been implemented in 93 selected schools and it is proposed to extend the program to 67 schools in the state through Integrated Child Protection Scheme during 2017-18.

Total Rs. 4,19,61,386/- spent under this scheme.

The beneficiaries of this scheme are the children of 304 Government /Aided school.

Kaval

KAVAL is a community based approach to reach out to children in bail and providing psycho-social interventions through trained social work professionals in NGOs by entering to a working partnership with the Non-Governmental organizations. The psycho-social care model was developed and implemented through a five tier approach comprising:

- 2425 Children are the beneficiaries of this scheme
- under this scheme an amount of Rs.1,34,81,875 spent.

Saranabalyam

Towards child beggary free, child labour free Kerala

- Triggered by the child beggary/labour incidents in connection with the Sabarimala pilgrimage
- Piloted in Pathanamthitta District
- Extended to four more districts
- Project components :
 - Rescue officers at DCPU level, in collaboration with departments of Home, Labour, LSG etc and society.
 - Field visits to identify children
 - DNA test identify the person accompanying the child and necessary legal actions.
 - Rehabilitation with the help of CCIs
 - 65 children rescued so far

Balanidhi

- Constituted under the section 105 of JJ Act, to mobilize funds from public, to ensure better care and protection of children under the purview of JJ Act.
- K.S Chithra as brand Ambassador

- Mobilizing maximum resource for the well being of children
- Financial support to six children - Rs. 131853/-

First 1000 days

- This scheme is implemented to give importance to the first 1000 days of a **child's** life to know the growth and development of new born baby from pregnancy period to two years of age. First 1000 days is the most critical and crucial period of the **child's** life.
- This scheme started in Attappadi. Now this project spread to ICDS Vellanad, Ranni Additional, Nilambur Additional, Manathavadi, Iritti, Kasargod Additional.

Vignana Deepthi

- An initiative by State Government to overcome the insufficiency of funds under central sponsorship scheme
- Rs. 2,000.00 per child per month for supporting education
- To avoid institutionalization, and restore children in their own homes
- As of now, 1000 children are supported under this programme

Foster Care

Fostering is an arrangement whereby a child lives, usually on a temporary basis, with an extended or unrelated family member. Such an arrangement ensures that the birth parents do not lose any of their parental rights or responsibilities.

This arrangement shall cater to children who are not legally free for adoption, and whose parents are unable to care for them due to illness, death, desertion by one parent or any other crisis. The aim is to eventually re-unite the child with his/her own family when the family circumstances improve, and thus prevent institutionalization of children in difficult circumstances. Foster care refers to physical custody/ care of the child till he/she is able to return to biological family as soon as family circumstances improve and shall not exceed one year.

Ujwala Balyam

Awards for children excelling in arts/ sports/ literature/ social/ cultural avenues.

Gurukulam

Strengthening the mental health and academic skills (Mathematics, Science and Arts) of children of CCIs, through Theatre Workshops, Group Therapy, Behaviour Modification techniques etc.

Thalolam

Thalolam scheme aims to provide free treatment to the children below age of 18, who are suffering from Kidney diseases, Cardiovascular diseases, Cerebral Palsy, Brittle Bone Disease, Hemophilia, Thalassemia, Sickle Cell Anemia, Orthopedic deformities and other Neuro- Developmental Disabilities, Congenital anomalies (Endosulfan victims) and accident cases which needs surgery.

A patient will be eligible for an initial assistance of Rs. 50,000/- only under this scheme.

Additional financial assistance can be met based on the decision of the Superintendent, Head of the concerned

Childline Services (1098)

CHILDLINE is a national emergency toll free phone out reach service for the children in need of care and protection operates on the 1098 number, and is supported by the Ministry of Women and Child Development (WMCD), Government of India and works in partnership with state governments, NGOs, Bilateral/Multilateral Agencies and Corporate Sector. CHILDLINE India Foundation (CIF) has been appointed as the Mother NGO for setting up, managing and monitoring the CHILDLINE 1098 service all over the country. CHILDLINE 1098 service is cited by the Government of India as India's response to commitments under the Child Rights Convention of the United Nations to which India is a signatory.

The service focuses on the needs of children living alone on the streets, child labourers, domestic workers, run away children, Children of sex workers and sexually abused children.

CHILDLINE has responded to a total of 15194271 Calls from inception till December 2008. These calls have been for medical assistance, shelter, repatriation, missing children,

protection from abuse, emotional support and guidance, information and referral to services, death related calls etc. For more information www.childlineindia.org.in

Sponsorship

Sponsorship is the provision of supplementary support to families to meet medical, nutritional, educational and other needs of their children with a view to improving the quality of the life. It is a conditional assistance to enable children who were at risk from being removed from school and send for work, to continue their education.

Types of Sponsorship:-

Rehabilitative Sponsorship:- Rehabilitative Children placed into Institutions by families as a poverty coping measure to reunite them with their families

Preventive Sponsorship:- Preventive Support to families living in extreme conditions of deprivation or exploitation to enable the child to remain his or her family.

Sanadha Balyam

The scheme aims at providing foster care placement for orphaned or abandoned children and its major achievement has been that child-care centres in the State now know what to do with the adoptable children they shelter.

A good number of such children have been adopted by eligible families since the start of the programme. Databases of adoptable children in every district have also been compiled. The **programme's** vision is ensuring a healthy and joyful family life to every orphan, destitute and abandoned child. Its mission is getting all such children out of institutions and controlling the social factors that lead to destitution. It aims to do this through strict enforcement of the provisions laid down under the Juvenile Justice Act and Orphanages and Other Charitable Home (Supervision and Control) Act.

Sruthitharangam

Sruthitharangam (Cochlear Implantation Scheme) envisioned to provide free cochlear implantation surgery for the children in the age group of 0-5 years, who are hearing impaired. The early identification and intervention procedures initiated within six months of age

should be the golden standard for the holistic development of a child with hearing loss. Cochlear Implant is a proven option for the treatment of profound hearing loss. The children from poor families whose annual family income is below Rs. 2 lakh is eligible to get the benefit of this scheme. This scheme is implemented through Government as well as selected empanelled private hospitals in this field.

The objective of this project is to provide cochlear implant to children selected by Regional and State level technical committees for cochlear implantation and to provide financial support for auditory verbal habilitation (AVH) to operated children through empanelled hospital/ centers.

Transgenders

Apart from the above said details Kerala Government under the aegis of social justice department has brought a Transgender Policy in the year 2016.

There is a State cell working under the government. And we have special programs for the Transgenders. ID card given to the TGs.

1. Financial help for Self Employment
2. Financial help for educational development known as “Samanwaya”
3. Skill development training
4. Training in driving to TGs.
5. Scholarship program for students
6. Financial help for conducting marriages of TGs/
7. Financial help for the Sex Assignment Surgery
8. 24 X 7 help line service for Transgender people.

The above said programs and projects are running at present in Kerala. We have three Homes also for the TG people for the post surgery stay.

These are some of the [projects done under Social Justice department and Women and Child Development department till the year 2020. Very many schemes are in planning.

THE FOLLOWING PAPERS WERE ALSO PRESENTED IN THE CONFERENCE

- Aiswarya. V.T. : CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TEMPLE THEATRES IN ART PRESERVATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE ON KUTTAMPALAM OF KERALA KALAMANDALAM
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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	AVVM Sri Pushpam College, Poondi, Thanjavur
XXXV	2015	Kakatiya University, Warangal
XXXVI	2016	Tagore Arts Collage, Puducherry
XXXVII	2017	Periyar University, Salem
XXXVIII	2018	University of Calicut, Calicut
XXXIX	2019	Osmania University, Hyderabad
XXXX	2020	Annamalai University, Chidambaram

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